JORDAN's

Parliamentary Journal,

FOR THE YEAR MDCCXCIII.

BEING

AN ACCURATE AND IMPARTIAL

HISTORY

OF THE

DEBATES AND PROCEEDINGS

OF

BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT,

From the Opening of the SESSION on the Thirteenth Day of *December*, 1792:

INCLUDING

ALL MOTIONS, RESOLUTIONS, PROTESTS, &c.
AND PAPERS OF EVERY KIND.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR J. S. JORDAN, No 166, FLEET-STREET.
MDCCXCIII.

Parliamentary Journal

FOR THE YEAR MDCCXCIII.

BEING

AN ACCURATE AND IMPARTIAL

HISTORY

OF THE

DEBATES AND PROCEEDINGS

OF

BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

From the Opening of the Session on the Thirteenth Day of December, 1792:

INCLUDING

ALL MOTIONS, RESOLUTIONS, PROTESTS, &c.

AND PAPERS OF EVERY KIND.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

BRITISH MUSEUM 30 69 JUL

CONTENTS

OF

VOLUME II.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

	PAGE.
COMMITTEE of Privileges	274
Committee on Stewart's Divorce Bill	ib.
Motion for Enrollment of Letters Patent creating Lady Pulteney Baroneſs of Bath — —	275
Haſtings's Trial — —	ib.
His Speech — —	ib.
Further proceedings thereon —	ib.
Meſſage from the King for pay of Hanoverian Troops —	277
Addreſs on the ſame — —	ib.
Debates on the Title of Baroneſs of Bath — —	278
Second reading of the Bill for incorporating Kentiſh Dredgers —	279
Debates thereon — —	280
Ditto on Canal Bills	280—282
Diſcuſſion of Lord Daer's Title to vote as a Freeholder in Scotland	282—284
Second reading of the Debtor and Creditor Bill — —	284
Pawnbroker's Bill — —	287
Traiterous Correſpondence Bill brought up from the Commons	288
Meſſage from the King —	ib.
Addreſs to his Majeſty agreed to, and ordered to be preſented —	289
Speech of Lord Abingdon on the Slave Trade — —	290
His Motion for poſtponement of the Buſineſs — —	295
Speech of Earl Stanhope on the ſame	ib.
——— Duke of Clarence —	296
——— Lord Grenville —	297
——— Earl of Lauderdale —	298
——— Biſhop of St. David's —	ib.
Speech of Lord Hawkeſbury, &c.	299
Motion withdrawn — —	ib.
Second reading of the Traiterous Correſpondence Bill —	300
Speech of Lord Grenville on the ſame — — —	ib.
——— Earl of Guildford —	301
——— Duke of Norfolk —	302
——— Marquis of Lanſdowne	303—305
——— Earl of Lauderdale —	309
——— Duke of Portland —	310
——— Lord Porcheſter, &c.	310, 311
Petition of American Merchants	311
Papers relating to the ſame —	312
Committee on the Traiterous Correſpondence Bill — —	314
Amendments propoſed —	315
Debates on the ſame	316—320
Subject reſumed — —	320
Debates on different Clauſes —	321
Report brought up — —	322
Petition from Mr. Haſtings —	323
His Trial adjourned —	ib.
Third reading of the Traiterous Correſpondence Bill — —	324
Clauſe propoſed by Earl Stanhope	ib.
Rejected — —	325
Queſtion, that the Bill do now paſs	ib.
Speech of the Earl of Guildford on the ſame — — —	ib.
——— Lord Abingdon —	326
——— Marquis of Lanſdowne	327
Continuation of Debates thereon	329—335
Bill paſſed, and ordered back to the Commons — —	335
Debates on the Dudley Canal Bill	336

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PAGE.

The first Report of the Select Committee (appointed by the Court of Directors to take into Consideration the Export Trade from Great Britain to the East Indies) laid before the Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council, appointed for all Matters relating to Trade and foreign Plantations: With an Appendix *5

The Second Report of the Select Committee, &c. — — *77

Third Report of the Select Committee, &c. — —*107

[* *The above three Reports are paged separately, and are placed at the beginning of the Volume.*]

Mr. FOX's Speech preparatory to his motions — — 9

Resolutions moved — — 15

Speech of Mr. Burke on the same 16

——— Mr. Grey — — 22

——— Mr. Jenkinson — 25

——— Mr. Adam — 26

——— Mr. Jekyll — 28

——— Mr. Powis — 30

——— Major Maitland — ib.

——— Mr. Lambton, Sir Richard Hill, and Sir Francis Basset — 32

——— Mr. Fox in Reply — 33

——— Mr. Wyndham — 36

——— Mr. Sheridan — 37

Resolutions negatived — 38

List of the Minority — ib.

House in a Committee of Supply — 39

Committee appointed to regulate Canal Bills — — 40

Motion to enforce the attendance of Members — — ib.

Report from the Committee of Supply brought up — — 41

Debates on the increase of Staff Officers ib.

Resolutions agreed to — ib.

Mr. Grey's Speech and Motion on the Address to his Majesty 41—46

Negatived — — 47

Petition from the Inhabitants of Nottingham — — ib.

Mr. Pitt on the same — ib.

Answered by Mr. Fox — 48

Speech of Mr. Lambton, Mr. Dundas, Mr. R. Smith, and Mr. Coke, on the same — — 49

——— Mr. Burke — 51

——— Mr. Grey — 52

——— Mr. Sheridan — 53

Petition rejected — — 54

PAGE.

Committee of the House on the attendance of Members on controverted Elections, opened by Mr. Grenville — — 55

Resolutions moved — — 56

Speech of Mr. Fox on the same ib.

——— the Speaker — 58

Resolutions agreed to — ib.

Motion respecting Barracks — 59

Speech of Mr. Taylor on the same ib.

——— the Secretary at War — 63

——— Mr. Minchin — 64

——— Major Maitland — ib.

——— Lord Beauchamp — 67

——— Mr. Courtenay — 69

——— Lord Mulgrave — 72

——— Mr. Burdon — 73

——— Sir George Howard — ib.

——— Mr. Fox — — 74

——— Mr. Pitt — — 79

——— Mr. Grey — — 82

Third reading of the Bill for providing for Widows and Children of Substitutes in the Militia — ib.

Mr. Sheridan gave Notice of his intended Motion to discover Sedition, or Seditious Practices, said to exist in this Country — — 83

Call of the House on Mr. Grenville's Motion agreed to — 84, 85

India Budget stated by Mr. Dundas 85

His Speech on the same — 86

Resolutions read and moved — 91

Motion passed to inquire into the State of the Trade to Newfoundland —— — 94

Motion by Mr. Wilberforce for going into a Committee on the Slave Trade —— — 95

Speech of Sir W. Young on the same ib.

——— Mr. Buxton — 96

——— Mr. Cawthorne — ib.

——— Mr. W. Smith — 97

——— Mr. East, Mr. Dent, and Lord Sheffield — — 98

——— Mr. Fox — — ib.

——— Mr. Gascoyne, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Wilberforce — 100

Motion negatived — — 101

Mr. Burke apologised to the House upon an irregularity in the Trial of Mr. Hastings - — ib.

His Conduct approved — 102

Other Matters relating to the Trial ib.

Resolutions on the same — 103

Motion against Working on Canals during Harvest — ib.

Debates

CONTENTS.

PAGE.

Debates on the ſame — 104
Liſt of Sums granted in the Committee of Supply — ib.
Speech of Mr. Sheridan on his Motion on the ſubject of Sedition 105
——— Mr. Lambton on the ſame 118
——— Mr. Windham — 119
——— Mr. Martin — 121
——— the Lord Mayor — 122
——— Mr. Fox — — 123
——— Mr. Windham — 126
——— Mr. Burke — ib.
Continuation of Debates on Mr. Sheridan's Motion on the ſubject of Sedition — — 129
Motion negatived — 132
His Majeſty's Meſſage on the payment of Hanoverian Troops — 133
Mr. Fox preſents a Petition from the Inhabitants of Weſtminſter to be relieved from the local Duty on Coals — — ib.
Mr. Sheridan moves for an Account of the Produce of the Taxes — ib.
Report on India Affairs brought up and agreed to — 134
Members Names called over who were abſent on Election Ballots 135
Some taken into Cuſtody, others excuſed — — 138
Petitions from the Royal Burghs of Scotland preſented by Mr. Sheridan, and ordered to lie on the Table 138, 139
The Houſe in a Committee of Ways and Means — — 140
Speech of Mr. Pitt on opening the Budget — — ib.
——— Mr. Sheridan — 148
——— Mr. Fox — 151
——— Mr. Pitt — 154
Reſolutions agreed to — 156
Account of the Total Net produce of the Taxes — — ib.
Debates on the promiſed Motion of the Attorney General for leave to bring in a Bill to prevent Traiterous Correſpondence — 158
Mr. Alderman Curtis moves that the Petition from London for a removal of the local Duty on Coals may be referred to a Committee 159
Debates thereon — — 160
The commitment rejected — 161
Debates on Stewart's Divorce Bill 162
The Attorney General's Motion to prevent Traiterous Correſpondence 163
Speech of Mr. Fox on the ſame 166
——— the Solicitor General 168
——— Mr. Martin — ib.
——— Mr. Erſkine — 170

PAGE.

Speech of Mr. Frederick North 173
——— Mr. Curwen, Mr. Yorke, &c. — — — 174
Debate on the Army Extraordinaries 175
Speech of Lord Fielding on the ſame ib.
——— Major Maitland — 176
——— Mr. Pitt — — ib.
——— Mr. Fox 177, 179
——— Mr. Dundas — 180
——— Mr. Sheridan — ib.
Contention between Mr. Fox and Colonel Berkeley — 181
Copy of the Reſolutions — 183
Debates on Election matters 186, 187, 188
——— on working Canals during Harveſt — — 189
——— on the Slave Trade 190, 191
Second reading of the Bill to prevent Traiterous Correſpondence — 192
Speech of Mr. Curwen on the ſame ib.
——— Mr. Frederick North — 193
——— Major Maitland — 194
——— Mr. Fox — 195
——— Mr. Pitt — 196
——— the Attorney General — 198
——— Mr. Sheridan — 200
——— Mr. Pitt, Mr. Sheridan, &c. 202, 203
An Amendment by Mr. Fox negatived —— — 203
Motion for going into a Committee on the Traiterous Correſpondence Bill — — — ib.
Various Debates on the ſame 204, 205
Speech of Mr. Fox — 206
——— Lord Beauchamp — 207
——— Mr. Burke — ib.
——— Mr. Sheridan — 210
——— Mr. Hardinge — 216
——— Mr. Fox — — 217
Debates on various Clauſes of the Bill — 218—225
Progreſs reported, and leave given to to ſit again — — 225
Petition from Mr. Clifton preſented by Mr. Sheridan — ib.
Speech of Mr. Sheridan on the Scotch Borough Reform — ib.
——— Mr. Dundas on the ſame 227
——— Mr. Sheridan — 228
Queſtion carried for referring the buſineſs to a Committee — ib.
Further proceedings on the Traiterous Correſpondence Bill — ib.
Debates on various Clauſes 229—232
Report received, and ordered to be recommitted — — 233
Committee of Ways and Means ib.
Speech of Mr. Pitt on the ſame ib.

Speech-

PAGE.

Speech of Mr. Fox — — 235
——— Mr. Thornton — 237
——— Mr. Drake — ib.
——— Mr. Sheridan — 238
Mr. Pitt's Motion carried — 239
Reſolutions for continuing the Taxes carried — — ib.
Copy of all the Reſolutions — ib.
Report of the Committee on the Loan — — 243
Debates on the unfairneſs of bringing up the Report — ib.
Speech of Mr. Fox, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Dundas, &c. on the ſame — 244—246
Committee of the whole Houſe on the Traiterous Correſpondence Bill 246
Debates on various Clauſes 247, 248
Speech of Mr. Whitbread — 250
——— Mr. Fox — ib.
——— Mr. Pitt — 251
——— Mr. Fox, Solicitor General, Mr. Adam, &c. 252—255
Petition from Nottingham againſt the War preſented and read — 255
Report of the Traiterous Correſpondence Bill brought up — 256
Debates thereon 256—262
Bill ordered to be engroſſed — 262
Petition preſented by Merchants and Underwriters againſt a Clauſe in the Bill relating to Inſurance ib.
Meſſage from his Majeſty to defray extraordinary Expences — ib.
Further Debates on the Traiterous Correſpondence Bill 262—265
Speech of Mr. Fox — 266
——— Mr. Burke — 270
Bill paſſed — — 273
Committee on the King's Meſſage 337
Lord Fielding propoſes ſending Troops to Britany — — ib.
Committee on the Bill againſt working Canals during Harveſt — 338
Conſideration of the Bill to prevent Bribery and Corruption at Elections for the Borough of Stockbridge — — — 339
Petition from Liverpool for a Loan 341
Election for Great Grimſby declared void — — — 342
Petition from Electors of Stockbridge ib.
Debates thereon — — 343
Bill for granting one million and an half to his Majeſty read a firſt time 344
Colonel Macleod and Mr. Dundas on taking off the duty on Coals in the Northen Parts of Scotland — 345
Lord Fielding on employing the militia to invade Britany — 346
Mr. Sheridan intimates his intention of moving for a Memorial preſented by Lord Auckland to the States General — — 348
Copy of the Memorial alluded to 349
Rochdale Canal Bill thrown out ib.
Mr. Sheridan moves for Lord Auckland's Memorial — — 350
Debates thereon 351—353
Mr. Grey's Motion on Grimſby Election — — — 353
Debates thereon, and the Motion carried — 354—355
Counſel heard on the Stockbridge Election — — — 355
Leave given for a Bill to regulate Prize Money — — 356
Ditto for the encouragement of Friendly Societies — 357
Ditto on behalf of the Scotch Catholics — — 359
Traiterous Correſpondence Bill brought down from the Lords, and Debates thereon — — 360
Committee on the trade of India — ib.
Speech of Mr. Dundas on the ſame 361
——— Mr. Francis — — 370
——— Colonel Macleod, &c. — 373
Progreſs reported, and leave given to ſit again — — — 374
Mr. Pitt gives notice of his intended Motion for a ſelect Committee on the Embarraſſments of Commercial Houſes — — ib.
Sir John Rous moves for leave to bring in a Bill for the relief of Huſbandmen — — ib.
Leave granted — — 375
Committee appointed, on Mr. Pitt's Motion, to conſider the State of Commercial Credit — — ib.
Addreſs on Lord Auckland's Memorial moved by Mr Sheridan, and his Speech on the ſame — ib.
Copy of the Memorial — — 378
Speech of Mr. Pitt on the ſame 389
——— Mr. Fox on the ſame — 393
——— Mr. Pitt, in explanation — 397
Motion negatived — — 398
On the Motion of Mr. Steele, the conſideration of the Amendments made by the Lords in the Traiterous correſpondence Bill were poſtponed — 398, 399
The Houſe in a Committee on Browne's Divorce Bill — 400
Speech of Mr. Taylor on the ſame ib.
Committee in aid of public Credit 401
Speech of Mr. Sheridan — ib.
——— Mr. Huſſey, &c. — 402
Aſhby-de-la-Zouch Canal Bill thrown out — — — ib.

JORDAN's

PARLIAMENTARY JOURNAL,

&c. &c. &c.

EAST INDIA PAPERS.

Our Readers will find, in page 213 of the Firſt Volume, Mr. Secretary Dundas's reaſons for deſiring that the THREE *following important* REPORTS *of the* EXPORT-TRADE *from* GREAT BRITAIN *to the* EAST INDIES, *might be laid before the Houſe of Commons; he conſidered the ſubject to be of the greateſt conſequence, and that theſe Reports would afford the public the beſt means of forming a judgment on the great queſtion, which ſoon, he ſaid, muſt be brought under diſcuſſion, reſpecting the Company's Charter. We have obtained an Authentic Copy of theſe Reports, becauſe a thorough and accurate knowledge of this great Export-Trade, is highly intereſting to all the Merchants and Manufacturers of Great Britain and Ireland, the Proprietors of India Stock, &c. &c.*

FIRST REPORT.

YOUR Committee, in entering upon the objects of their appointment, have read, and attentively conſidered, the Report to the Court of Directors on the 29th June laſt, of a conference held on the 24th of that month with the Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council, appointed for all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations; they have alſo cauſed to be laid before them, minutes of ſuch communications as have paſſed from time to time between their Lordſhips and the Company's officers.

It appears to be the deſire of their Lordſhips, to receive from the Court of Directors every information that can be procured reſpecting exports of the produce and manufacture of Great Britain to India; and the probability of increaſing the amount of thoſe exports, under any mode that can be deviſed, and ſubject to ſuch regulations as may be hereafter agreed upon.

For the purpoſe of complying in the fulleſt manner with the requeſt of their Lordſhips, your Committee apprehend it will be neceſſary to ſtate,

1ſt. The quantity and value in England of the ſeveral articles exported by the Company to India, and the profit or loſs on the ſale of thoſe articles in that country.

2d. Such information as can be procured reſpecting the exports in private trade, allowed to the commanders and officers of the Company's ſhips, and the particular articles which compoſe that export.

3d. Such information as can be procured reſpecting illicit trade to the Eaſt Indies.

4th. The beſt means of computing the quantity of tonnage unoccupied on board the Company's ſhips, on the outward-bound voyage.

5th. The Company's endeavours to increaſe and extend the conſumption of Britiſh manufactures and produce in the Eaſt Indies, and to add new articles of that deſcription to the liſt of exports; the reſult of thoſe endeavours, and the reaſons to be aſſigned for their ſucceſs or failure.

Finally. To ſubmit to the Court ſuch remarks as occur reſpecting the exports to India by the Company, and by individuals; and the beſt means that can be deviſed for extending the ſame.

Your Committee conceive that it will in few inſtances be neceſſary to extend their enquiries concerning the Company's exports further back than the ſeaſon 1784-5; the reſtoration of peace then enabled the Company to purſue with increaſed effect that regular ſyſtem of commerce, which comprehended among its principal objects the extenſion of the export trade of this country.

FIRST.—The Quantity and Value of the Company's EXPORTS, with the Profit and Loſs thereon.

Conformably to the plan which your Committee thus preſcribed to themſelves, in the firſt place they directed the proper officers to lay before them accounts of exports, with the profit and loſs thereon, made up in the uſual manner.

But

But the object in reference to your Committee at present, requires them to ascertain as nearly as may be the *actual amount chargeable on the exports.*

Your Committee, after having maturely deliberated on this important branch of their inquiry, resolved to prepare an account of profit and loss on the Company's exports to India, founded on the following data, which they conceive to be just and reasonable; *viz.*

The charges of merchandize in England, one half per cent.

Freight upon the Company's exports, at the rate of £.10 per ton, in time of peace.

Interest of money for two years, at 4 per cent. per annum.

Premium of insurance, at 3 per cent. to all parts of India.

The charges on sales in India (generally known by the title of import warehouse charges) to be as follows; *viz.*

In Bengal	—	3 per cent.
Madras	—	5 per cent.
Bombay	—	2 per cent.

The rate of exchange to be the same as is adopted in the accounts annually presented to Parliament; *viz.*

Bengal	—	2*s.* the current rupee.
Madras	—	8*s.* the pagoda.
Bombay	—	2*s.* 3*d.* the rupee.

With respect to the article of custom house duties charged to individuals on imports at the several presidencies; *viz.*

Bengal	—	4 per cent.
Madras	—	5 per cent.
Bombay	—	9 per cent. on steel, iron, lead, copper, and tin, and 6 per cent on other articles, your Committee do not take them into consideration on the present occasion.

In deciding upon the principles proper to form the account of profit and loss, your Committee are convinced they act up to the wishes and intentions of the Court of Directors, while in all matters where the doubt of estimate will permit, they suffer the balance of advantage to preponderate in favour of the export of the produce and manufactures of this country.

Having agreed upon the principles on which the accounts of profit and loss were to be formed, and communicated their resolutions thereon to the proper officers, the said accounts were accordingly prepared, and laid before your Committee; copies thereof will be found in the Appendix, No. 1.

From these accounts it will appear as follows:

By the Sales of Europe Goods in *BENGAL*, it appears,

That in the SEASON	Woollens were ſold amounting to	Leaving a nett profit on the firſt coſt.	Nett loſs on the firſt coſt.	Or per cent.
1783-4	£. 26,661	—	£. 4,885	18 1/5
1784-5	64,391	—	18,031	25 5/8
1785-6	54,923	—	3,328	6 2/4
1786-7	29,270	—	3,332	12
1787-8	30,596	347	—	1 1/2
1789-90	34,410	2,767	—	10 1/2
	240,251	3,114	29,576	
			3,114	
Nett loſs for ſix years on woollens			£. 26,462	
	METALS.			
1783-4	£. 79,222	£. 2,313	—	3 15/16
1784-5	105,297	—	12,986	14 1/24
1785-6	91,809	—	4,971	6 9/16
1786-7	37,679	1,140	—	4
1787-8	50,417	17,934	—	75 1/2
1789-90	69,322	1,487	—	2 9/10
	£. 433,746	22,874	17,957	
		17,957		
Nett profit for ſix years on metals - -		£. 4,917		

At

At *MADRAS.*

SEASONS.	Woollens sold.	Nett profit.	Nett loss.	Per cent.
1783-4	£. 26,983	£. 611	—	2 13/16
84-5	24,225	1,489	—	7 13/16
85-6	25,934	469	—	2 3/16
86-7	19,537	—	2 1/4	
87-8	22,974	1,141	—	6 1/3
88-9	21,610	843	—	5 9/16
	£. 141,263	4,553	2 1/4	
		2 1/4		
		4,550 3/4	Nett profit on woollens.	
	METALS.			
1783-4	£. 53,917	£. 1,091	—	2 13/16
84-5	45,905	—	£. 2,905	7 7/8
85-6	78,665	—	4,911	7 9/16
86-7	23,288	—	1,815	9 2/8
87-8	32,267	—	477	1 23/100
88-9	50,886	8,037	—	18 1/2
	£. 284,928	9,128	10,108	
			9,128	
			£. 980	Nett loss on metals.

At

At *BOMBAY.*

SEASONS.	Woollens ſold.	Profit.	Loſs.	Per cent.
1784-5	£. 8,831	—	2,249	23½
85-6	59,905	—	10,987	18.07
86-7	37,584	2,099	—	6.92
87-8	59,034	—	2,943	5½
88-9	10,281	—	986	10½
89-90	18,899	—	812	4⅞
	£. 194,534	2,099	17,977	
			2,099	
Nett loſs for 6 years on woollens -			£. 15,878	
	METALS.			
1784-5	£. 23,750	£. 867	—	5 1/19
85-6	27,495	—	4,767	18.8
86-7	74,816	3,359	—	6.03
87-8	53,577	2,184	—	5½
88-9	66,831	6,333	—	14 3/16
89-90	44,865	—	2,038	5 0/16
	£. 291,334	12,743	6,805	
		6,805		
Nett profit for 6 years on metals - -		£. 5,938		

GENERAL

GENERAL ABSTRACT.

	WOOLLENS.		*METALS.*		
	Profit.	Loss.	Profit.	Loss.	
	£.	£.	£.	£.	
Bengal -	—	26,462	4,917		
Madras -	4,550	—	—	980	
Bombay -	—	15,878	5,938		
	4,550	42,340	10,855	980	Nett loſſes on exports in 6 years, £2791 5, or £465 2. 10s per annum.
Nett loſs on woollens in ſix years -	37,790		Nett pro. on met. in 6 Y.	9,875	
	£. 42,340			£. 10,855	

SECOND.—EXPORTS in PRIVATE TRADE allowed to Commanders and Officers.

The next object to which your Committee turned their attention, was the Private Trade of the commanders and officers of ſhips employed in the Company's ſervice. Thoſe perſons are permitted to occupy a certain proportion of the tonnage, freight-free, according to their reſpective rank.

The tonnage allowed on the outward-bound voyage to the commanders and officers of ſhips of 755 tons burthen and upwards, amounts to 87 tons per ſhip. In ſmaller ſhips the allowance is proportionably diminiſhed. *See Appendix, No. 2.*

The Company reſerving to themſelves the excluſive export of cloth, woollens, copper, military and warlike ſtores, clocks, toys, or other articles ornamented with jewels, and bullion; all other articles of commerce have remained free for the commanders and officers to chuſe ſuch as they may deem the moſt profitable.

Every commander and officer muſt, in a written application to the Court of Directors, ſtate the tonnage and value of the ſeveral articles which he ſolicits their permiſſion to export under the above-mentioned indulgence in private trade.

Had

Had thoſe applications contained a true ſpecification of the tonnage and value of the goods propoſed to be ſent to India, your Committee might have been enabled to furniſh the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council with material information; it would have gone very far in affording grounds for computing the extent of any probable augmentation of Britiſh exports to the eaſt

But your Committee are informed, that the private trade ſo carried to India conſiderably exceeds, both in tonnage and value, the amount of privilege granted by the court. And this exceſs is, as they are informed, ſo different with reſpect to various ſhips, and ſo fluctuating, as to baffle all computation.

Deprived of full information on this important point, your Committee will not hazard any conjectures as to the amount of the exports in private trade; they muſt content themſelves with ſtating to the Court ſuch facts as have come to their knowledge.

The Articles of which the Export in Private Trade conſiſts, are, viz.

Anchors	Confectionary	Millinery	Snuff
Bar Iron	Copper	Mathematical	Sadlery
Bulgia Hides	Drugs	and Muſical	Steel
Brandy	Earthen Ware	Inſtruments	Sheet Lead
Beer	Furs	Muſtard	Smalts
Boots & Shoes	Glaſs Ware	Orſidew	Sword Blades
Braziery	Gunpowder	Oil	Stationary
Buntin	Glaſs Beads	Perry	ShipChandlery
Block Tin	Ginſeng	Painters Co-	Turnery
Cyder	Grapnals	lours	Tin Ware
Cherry Brandy	Gold Thread	Plated Ware	Pig Lead
Canvas	Gold Lace	Plate Glaſs	Rod Iron
Cutlery	Haberdaſhery	Perfumery	Tin Plates
Cards	Hats	Pickles	Wine
Cordage	Hoſiery	Pruſſian Blue	Wooden Toys
Cabinet Ware	Hardware	Prints	Window Glaſs
Clocks	Ironmongery	Quickſilver	Wrought Plate
Cochineal	Lines & Twine	Rum	and
Carriages	Lead Shot	Red Lead	White Lead
Carpets	Mancheſter	Remnants of	
Cloth Cuttings	Goods	Cloths	

The eſtimated amount of thoſe exports, founded on the quantity actually regiſtered in the applications to the Court from the commanders and officers, is as follows; viz.

In the year	1784	£. 110,410
	1785	139,280
	1786	153,340
	1787	122,490
	1788	118,930
	1789	118,910
	1790	124,050

In addition to the articles of private export already enumerated, a large allowance ſhould probably be made for naval and military ſtores. This will be more fully diſcuſſed hereafter.

The victualling bill and ſtores allowed to the commander of each ſhip, although very conſiderable, and more than ſufficient for the voyage, your Committee apprehend is very much exceeded; and as it contains many articles of manufacture, &c. which would in all probability not be carried by ſhips of any other deſcription, at leaſt to ſuch an extent, a copy of the ſame will be found in the Appendix, No. 3.

If it can be admitted that the exceſs of exports in private trade, over and above the quantity and value ſtated to the Court, is nearly in the ſame proportion in each year, a curious fact offers itſelf, well worth attention:

The value in the year 1785 is large; in 1786 it is augmented; and was conſiderable in 1787.

On the 25th of November 1789, a petition was preſented from the commanders of the ſhips arrived in that year from Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, in behalf of themſelves and their officers, repreſenting, that in conſequence of the markets in India having been over-ſtocked, they had ſuffered in many inſtances almoſt to ruin, by the ſale of their inveſtments from Europe; they therefore prayed the Court to remit the payment of the Company's duties in India on their inveſtments.

The governments of Bengal and Madras had been ſatisfied of the truth of theſe allegations, and the hardſhip of the caſe; and the Court, entertaining the ſame opinion, reſolved to comply with the petition.

Such inſtances are rare, and may therefore be admitted as ſome teſt of the real ſtate of the Indian markets.

For when the value of the exports in the years 1785, 6, and 7, is compared with any former or ſubſequent period, it is matter of ſurprize that an exceſs, ſo comparatively trifling, ſhould over ſtock the Indian markets; and that a dimunition

ſo inconſiderable in the ſucceeding years ſhould bring thoſe markets to their proper level.

In conſequence of a plan propoſed by David Scott, Eſq. for improving and extending the commercial concerns of the Company, a report was made on the 19th Auguſt 1789, by a Committee appointed to conſider the ſame. That Committee in their report recommended to the Court to offer to the commanders of the reſpective ſhips all ſurplus tonnage whatſoever, under certain conditions; the Company however reſerving to themſelves, excluſively, the articles of woollens, copper, military and warlike ſtores. The Court of Directors reſolved to comply with the recommendation of the Committee. Public notice of the Court's reſolutions was given in the Gazette, and in the other public papers. A copy is annexed, together with an account of the eſtimated additional tonnage exported by the commanders and officers ſubſequent to that period. *See Appendix, No.* 4.

THIRD.—ILLICIT TRADE.

The Illicit Trade, properly ſo termed, conſiſts in the export of goods on board the Company's ſhips, contrary to prohibition, and alſo on ſhips fitted out in the ports of theſe kingdoms for India, by individuals, without the licence of the Company.

For your Committee preſume that the export of Britiſh manufactures and produce by foreigners, in foreign ſhips, and from foreign ports, cannot be exactly comprehended under the deſcription of illicit trade. Should a Britiſh ſubject have an intereſt therein, it is the perſon that renders the meaſure objectionable.

It will be impoſſible to diſcuſs fully the objects of this report, without taking theſe points into conſideration: your Committee will ſtate the beſt opinion they can form thereon, ariſing indeed chiefly from conjecture; for here your Committee are deprived of materials ſo correct as thoſe on which they hope it will be found other parts of this report are grounded.

With regard to the quantity and value of illicit trade on board the Company's ſhips, and the articles of which it conſiſts, no certain information can be obtained.

But your Committee have been enabled to procure the manifeſts of two ſhips fitted out from this country by individuals, in order to proceed to India without the Company's licence.—Copies of theſe manifeſts form No. 5, in the Appendix.

If any general principle can be aſcertained from the particulars of the two cargoes above-mentioned, it is, that a very ſmall part

part in bulk and value conſiſt in manufactures; the remaining articles of which thoſe cargoes are compoſed, are conſidered in various parts of this report.

Your Committee preſume that the whole of the illicit trade may be claſſed under the heads of

Manufactures,	Naval Stores, and
Metals,	Military Stores.

FOURTH.—TONNAGE unoccupied on the Company's Outward-bound Ships.

Your Committee have ſtated the beſt information that can be procured, relative to the quantity and value of the exports to India, in the produce and manufactures of this country: it now becomes neceſſary to examine the quantity of tonnage unoccupied in the ſhips, by which thoſe exports are conveyed.

And here your Committee muſt obſerve, that of the chartered tonnage of each ſhip, the Company reſerve to themſelves a proportion, on which no freight outwards is charged; this is denominated free tonnage, and does not include the privilege of the commander and officers.

For the remainder of the ſhip's tonnage, or ſo much thereof as ſhall be occupied, the owners are paid freight, at the rate of 5*l.* per ton, under the denomination of ſurplus tonnage.

The preſent object of the Committee's reſearch being confined to India, they have, in the following ſtatement, omitted the tonnage of ſhips proceeding to China direct. The number of thoſe ſhips, in each ſeaſon, will however be found in a ſeparate column.

Seaſon.	No. of Ships.	Tons free.	Tons carried on Company's account.	Private trade, eſtimat. at 87 tons per ſhip.	Total tons carried.	Tons chartered.	No. of ſhips for China direct.
1784	16	9,206	7,183	1,392	8,575	12,089	10
1785	27	15,303	10,876	2,349	13,325	20,100	15
1786	25	15,125	12,122	2,175	14,297	19,874	8
1787	28	17,715	18,066	2,436	20,502	23,291	2
1788	23	15,108	13,216	2,001	15,217	19,860	8
1789	25	16,430	14,948	2,175	17,123	21,600	5
1790	24	16,571	21,347	2,088	23,435	21,786	None.

In the above ſtatement, the full extent of allowed private trade privilege is computed as actually carried; it may be objected to this, that in the avowed uncertainty, as to the amount of private trade exports, poſſibly the full tonnage granted may not always have been occupied: ſuppoſing the fact to exiſt (which your Committee do not believe is the caſe) it will be remembered that the Company's faith is pledged to the commander and officers of each ſhip for a ſpecific indulgence in tonnage, which cannot be otherwiſe appropriated; therefore in forming a calculate of ſpare tonnage, the whole extent of that indulgence ought to be conſidered as filled.

Beſides, your Committee have already ſtated as their opinion, that 87 tons per ſhip is far below the quantity really carried.

If it ſhall appear poſſible to augment the export of Britiſh manufactures and produce on board the Company's ſhips taken up in the regular mode, the means of conveying the exports muſt be found either in the ſurplus tonnage before mentioned, or by altering the deſtination of ſhips intended for China direct, and conſigning them to touch at Bombay and Madras in their way thither.

The nature and importance of the Company's Trade with China render it neceſſary for one ſhip of the ſeaſon to be diſpatched thither direct, with remittances and early advices. The remainder of the ſhips for China may touch at Bombay, or Madras, without further inconvenience than the payment of an additional freight and demorage.

It will be eaſily perceived, that during Peace there may be a quantity of ſpare tonnage; but the caſe is totally the contrary in time of War, the military recruits for India then occupy ſo great a ſpace on board the ſhips, that ſhould there be even a moderate fleet in India, the whole of the Company's remaining tonnage is not ſufficient to carry nearly the quantity of naval and military ſtores neceſſary for the operations of war; and inſtances have occurred when the Company, for the conveyance of their exports to India, have been obliged to engage a quantity of tonnage conſiderably larger than what it could be ſuppoſed ſhould be returned filled with import cargoes, even under the moſt ſanguine expectations.

FIFTH.—For the Purpoſe of aſcertaining what Endeavours have been uſed by the Company at Home and Abroad, to encreaſe and extend the CONSUMPTION of BRITISH MANUFACTURES, ſome detail becomes neceſſary.

The Court of Directors had reaſon to be very much diſſatisfied with the conduct of the Board of Trade in Bengal, who, as

as inſtituted in the year 1774, correſponded directly with them; in conſequence the Court formed a new plan for the eſtabliſhment of a board at each of the Preſidencies, whoſe correſpondence with them was to paſs through the medium of the reſpective governments. The firſt inſtructions for the proceedings of the ſeveral boards were tranſmitted to India in the year 1785.

This period therefore bounds the reſearches of your Committee in a certain degree. Some matters of importance will occaſionally be found to claim a deviation from this rule.

Should it be deemed neceſſary for your Committee to carry their inquiries further back than the period alluded to, there will be no difficulty in adducing numerous inſtances, to ſhew that the Company have ever paid the utmoſt attention to the export of Britiſh produce and manufacture.

Further inſtructions, of the purport above mentioned, were likewiſe ſent at a later period, and accompanied with ſtrong recommendations to all the Preſidencies, to uſe every poſſible endeavour in promoting and extending the ſale of Europe goods, particularly the manufactures and produce of Great Britain; at the ſame time patterns were ſent of the different manufactures of Mancheſter, Norwich, and Halifax; the Preſidencies were directed to examine the whole, to call for the beſt information and aſſiſtance that could be obtained, and to acquaint the Court of Directors of the reſult of their endeavours.

It appears from the correſpondence, that all the Boards of Trade have conducted themſelves with alacrity, zeal, and ability, for the purpoſe of fulfilling the wiſhes of the Court; they have not only endeavoured to promote a ſale for export goods at the ſeveral Preſidencies, but extended their views to foreign countries, either contiguous, or where a communication could be opened for this laudable purpoſe.

The Government General of Bengal attempted to promote a trade with Aſſam, which it is much feared will ſcarcely extend beyond the article of ſalt.

That government have been ſtill leſs fortunate in their efforts for many years to eſtabliſh a commercial intercourſe with Thibet, through the Bootan country.

Nor is their want of ſucceſs in theſe inſtances ſurprizing, when we advert to the obſtacles they have had to encounter on a ſimilar occaſion from the Rajah of Benares.

The Bengal government ſay, "The Rajah was, like moſt of "the chiefs of this country, too jealous of his own perſonal "importance to aſſent with ſincerity to rules, which included "the very neceſſary regulation of his own conduct; and too "little capable of comprehending the ruinous conſequences to

"his

" his own private intereſt, which muſt ultimately ariſe from an " irregular and capricious ſyſtem of government."

The obſtacles experienced in the province of Oude, before the Commercial Treaty was concluded with the Vizier, are of another deſcription. The Bengal Board of Trade mention the " difficulty of forming an eſtabliſhment, without either poſſeſ- " ſing an influence which would militate with the entire free- " dom left to the Vizier, in the internal management of his " country, or elſe being expoſed to the interruptions and injuries " incident from the lawleſs ſubjects of a weak government."

The Preſidency of Fort St. George looked chiefly to the Myſore country; and they ſtate very explicitly, that the great decreaſe in the ſale of woollens is to be attributed to the inter- courſe with that country having been ſtopped ſince the late war.

A plan was formed for eſtabliſhing a commercial warehouſe at Tanjore; and the Court of Directors addreſſed a letter to the Rajah upon the ſubject; but Mr. Huddleſton, in the plan he originally propoſed, does not appear to expect that it can be carried to any extent.

In conſequence of our late alliance with the Nizam, the Board of Trade at Madras are endeavouring to introduce European articles into his dominions; the event of this under- taking cannot be known in England till next ſeaſon.

Buſſora, and the other ſettlements ſubordinate to Bombay, have been ſupplied with woollens from that Preſidency; the ſale in thoſe places muſt ever depend on the political ſtate of the government under which they exiſt, and the tranquillity of the country. The Court, in their letter to Bombay, of the 4th July 1777, noticing the ſituation of affairs in thoſe parts, ſay, " We are very apprehenſive, when the Perſians find that the " merchants and inhabitants have no more money, they will " begin with our ſervants, which happened ſome years paſt, by " which the Company were conſiderable ſufferers."

They ſtate, that they are diſpoſed to withdraw their eſtabliſh- ments, " having been ſo often deceived by the Phirmauns, that " we have no expectation of redreſs."

" If Buſſora is given up to the Turkiſh government, as " before, we permit in ſuch caſe that a reſident be ſent there."

Bombay is well ſituated for cultivating a commercial inter- courſe with the populous and extenſive empire of the Marattas; this object was recommended by the Govenor General, in the ſtrongeſt manner, to the attention of Mr. Malet, the Reſident at Poonah, who appears to have entered into the inveſtigation with great ability and aſſiduity.

Mr. Malet, in his letter to the Governor General, dated the 8th

8th of Auguſt 1788, obſerves, that "the government of Bombay "have long enjoyed a dormant privilege of importing annually, "into the Maratta country, goods to the amount of one lack "and an half, duty-free, which he has mentioned to them, but "from their ſilence concludes it cannot be an object worthy their "attention."

The concluſion of this letter is very remarkable: Mr. Malet ſays, "I am inclined much to doubt the practicability of improv- "ing or extending our commerce, by any extraordinary means "adopted for that purpoſe; and as I believe the common courſe "of cauſes, ariſing from the ſtate of ſociety, has already ope- "rated its utmoſt effects, and will continue ſo to do, ſo do I "think that an endeavour to improve or extend them, would "rather tend to awaken jealouſy and ſuſpicion of our intentions, "than to anſwer the liberal end propoſed."

This letter is ſo important, and ſo juſtly deſcribes the difficulties to be apprehended in proſecuting our commercial purſuits, under the native governments, that your Committee have annexed an extract thereof in the Appendix, No. 6.

With regard to the ſales made at the ſeveral Preſidencies within the period to which your Committee now limit their reſearches, and even during a great number of years previous thereto, your Committee can give the Court no pleaſing intelligence.

The advices from India on this ſubject preſent a tireſome narrative of circumſtances which prevent their progreſs, and a profit on the ſales; too often they even ſtate a total failure in the demand; that demand is ſo capricious, even for metals, but ſtill more for woollens, that neceſſity compels the Preſidencies to offer thoſe articles for ſale at limited prices, well knowing that any endeavour on their part to force a ſale, would be attended with the moſt ruinous conſequences.—So far from the Preſidencies being able to augment theſe ſales, they complain generally of an evident decreaſe with reſpect to woollens of every denomination; at the ſame time they admit that the demand for metals had increaſed conſiderably, with a probability of being ſupported and even extended further.

The letters from the import warehouſe-keepers in India, together with the occaſional remarks of the boards of trade, will furniſh ample detail on the ſubject of woollens; it will appear that large quantities have remained for years in the Company's warehouſes unſold.

On the 19th January 1789, the Preſident and Council of Fort St. George acquaint the Court, that after all their efforts, finding there remained on hand 781 bales of former years, and that 354 bales were expected by the ſhips of the ſeaſon, they

reſolved

reſolved to uſe every means in their power to promote a ſale, but they could find purchaſers for no more than 20 bales, and thoſe at a price under prime coſt.

As they could perceive no proſpect more advantageous, whilſt the communications with the Myſore country was ſuſpended, they agreed to ſend 372 bales to China.

It appears, by a letter quoted on the Bombay conſultations, and dated the 10th November 1786, that the quantity of woollens cleared in the three preceding years, was no more than 1,600 bales, or 533 bales annually.

The government of Bombay, on the 24th December 1789, enter fully into the ſubject of woollens, and expreſs much uneaſineſs at ſeeing ſuch a quantity as 1,338 bales of cloth, and 343 bales of long ells, periſhing in the warehouſes, year after year; after ſtriving ineffectually to procure a ſale, it was propoſed to ſend a part of theſe goods round to Bengal; but as the ſtate of the markets there was equally unfavourable, this ſcheme was abandoned.

With reſpect to the patterns ſent to India in 1786, it appears to be the opinion, that none of them will anſwer for the general conſumption of the natives; but that ſome Mancheſter goods, to a trifling amount, might be ſold; of this your Committee will ſpeak hereafter.

For the purpoſe of aſcertaining with preciſion how far the Company have exerted themſelves in ſupplying the conſumption of woollens in India to its full extent, your Committee have annexed accounts to ſhew the quantity remaining on hand, the quantity exported, and the quantity ſold, for ſeveral years paſt. *See Appendix, No.* 7, *No.* 8, *and No.* 1.

From theſe accounts it plainly appears, there has been at all times in warehouſe more than ſufficient to ſupply the demand.

The cauſes to which this unpromiſing appearance on the ſale of Britiſh manufactures may be attributed, differ at the ſeveral Preſidencies. In ſome inſtances theſe cauſes are accidental, but it is much to be feared that the moſt material are permanent.

The alteration in the rate of exchange for Bengal and Bombay, operates materially to the prejudice of the account ſales, when compared with thoſe of former years, particularly the reduction of the Bengal current rupee from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.*: as, however, two ſhillings will be found rather to exceed the real value of the rupee, there can be no reaſon for increaſing the rate of exchange.

The government of Bengal attribute the decay in this branch of our traffic, to the diſordered ſtate of the Upper Provinces;

To

To the burthenſome impoſts in Benares and Oude (on which we ſhall obſerve hereafter); and

To the injudicious and irregular mode of conducting ſales at the Preſidency:—This has ſince been remedied.

The Government of Fort St. George ſtate, as a reaſon peculiar to that Preſidency, the communication with Myſore having ceaſed ſince the laſt war.

The Preſident and Council of Bombay obſerve upon the decline of the demand from the Marattas, that the accoutrements for the Maratta cavalry are not now made of woollen cloth, as formerly, but of chintz.

An occaſional prejudice to this trade aroſe at all the Preſidencies from a circumſtance to which your Committee have alluded in a former part of this Report, viz. The increaſed importation in particular ſeaſons by the commanders and officers of the Company's ſhips, as well as by foreigners. This overſtocked the markets.

But ſerious ground of apprehenſion, as to the ſucceſs of the vend for woollens in India, is to be found in an obſervation made by the Preſidency of Madras; ſpeaking of the natives, they ſay, "Their dreſs is ſo ſimple, and little ſubject to change, "being obliged by the rules of their caſt and ſect to adhere to "a particular mode of apparel."

Your Committee feel ſo much intereſted in this ſubject, that they muſt intreat the Courts attention to ſome further obſervations they have to offer.

From the tenor of the correſpondence reſpecting the various attempts made by the Preſidencies in India to promote a commercial intercourſe with the neighbouring powers, it is evident that a free intercourſe of that nature muſt be impracticable, if not eſtabliſhed on the faith of treaties, or under the protection of a military force.

The latter alternative being out of the queſtion, your Committee will conſider the effects derived to commerce from treaties with the native powers of Indoſtan.

Your Committee have already ſtated, that the declining ſtate of your ſales of Britiſh manufactures in Bengal was partly attributed to the burthenſome impoſts in Benares and Oude.

Since that period an arrangement has been formed with the Rajah of Benares, and Lord Cornwallis ſigned a commerical treaty with the Vizier on the 25th July, 1788, in conſequence of which all difficulties were expected to be removed. *See Appendix, No.* 9.

The only articles of European manufactures or produce enumerated among the exports from the Company's dominions to the Vizier's country (in the 5th article) are "broad cloth, iron,

copper, and lead:" With reſpect to the manufactures of iron, copper, and lead, and the cotton piece goods, alſo mentioned in the liſt of thoſe exports, they are preſumed to be the manufactures of India.

The 9th article impoſes an additional duty upon all goods not previouſly ſpecified: The care and attention with which this treaty is drawn, leave no room to ſuppoſe that any European articles ſhould be rendered liable to this additional duty, as goods not ſpecified; and it may be fairly concluded that the Governor General conſidered broad cloth, iron, copper, and lead, as the only European articles of export to Oude and Furruckabad worthy of attention.

Your Committee naturally looked to this treaty for a favourable effect on the ſale of Europe goods in Bengal, and anxiouſly peruſed the letters from that Preſidency ſubſequent to the concluſion of the treaty. They were diſappointed in finding no deviation from the complaining language of former advices; the difficulties of effecting a ſale formed the unceaſing topic. Great as the importance of this treaty is to the internal trade of India, it failed completely to produce an increaſed demand for the manufactures of Britain.

Mr. Malet, in his letter of the 8th Auguſt 1788, above mentioned, moſt ably and judiciouſly explains why the diſcuſſion of a commercial ſcheme at the Court of Poonah would be inexpedient, and even dangerous. *See Appendix, No. 6.*

Little ſagacity is wanting to diſcover the impracticability of a commerical intercourſe with the Myſore country.—The views of an India deſpot are altogether political; and ſuch has been the extreme jealouſy of the Engliſh nation entertained by Tippoo Sultan, that during the interval between the two wars, he not only prohibited the introduction of Britiſh manufactures, but forbade his ſubjects to ſell us the produce of his own country.

Your Committee are therefore ſatisfied that the ſale of Britiſh manufactures in the dominions of the native princes cannot be augmented, unleſs ſanctioned by treaty; and they entertain great doubt whether any material augmentation would reſult even from ſuch protection, except for military purpoſes.

Previous to any remark on the internal conſumption of Europe goods within the Britiſh poſſeſſions in India, ſome obſervations on the ſtaple manufactures at home become neceſſary.

The firſt in point of importance is the article of woollens, to which the greater part of this Report will apply.

Others conſiſt in articles made of cotton and of ſilk; theſe are made better and cheaper in India.

Linens, none of which are uſed, except canvas and ſome coarſe linens; callicoes, &c. being much better adapted to the climate.

Earthen

Earthen ware, which cannot afford freight for ſo diſtant a voyage, particularly the common ſorts.

All manufactures made from metals come under the ſame deſcription, except naval or military ſtores.

There is reaſon to believe that both the two laſt articles of earthen ware and manufactures of metal, can be made cheaper in India, owing to the very low price of labour; and a doubt ariſes with regard to the natives, whether the ſame prejudice does not exiſt (at leaſt in ſome degree) reſpecting the veſſels they uſe, as the dreſs they wear.

Under theſe circumſtances, your Committee are decidedly of opinion, that the greater part of the exports to India conſiſts in

WOOLLENS, METALS,
NAVAL AND MILITARY STORES.

The remaining articles are of trifling amount in compariſon; almoſt wholly for the uſe of Europeans, and cannot be introduced as part of the general conſumption of the natives of India.

Sufficient proofs have been adduced, to ſhew that the Indian markets have not only been glutted with woollens, but that every endeavour has been uſed to force a ſale.

That notwithſtanding the diſcouraging advices from India, the Company have perſevered in their export, without much variation in point of quantity, conceiving that an uniform demand and export were far more beneficial to the manufacturers, than capricious or unequal exertions.

Inſtances have occurred when the ſale abroad has almoſt ſtagnated, and particular articles have been totally diſuſed. The manufacturers having repreſented the diſtreſs to which they ſhould be ſubjected, unleſs relieved by the Court of Directors purchaſing part of their ſtock, which was unſaleable at any other market, the Company have, on theſe occaſions, contributed in the moſt liberal manner to their relief, and augmented the exports accordingly.

The principles which have ever actuated the Company in their encouragement of the export of Britiſh manufacture, are fully explained in a letter written to Bombay, ſo late as the 21ſt April 1790. This was before any diſcuſſion with regard to the export trade was in contemplation. Your Committee beg leave to annex an extract of that letter. *See Appendix, No.* 10.

It is remarkable, that when the commanders of the Company's ſhips were labouring under the diſadvantage of a glutted market at Bombay, and ſtated to that Government the hard-

ſhips they ſuffered in compariſon with foreigners, who they alledged could import copper and warlike ſtores, which were prohibited to ſubjects of Great Britain, they do not complain againſt the prohibition which extends equally to woollens.

This circumſtance can only be accounted for upon the opinion entertained by your Committee, and which pervades the whole of this Report, *viz.* That there is little probability of increaſing the conſumption of woollens in India, and therefore that article is not much worth the attention of the commanders and officers in the aſſortment of their private trade.

The fine cloths are for the uſe of Europeans, but their amount is ſmall. The demand for coarſe cloths is by far the moſt conſiderable. They are appropriated to cloathing for the army; ſuch as are ſold to foreigners are almoſt entirely of the inferior ſorts, and uſed for the ſame purpoſe; even a conſiderable proportion of the fine cloth is for the uſe of the military officers; in ſhort, it is to be feared that no reduction in the price of woollens will increaſe the conſumption in a country where ſo many ſubſtitutes for that article are found better ſuited to the climate, and more congenial to the cuſtoms and prejudices of the inhabitants.

Your Committee, in the progreſs of their inquiry, have had but little occaſion to touch upon the ſubject of metals. It is conceived the information deſired by the Lords of the Privy Council on this point, may be comprized in a ſmall compaſs. Beſides, the demand from India having been encouraging, the Company have increaſed their exports of this article in a very unuſual manner, as will appear by the account hereunto annexed. *See Appendix, No.* 11.

In the diſpoſal of metals no great ingenuity, nor extraordinary exertions are requiſite. It is ſufficient to be acquainted with the form and the degree of fineneſs of the article required by the natives, and to take care that public ſales be made at ſtated periods, ſufficient to ſupply the demand; all this has been done by the Company.

The effort made by the Company, when they came forward to relieve the diſtreſs of the county of Cornwall, by exporting a large quantity of tin to China, having ſucceeded beyond their expectations, there is no doubt but that the meaſure will be purſued in a proper manner.

Your Committee obſerve at the ſame time, with particular ſatisfaction, that no objection has been made in India againſt the quality of the Corniſh tin. The indent from Bengal requires 250 tons, and that Preſidency obſerves, that the coſt ſhould be leſs than £. 75. 10*s.* 8*d.* per ton (when received into the Company's warehouſe in Bengal), for the purpoſe of excluding the Malay

Malay tin wholly from the market. The indent from Madras demands 200 tons.

If it ſhall hereafter become a national object to export a large quantity of tin at a low price, perhaps it may be prudent to meet its arrival in India with a moderate duty on the Malay tin; it muſt however be conſidered, whether the Malays might not retaliate, and check the ſale of opium in the Eaſtern ſeas.

The Company have lately eſtabliſhed a copper coinage in this country, for the ſupply of India, and with a view to add manufacture to ſo valuable an article of produce, which they truſt may be carried to a conſiderable degree of extent, and prove a ſubſtitute for the Japan copper, which has hitherto been ſupplied by the Dutch.

The next object of diſcuſſion is the export of naval and military ſtores, which have at all times conſtituted a very conſiderable part of the illicit trade.

This ſubject received the fulleſt conſideration by the Court, during the laſt ſeaſon. In conſequence of a plan preſented to them by David Scott, Eſquire, an arrangement was formed under the Preſidency of Bombay, with a view to attract the commerce of India to that place, in conſequence of the ſuperior advantages to be found there in the repair and outfit of ſhips. With this view, the Company will export all ſorts of naval ſtores for ſale, that are neceſſary for trading ſhips—That deſcription of ſtores comprizes by far the greater part (in reſpect to tonnage or bulk) of the exports hitherto made in what are termed naval and military ſtores; it is therefore hoped, that the meaſures now adopted may contribute to throw the whole of the ſale into the hands of the Company.

At all events your Committee are perſuaded, that Government will ſee the propriety and even the neceſſity, of continuing to confine the export of thoſe articles to the Company; and of adopting any further meaſures that may be deemed effectual for that purpoſe.

It would have afforded much ſatisfaction to your Committee, had they been enabled to ſuggeſt ſome plan for augmenting the export of the manufactures and produce of Great Britain to India, in conſequence of the recommendation from the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council.

Your Committee have conſtantly had in view this grand object of conſideration, in all they have ſubmitted to the Court relative to

The exports by the Company;
The exports by Britiſh individuals and foreigners;
The probability of ſale and conſumption in India; and,
The ſtate of the Company's ſhipping.

In

In the progreſs of your Committee's enquires, conſiderations perpetually aroſe which induce them to think that the idea ſuggeſted by their Lordſhips, of ſuffering individuals to participate in the export trade, would not anſwer thoſe liberal purpoſes, nor produce thoſe beneficial conſequences, which their Lordſhips had in contemplation. Your Committee deemed it incumbent on them to enter fully into the inveſtigation of each branch of their inquiry, in order to aſcertain the real and unconquerable obſtacles, which, in the opinion of your Committee, will ever prevent any increaſe in the conſumption of the manufactures of Great Britain, except through the medium of the Company. And of this fact your Committee are fully convinced, however reaſonable might be the expectations of an increaſed export to any other country, not poſſeſſing, like India, raw materials in the higheſt perfection, and millions of ingenious and induſtrious manufacturers who work for one fifth part of the wages given in England.

Under a firm perſuaſion, that the meaſures purſued by the Company will prove much more advantageous to the manufacturers of Great Britain, than any efforts to be made by individuals, your Committee cannot recommend to the Court to meet their Lordſhips with any ſpecific propoſition. Your Committee ſubmit that it be repeated to their Lordſhips, that the Company will chearfully try any experiments their Lordſhips may be pleaſed to ſuggeſt, as they are deſirous at all times of exerting every endeavour to promote the advantage of the export trade of this country, and the general proſperity of the Britiſh empire.

But if your Committee cannot recommend to the Court to meet the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council with a ſpecific propoſition, it becomes peculiarly neceſſary to offer ſuch remarks as have occurred to direct their judgment, in the ſhort time they have had to conſider the ſubject. They will therefore proceed to ſtate ſome general obſervations.

It ſeems to admit of no diſpute, that in caſe the conſumption of Britiſh manufactures in India could be increaſed, it muſt be by means of the natives.

The Europeans in India are comparatively few in number. It never can be an object for the public, to open the export trade, with a view to the conſumption of Europeans in India. Thoſe perſons are well acquainted with the articles manufactured or produced in Europe, with which they are amply ſupplied, either directly or indirectly.

It will appear, from what has been already ſtated in this Report, that the moſt ſanguine expectations can ſcarcely look to the natives of India for the accompliſhment of our object.

Their

Their hiſtory, from remote times, affords us no ground for ſuch expectation: The uniform unvaried narrative of complaint is, that Europe has ever been drained of bullion for payment of the luxuries of the Eaſt. A moments reflection will ſhew, that the products of India can only be obtained in return for the bullion of Europe, or as a tribute to conqueſt.

If recourſe be had to the ſituation of the Company, previous to the acquiſition of the Dewannee, when their views were purely commercial, and when India abounded in wealth, it will be found that they laboured under extreme difficulty in the diſpoſal of the manufactures and produce which they exported. And they were further obliged to ſend large ſums in ſilver, ſometimes to the amount of £. 4 or £. 500,000 a year, to compleat their inveſtment for Europe.

Your Committee do not attribute the preſent increaſed ſale of Britiſh manufactures and produce to a ſtronger predilection in the natives for thoſe articles. Among other cauſes, the immenſe increaſe in the number, and the luxury of Europeans in India, muſt be particularly adverted to.

An opinion prevails, that individuals are capable of exertions, to which the Company may not be adequate.

It happens fortunately that means exiſt to aſcertain this point with a tolerable degree of preciſion.

Your Committee have procured the particulars of aſſorted cargoes, dated at Bombay, in December 1789, and December 1790, which are chiefly compoſed of metals, naval and military ſtores, and liquors; the remainder being articles of luxury for the uſe of Europeans. *See Appendix, No.* 12.

Your Committee alſo beg leave to refer to the cargoes of two ſhips fitted out for the purpoſe of clandeſtine trade, in Appendix No. 5, mentioned in a former part of this Report.

With reſpect to the articles in which foreigners can enter into a competition with us, your Committee are ſatisfied they conſiſt in

IRON, WINES, CANVAS, CORDAGE,
ARMS, NAVAL AND MILITARY STORES.

None of which it is preſumed have been in the contemplation of their Lordſhips: Foreign countries can always ſupply canvas and cordage at a cheaper rate than we can.

The foreign trade with India has undergone a total change ſince the acquiſition of the Dewannee by the Engliſh. It is no longer a commercial adventure; it has long depended almoſt wholly upon agency, an agency for tranſmitting to Europe the fortunes of Britiſh individuals. Whenever real adventure has appeared, it has generally conſiſted in the homeward-bound cargo,

cargo, and *that* for Britiſh account.—On theſe occaſions the ſhip uſually belongs to the agent, whoſe object is to charge the whole, or as much of the freight as poſſible, upon the homeward cargo; conſequently he has an opportunity of exporting from Europe, free of freight, or at leaſt at a very moderate rate.—The ports whence ſuch ſhips are fitted out for India, are thoſe where Britiſh manufactures abound, and where they may be delivered at an expence not exceeding 3 per Cent. on their coſt in England. And there is no prohibition in India againſt the importation of Britiſh manufactures by foreigners.

Therefore, ſhould the Company have been negligent, or the commanders and officers of their ſhips inattentive to their own intereſts, by failing to ſupply the Eaſtern markets with the full extent of their demand, it is evident that a channel has ever been open for tranſmitting Britiſh manufactures to India.

The proſperity of the Engliſh Eaſt India Company has ſtimulated the governments of moſt of the maritime countries upon the Continent, to form ſimilar eſtabliſhments; their views naturally were to introduce their own manufactures and produce, and to participate generally in the benefits of that trade. They have, however, found the exports very limited in their extent, and that any lucrative advantages to be derived from the trade depend, at this moment, as they have depended from the remoteſt period in commercial hiſtory, altogether upon the imports.

Not having the ſame means of procuring the products of the Eaſt, as the Engliſh and the Dutch, other foreign Companies have either totally failed, or are in a very declining ſtate.

What has happened to foreign Companies muſt be the fate of individuals at home, ſhould they be admitted to a participation in the commerce with India. The phrenzy of ſharing in the trade to India will enſnare unwary perſons, whoſe rage for adventure will be productive of their ruin, before they diſcover their error.

In every part of the Eaſt, the ſtrongeſt reliance is placed on the Company as to the quality and meaſurement of the articles exported by them.—The obſervation applies particularly to manufactures. The Company's mark on the outſide of the bale is a ſufficient pledge to the buyer for its contents.—An individual exporter cannot expect from the natives of India that implicit confidence in his good faith—and perhaps he may ſometimes fail to deſerve that confidence.

From ſuch conſequences the ruinous effect to the trade may be eaſily foreſeen.

Other difficulties, though of an inferior kind, muſt ariſe from a commercial experiment, tried through any other medium than that of the Company.

From

From the ſtatement given of the Company's tonnage it appears, that in time of profound peace there is much to ſpare, but that during war there is not ſufficient.

Should private ſhips be ſuffered to proceed, they may poſſibly be ſold abroad, or, in conſequence of inſufficient outfit, be unable to return to Europe. In that caſe the officers, ſeamen, and paſſengers, not being under the controul of the Company, may remain in India, enter into foreign ſervice, and ſubject us to all the ill effects which the preſent ſtrict prohibition of unlicenſed perſons was meant to remedy.

But there cannot be a doubt, from every principle of ſound policy, that ſhips navigating the Indian ſeas, in a commerce between Great Britain and India, ought to belong excluſively either to Government, or to the Company. Now ſhould the manufactures require additional tonnage, and conſequently incur the expence of full freight out and home, your Committee have the fulleſt conviction that every idea of their exporting to advantage is at once annihilated.

If individuals be permitted to export for their own account, it is reaſonable to hope that all expectations of the Company continuing their exports to any extent will be abandoned. And your Committee muſt obſerve, they think this a circumſtance of infinite importance to the country. Diſcouraging as the advices from India have been at times, and crouded as the Company's ſhips have been with troops and ſtores, the purchaſes of woollens, &c. have been regular and uniform.

It is poſſible that in a courſe of competition one article of manufacture may be ſubſtituted for another; but your Committee apprehend, from what has been ſtated in this Report, that ſuch a ſubſtitution would not, in all probability, become an addition to the conſumption of India: in that caſe one individual will gain what another loſes. But this cannot be deemed an advantage to the public.

It may not be improper here to obſerve, that our export trade is of great convenience and advantage to the public through the medium of the Company, by furniſhing the means of procuring inveſtments in India; its beneficial effects extend to the commerce, the navigation, and the revenue of this country. At the ſame time it facilitates, in a material degree, the liquidation of our debt in India, contracted in conſequence of the late and preſent wars.

A ſuperficial knowledge of the political ſituation of India, ſuffices to ſhew the danger ariſing from individuals authorized to explore the ſeveral parts of India, under pretence of promoting the ſale of Britiſh manufactures, and not being under the controul of the Company; ſuch a meaſure may not only em-

broil us with the native princes, but may lead to colonization; an event highly injurious to our country, and to India. The energy of the European character becomes impaired in the firſt generation, and is ſoon totally extinct. This is ſtrongly exemplified in the deſcendants from the firſt diſcoverers, and the conquerors of many parts of India.

It ought to be conſidered, that the Company muſt have great advantages over individuals in the diſpoſal of Britiſh manufactures, in conſequence of their numerous eſtabliſhments in every part of India, formed either for the purchaſe of their inveſtments for Europe, or for political purpoſes.

That they have hitherto charged no freight on their own exports, and ſuffer large quantities to be carried freight-free by their officers.

That numerous inſtances appear when the markets abroad have been over-ſtocked; but none where thoſe markets have wanted a ſupply, under the preſent ſyſtem.

The admiſſion of individuals to participate in the trade, muſt naturally tend to damp the exertions of the Company; and this is a matter of moſt ſerious importance to the public intereſt.

In addition to the facts ſtated by your Committee, and the remarks which have occurred to them thereon, they beg leave to call the Court's attention to what has been the opinion and conduct of Government towards the Eaſt India Company, at periods when the reaſons for combining every power, commercial and political, to produce one great effect, did not exiſt, and when the balance of the Company's trade to India was againſt this country.

So early as the year 1600, in the infancy of the Eaſt India trade, the propriety of rendering it a monopoly became evident to Queen Elizabeth. This truth, thus early acknowledged, has been ſince conſidered as an axiom of Government. Whenever it has been departed from, the evils ariſing from the innovation have proved their own cure.

Under reigns ſo different as thoſe of the Stuarts, and William the Third, this monopolized commerce continued to be guarded by very ſtrong meaſures of government.

The nation even thought neceſſary to make it a ſtipulation in the Treaty of Vienna (concluded in 1731) that the Emperor Charles VI. ſhould, in favour of the Britiſh monopoly, give up the Oſtend Company, his favourite ſcheme, in protection of which he had long ſhut his ears againſt the clamours of Great Britain and Holland.

The ſhort periods for which the charter has been, from time to time, renewed, prove that however experience might convince, as to the advantages of an excluſive trade, ſtill there exiſted

exiſted in Government a laudable caution with reſpect to the public benefit, in preſerving a power of reſumption at a ſhort period.

From this caution, the Company's monopoly, in deriving its ſtability, derives its glory; for repeated charters, royal proclamations, and acts of parliament, have ſanctioned the wiſe policy of Elizabeth.

The emergencies of Government, and that prudence which ſometimes preſcribes a temporary ſacrifice to popular prejudice, have indeed, at ſome periods, ſeemed to favour the views of individual adventurers. But theſe appearances laſted no longer than the neceſſity which extorted them. It was rather a connivance than a licence.

Neither does it appear that theſe individuals ever ſucceeded in their ſpeculations. They bought at a high price, from the poverty of the ſtate, or the venality of its members, a permiſſion to ruin themſelves.

There occurs only one inſtance that forms an exception to the uniform opinion of Government on this great and important commercial point; it is the attempt of Oliver Cromwell, about the year 1655, to lay the trade open. This bold experiment terminated as might have been expected, it confirmed the Protector in the wiſdom of that policy which he doubted.—The monopoly was re-eſtabliſhed, and the Company's temporary abolition became, in its conſequences, their triumph.

Your Committee muſt apologize for the length of this Report. But the magnitude of the object ſeemed to render ample detail abſolutely neceſſary.

They cannot conclude in language more expreſſive of their ſentiments on this important branch of our national commerce, than that of the charter of the 12th April 1686, for continuing the Company's excluſive trade; *viz.* "Being fully ſatisfied that "the trade cannot be maintained and carried on to national "advantage, but by one general joint ſtock, and that a looſe "and general trade will be the ruin of the whole."

J. SMITH BURGES.
F. BARING.
JOHN HUNTER.
WM ELPHINSTONE.
HUGH INGLIS.
JOHN MANSHIP.

Eaſt India Houſe,
1ſt September 1791.

Since the date of the preceding Report, by the arrival of the Hawke from Madras, your Committee have received copy of a letter from Sir John Kennaway at Hydrabad, dated the 24t

February 1791, in anſwer to the application he was directed to make for the purpoſe of inducing the Nizam to receive part of the Peſhcuſh in the produce and manufactures of Europe.

This letter contains ſuch important and correct information relative to the temper and diſpoſition of the native princes in India, at the ſame time that it confirms, in the fulleſt manner, every idea which has been ſuggeſted of the difficulty which attends the forming any commercial intercourſe whatſoever with thoſe princes, and the little probability of benefiting to any extent, even if ſuch an intercourſe could be eſtabliſhed, that your Committee beg leave to annex an extract from that letter in the Appendix, No. 13.

J. SMITH BURGES,
F. BARING.
J. MANSHIP.
JOHN HUNTER.
WM ELPHINSTONE.

Eaſt India Houſe,
7th September 1791.

APPENDIX,

APPENDIX, No. 1.

CALCULATE of the PROFIT or LOSS on SALES of EUROPE GOODS at *BENGAL*, 1783-4.

	Quantity sold.	First cost.	Charges in Engla. at Half per Cent.	Interest of Money, 2 Yrs. at 4 per Ct. per Ann.	Insurance, at 3 per Ct.	Freight, at 10l. per Ton in Time of Peace.	Total Amount.	Sale in India at 2s. per Rupee.	Charges of the Import Warehouse.	Profit.	Loss.	Gain or Loss per Cent.
WOOLLENS.	Bales. Pieces.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	
Broad Cloth, Fine -	96 4	4,969	25	397½	149	120	5,660½	4,896	146¼	—	911¼	18¼
Aurora - -	129 3	6,076	30	486	182¼	161¼	6,935¼	6,187	185¼	—	934	15⅜
Ordinary -	330 3	12,355	61¾	988¼	370¾	412½	14,187¾	11,855	355¾	—	2,688¼	21¾
Perpets, Fine - -	7 —	452	2¼	36	13½	11¼	515¼	551	16½	19¼	—	4¼
Ordinary -	33 14	1,302	6½	104	39	55	1,506½	1,319	39½	—	226¼	17¼
Broad Perpets, Fine -	12 —	607	3	48½	18	15	691½	719	21½	6	—	1
Ordinary -	28 7	1,090	5¼	87	32¼	35	1,250¼	1,134	34	—	150¼	13¾
Total Woollens -	— £.	26,851	134	2,147¼	804¾	810	30,747	26,661	799¼	25¼	4,910½	
							Nett Loss on Woollens, £. 4,885½, or 18 1-5 per Cent. on First Cost.					
METALS.	Tons. Ct. Qrs. lb.											
Copper - - -	573 4 3 4	52,018	260	4,161¼	1,560¾	5,732	63,732	68,988	2,069½	3,186½	—	6¼
Lead - - -	148 5 2 17	2,542	13	203¾	76¼	1,482¼	4,317¼	4,205	126	—	238¼	9⅜
Iron - - -	223 13 3 23	3,810	19	304¾	114¾	2,235	6,483	6,029	180¾	—	634¾	16⅝
Total Metals -	— £.	58,370	292	4,669¾	1,751	9,449½	74,532¼	79,222	2,376¼	3,186½	873	
							Nett Profit on Metals, £. 2,313½, or 3 15-16 per Cent. on First Cost.					
Grand Total -	— £.	85,221	426	6,817	2,555¼	10,259½	105,279¼	105,883	3,175½	3,211¾	5,783½	

Total Nett Loss, £. 2,571 ¾, or 3 per Cent. on First Cost.

CALCULATE of the PROFIT or LOSS on SALES of EUROPE GOODS at *BENGAL*, 1784-5.

	Quantity sold.	First Cost.	Charges in Engla. at Half per Cent.	Interest of Money, 2 Yrs. at 4 per Ct. per Ann.	Insurance, at 3 per Ct.	Freight, at 10l. per Ton in Time of Peace.	Total Amount.	Sale in India at 2s. per Rupee.	Charges of the Import Wareh.	Profit.	Loss.	Gain or Loss per Cent.
WOOLLENS.	Bales. Pieces.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	
Broad Cloth, Fine -	154 2	7,505	37½	600¼	225	192½	8,560¼	6,770	203	—	1,993¼	26⅛
Aurora -	666 —	31,403	157	2,512	942	832½	35,846½	30,112	903½	—	6,638	21 1-7
Ordinary -	637 —	23,343	116½	1,867¼	700¼	795	26,822	19,045	571¼	—	8,348¼	35 13-16
Perpets, Fine -	42 5	2,478	12¾	198	74¼	70	2,833	2,706	81	—	208	8 2-5
Ordinary -	74 2	2,921	14½	233¾	87½	125	3,381¼	3,457	103¾	—	28½	15-16
Broad Perpets, Fine -	18 3	949	4½	76	28½	182½	1,240½	969	29	—	300½	31⅔
Ordinary -	23 5	922	4¾	73¾	27½	30	1,057½	1,028	31	—	60½	6½
Flannels - -	8 1	636	3	51	19	40	749	304	9	—	454	71⅓
Total Woollens -	— £.	70,157	350	5,612	2,104	2,267½	80,490½	64,391	1,931½	—	18,031	25⅛
METALS.	Tons. Ct. Qrs. lb.											
Copper - - -	934 2 — 7	87,612	438½	7,009	2,628¼	9,341	107,029½	99,003	2,970	—	10,996¼	12½
Lead - - -	141 7 2 17	2,556	12¾	204½	76¾	1,413	4,262¾	3,335	100	—	1,027¾	40 1-5
Iron - - -	107 19 3 19	1,880	9½	150½	56½	1,080	3,176½	2,471	74	—	779½	41½
Steel - - -	16 13 1 9	441	2½	35	13½	165	656½	488	14½	—	183	41½
Total Metals -	— £.	92,489	463	7,399	2,775	11,999	115,125	105,297	3,158½	—	12,986½	14 1-24
Grand Total -	— £.	162,646	813	13,011	4,879	14,266½	195,615½	169,688	5,090	—	31,017½	19 1-14

Grand Total -	—	£.	162,646	813	13,011	4,879	14,266½	195,615½	169,688	5,090	—	31,017½	19 1-14

CALCULATE of the PROFIT or LOSS on SALES of EUROPE GOODS at *BENGAL*, 1785-6.

	Quantity sold.		First Cost.	Charges in Engla. at Half per Cent.	Interest of Money, 2 Yrs. at 4 per Ct. per Ann.	Insurance, at 3 per Cent.	Freight, at 10l. per Ton in Time of Peace.	Total Amount.	Sale in India at 2s. per Rupee.	Charges of the Import Warehouse.	Profit.	Loss.	Gain or Loss per Cent.
WOOLLENS.	Bales.	Pieces.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	
Broad Cloth, Fine -	68	2	3,322	16¼	265¾	99¾	85	3,788¼	3,422	102½	—	469¼	14 1-10
Aurora -	377	4	17,333	86½	1,386½	520	472	19,798	21,053	631½	623½	—	3⅜
Ordinary -	686	3	25,147	125¾	2,011¾	754	855	28,893¾	26,593	797¾	—	3,098¼	12¼
Perpets, Ordinary -	49	1	2,149	10½	172	64¼	81½	2,477¼	2,348	70¼	—	199¼	9¼
Broad Perpets, Fine -	4	2	223	1	17¾	6¾	5	253½	217	6½	—	43	19 3-42
Ordinary -	30	2	1,217	6	97½	36¼	37	1,393¾	1,290	38½	—	142¼	11 7-10
Total Woollens -	—	£.	49,391	246	3,951	1,481	1,535½	56,604½	54,923	1,647	623½	3,952	

Nett Loss on Woollens, £. 3,228 ½, or 6 ¼ per Cent. on First Cost.

	Tons.	Ct.	Qrs.	lb.									
METALS.													
Copper - -	803	7	2	23	73,295	367	5,863¾	2,198¼	8,037	89,761½	88,839	2,665	—	3,587½	4 7/16
Lead - -	34	11	2	11	626	3¼	50¼	18¾	345	1,043¼	822	24¾	—	246	39⅜
Iron - -	104	—	—	—	1,803	9	144½	54	1,040	3,050½	2,010	60¼	—	1,100¼	61
Steel - -	4	6	1	6	115	—¾	8½	3¼	43	170¾	138	4	—	36¼	31¼
Total Metals -	—	£.			75,839	380	6,067	2,275	9,465	94,026	91,809	2,754	—	4,971	6 9-16
Grand Total -	—	£.			125,230	626	10,018	3,756	11,000½	150,630½	146,732	4,401	623½	8,923	

Total Nett Loss, £. 8,299 ½, or 6 ⅝ per Cent. on the First Cost.

CALCULATE of the PROFIT or LOSS on SALES of EUROPE GOODS at *BENGAL*, 1786-7.

	Quantity sold.	First Cost.	Charges in Engla. at Half per Cent.	Interest of Money, 2 Years, 4 per Ct. per Ann.	Insurance at 3 per Ct.	Freight, at 10l. per Ton in Time of Peace.	Total Amount.	Sale in India at 2s. the Current Rupee.	Charges of the Import Warehouse.	Profit.	Loss.	Gain or Loss per Cent.
WOOLLENS.	Bales. Pieces.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	
Broad Cloth, Fine	78 1	4,353	21¾	348¼	130½	97½	4,951	4,213	126½	—	864½	19 4-5
Aurora	250½ —	11,432	57	914½	343	312½	13,059	11,852	355½	—	1,562½	13¾
Ordinary	143 4	5,350	26¾	428	160½	180	6,145½	5,400	162	—	907¼	16 15-16
Perpets, Fine	18 3	1,021	5	81¾	30¾	30	1,168¼	1,260	38	53½	—	5 1-6
Ordinary	72 9	2,774	14	222	83¼	120	3,213¾	3,365	101	50¾	—	1 15-16
Broad Perpets, Fine	13 8	747	3¾	59¾	22¼	16	849	863	26	—	12	1⅔
Ordinary	14 3	1,147	5¾	91¾	34¼	17½	1,296¼	1,331	40	—	5¼	— 8-5
Flannels	7	600	3	48	18	35	704	665	20	—	59	9 5-6
Serges	3	290	1½	23¼	8¾	15	338½	321	9	—	26½	9
Total Woollens	— £.	27,714	138½	2,217¼	831½	823½	31,724¾	29,270	878	104¼	3,437	

Nett Loss on Woollens, £. 3,332 ¼, or 12 per Cent. on First Cost.

METALS.	Tons Ct. Qrs. lb.											
Copper	286 4 1 17	26,866	134½	2,149	806	2,862½	32,818	35,850	1,075½	1,956½	—	7¼
Lead	28 11 — 9	525	2½	42	16	285½	871	582	17½	—	306½	58¼
Iron	50 16 — —	876	4½	70	26	507½	1,484	1,070	32	—	446	50 15-16
Steel	4 13 1 —	170	—¼	13¾	5	46½	236	177	5	—	64	39 11-17
Total Metals	— £.	28,437	142¼	2,274¾	853	3,702	35,409	37,679	1,130	1,956½	816½	

Nett Profit on Metals, £. 1,140, or 4 per Cent. on First Cost.

Grand Total	— £.	56,151	280¾	4,492	1,684½	4,525½	67,133¾	66,949	2,008	2,060¾	4,253½	

								Nett Profit on Metals, £.1,140, or 4 per Cent. on First Cost.					
Grand Total -	—	£.	56,151	280¾	4,492	1,684½	4,525½	67,133¾	66,949	2,008	2,060¾	4,253½	

CALCULATE of the PROFIT or LOSS on SALES of EUROPE GOODS at *BENGAL*, 1787–8.

	Quantity sold.			First Cost.	Charges in Engla. at Half per Cent.	Interest of Money, 2 Yrs. at 4 per Ct. per Ann.	Insurance, at 3 per Ct.	Freight, at 10l. per Ton in Time of Peace.	Total Amount.	Sale in India at 2s. the Rupee.	Charges of the Import Wareh.	Profit.	Loss.	Gain or Loss per Cent.
WOOLLENS.	Bales.			£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	
Broad Cloth, Fine -	201⅔			9,557	47¾	764½	286¼	252½	10,908½	12,036	361	766½	—	8
Aurora -	52			2,159	10¾	172¾	64¾	65	2,472½	2,106	63	—	429¾	19 7/13
Ordinary -	285½			9,502	47½	760	285	356¼	10,950¾	11,453	343½	158¾	—	1 7/13
Perpets, Fine - -	13½			702	3½	56	21	21	803½	738	22	—	87½	12 1/13
Ordinary -	57½			2,257	11¼	180½	67¾	95	2,611½	2,591	77¾	—	98¼	4 3/13
Broad Perp. Ordinary	34¾			1,206	6	96½	36	28	1,372½	1,454	43½	38	—	3 1-7
Camblets, Superfine -	1			187	1	15	5	5	213	218	6¼	—	1¼	½
Total Woollens —	—		£.	25,570	127¾	2,045¼	766¼	822¾	29,332	30,596	917	963¾	616¼	
									Nett Profit on Woollens, £.347, or 1 ⅓ per Cent. on First Cost.					
METALS.	Tons.	Ct.	Qrs.	lb.										
Copper - - -	290	16	—	11	21,191	106	1,695¼	635¾	2,908	26,536	46,888	1,406½	18,945½	—	89 2-5
Lead - - -	53	15	2	18	1,001	5	80	30	537½	1,653½	1,382	41	—	312½	31 1-6
Iron - - -	96	6	3	—	1,456	7¼	116½	43½	963	2,586¼	1,990	59¾	—	656	45⅝
Steel - - -	8	8	1	14	99	—½	8	3	84	194½	157	4¾	—	42¼	42½
Total Metals -	—		£.		23,747	118¾	1,899¾	712¼	4,492½	30,970¼	50,417	1,512	18,945½	1,010¾	
									Nett Profit on Metals, £. 17,934 ½, or 75 ½ per Cent. on First Cost.					
Grand Total -	—		£.	49,317	246½	3,945	1,478½	5,315¼	60,302¼	81,013	2,429	19,908¾	1,627	
									Total Nett Profit, £. 18,281, or 37 ¼ per Cent. on First Cost.					

CALCULATE of the PROFIT or LOSS on SALES of EUROPE GOODS at *BENGAL*, 1789-90.

	Quantity sold.	First Cost.	Charges in Engla at Half per Cent.	Interest of Money, 2 Yrs. at 4 per Ct. per Ann.	Insurance, at 3 per Ct.	Freight, at 10l. per Ton in Time of Peace.	Total Amount.	Sale in India, at 2s. the Rupee.	Charges of the Import Warehouse.	Profit.	Loss.	Gain or Loss per Cent.
WOOLLENS.	Bales. Pieces.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	
Broad Cloth, Superfine	35 1/3	2,915	14 1/2	233 1/3	87 1/2	45	3,295 1/4	3,179	90	—	206 1/4	7 1-16
Medleys -	— 3	80	— 1/2	6 1/2	2 1/2	— 3/4	90 1/4	93	2	— 3/4	—	— 15-16
Fine - -	62 1/3	2,552	12 3/4	204	76 1/2	77 1/2	2,922 3/4	2,739	80	—	263 3/4	10 8-10
Aurora -	38	1,760	8 3/4	140 3/4	52 3/4	47 1/2	2,009 3/4	2,172	90	72 1/4	—	4 1-11
Ordinary -	554 2/3	17,394	87	1,391 1/2	522	693 3/4	20,088 1/4	24,046	710	3,248 1/4	—	18 7-10
Broad Perpets, Ordinary	9	361	1 3/4	28 3/4	10 3/4	12 1/2	414 1/2	413	10	—	11 3/4	3
Imitation Cassimirs -	1	63	— 1/2	5	1 3/4	1 1/4	71 1/2	59	1	—	13 1/4	20 2/3
Perpets Ordinary - -	29	1,218	6	97 1/2	36 1/2	50	1,408	1,427	40	—	21	1 1/2
Flannels - - -	1 1/2	30	— 1/4	2 1/4	1	7 1/2	41 1/4	41	1	—	1 1/4	3 1/3
Velvets - - -	— 2 1/2	80	— 1/2	6 1/2	2 1/2	— 3/4	90 1/4	87	2	—	5 1/4	6 1/4
Cassimirs - - -	2	160	1	13	4 1/4	2 1/2	181 1/4	154	4	—	31 1/4	19 1/3
Total Woollens -	— £.	26,613	133 1/2	2,129 1/4	798 1/2	939	30,613 1/4	34,410	1,030	3,321 1/4	553 1/4	
	Nett Profit on Woollens, £. 2,767, or 10 1/2 per Cent. on the First Cost.											
METALS.	Tons. Ct. Qrs. lb.											
Copper Plates - -	192 — — —	14,479	72 1/4	1,158 1/4	434 1/4	1,920	18,063 3/4	19,306	676	566 1/4	—	3 9-10
Manufactured	181 10 2 11	16,097	80 1/2	1,287 1/4	483	1,815	19,763 1/4	22,976	687	2,525 1/4	—	15 5/8
Japan - -	68 — — —	5,929	29 1/2	474 1/4	177 3/4	680	7,290 1/2	7,935	237	407 1/2	—	7 7/8
Lead - - -	228 2 — —	5,634	28	450 1/4	169	2,280	8,561 1/4	8,203	240	—	598 1/4	10 3-5
Iron - - -	218 11 — —	3,778	18 3/4	302 1/4	113 1/4	2,185	6,397 1/4	5,667	180	—	910 1/4	24
Steel - - -	123 9 — —	3,902	19 1/2	312	117	1,237 1/2	5,588	5,235	150	—	503	12 7/8
Total Metals -	— £.	49,819	248 1/2	3,985 1/4	1,494 1/2	10,117 1/2	65,664 1/2	69,322	2,170	3,499 1/2	2,012	
	Nett Profit on Metals, £. 1,487 1/2, or 2 9-10 per Cent. on the First Cost.											
Grand Total -	— £.	76,432	382	6,114 1/2	2,292 3/4	11,056 1/2	96,277 3/4	103,732	3,200	6,820 1/4	2,565 3/4	
	Total Nett Profit, £. 4,255, or 5 5-10 per Cent. on the First Cost.											

N. B. The Discount is deducted from the Sales.

CALCULATE of the PROFIT or LOSS on SALES of EUROPE GOODS at MADRAS, 1789-90.

	Quantity sold.	First Cost.	Charges in Engla at Half per Cent.	Interest of Money, 2 Yrs. at 4 per Ct. per Ann.	Insurance, at 3 per Ct.	Freight, at 10l. per Ton in Time of Peace.	Total Amount.	Sale in India, at 2s. the Rupee.	Charges of the Import Warehouse.	Profit.	Loss.	Gain or Loss per Cent.
WOOLLENS.	Bales. Pieces.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	
Broad Cloth, Superfine	1 —	84	— 1/4	6 3/4	2 1/2	1 1/4	94 1/2	93	2	—	3	3 4-11
Medleys -	1 —	80	— 1/4	6 1/2	2 1/2	1 1/4	90 1/2	93	2	— 3/4	—	— 15-16
Fine - -	1 —	84	— 1/4	6 3/4	2 1/2	1 1/4	94 1/2	93	2	—	3	3 4-11
Aurora -	1 —	84	— 1/4	6 3/4	2 1/2	1 1/4	94 1/2	93	2	—	3	3 4-11
Ordinary -	1 —	84	— 1/4	6 3/4	2 1/2	1 1/4	94 1/2	93	2	—	3	3 4-11
Broad Perpets, Ordinary	1 —	84	— 1/4	6 3/4	2 1/2	1 1/4	94 1/2	93	2	—	3	3 4-11
Imitation Cassimirs -	1 —	84	— 1/4	6 3/4	2 1/2	1 1/4	94 1/2	93	2	—	3	3 4-11
Perpets Ordinary - -	1 —	84	— 1/4	6 3/4	2 1/2	1 1/4	94 1/2	93	2	—	3	3 4-11
Flannels - - -	1 —	84	— 1/4	6 3/4	2 1/2	1 1/4	94 1/2	93	2	—	3	3 4-11
Velvets - - -	1 —	84	— 1/4	6 3/4	2 1/2	1 1/4	94 1/2	93	2	—	3	3 4-11
Cassimirs - - -	1 —	84	— 1/4	6 3/4	2 1/2	1 1/4	94 1/2	93	2	—	3	3 4-11
Total Woollens -	— £.	924	2 1/4	74 1/4	27 1/2	13 3/4	1,041 3/4	1,023	22	—	42 3/4	
	Nett Loss on Woollens, £. 42 3/4, or 4 6-10 per Cent. on the First Cost.											
METALS.	Tons. Ct. Qrs. lb.											
Copper Plates - -	1 — — —	75	— 3/4	6	2 1/4	10	93 3/4	93	2	— 1/4	—	— 1-3
Manufactured	1 — — —	75	— 3/4	6	2 1/4	10	93 3/4	93	2	— 1/4	—	— 1-3
Japan - -	1 — — —	75	— 3/4	6	2 1/4	10	93 3/4	93	2	— 1/4	—	— 1-3
Lead - - -	1 — — —	75	— 3/4	6	2 1/4	10	93 3/4	93	2	— 1/4	—	— 1-3
Iron - - -	1 — — —	75	— 3/4	6	2 1/4	10	93 3/4	93	2	— 1/4	—	— 1-3
Steel - - -	1 — — —	75	— 3/4	6	2 1/4	10	93 3/4	93	2	— 1/4	—	— 1-3
Total Metals -	— £.	450	3 3/4	36	13 1/2	60	562 1/4	558	12	1 1/4	—	
	Nett Loss on Metals, £. 3 3/4, or 0 8-10 per Cent. on the First Cost.											
Grand Total -	— £.	1,374	6	110 1/4	41 1/4	73 3/4	1,604	1,581	34	1 1/4	46 1/2	
	Total Nett Loss, £. 45 1/4, or 3 3-10 per Cent. on the First Cost.											

N. B. The Discount is deducted from the Sales.

CALCULATE of the PROFIT or LOSS on SALES of EUROPE GOODS at MADRAS, 1783-4.

	Quantity sold.		First Cost.	Charges in Engla. at Half per Cent.	Interest of Money, 2 Years, 4 per Ct. per Ann.	Insurance, at 3 per Cent.	Freight, at 10l. per Ton in Time of Peace.	Total Amount.	Sale in India, at 8s. the Pagoda.	Charges of the Import Warehouse.	Profit.	Loss.	Gain or Loss per Cent.
WOOLLENS.	Bales.	Pieces.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
Broad Cloth, Fine	79	5¼	5,110	25¼	408¼	153¾	99	5,796¼	6,259	312¾	149½	—	2 7/8
Double Colour	1	4½	218	1	17¼	6½	1¼	244	320	16	60	—	27½
Aurora	41	5	1,961	9¾	156¾	58¾	41	2,227¼	2,575	128¾	219	—	11 1-6
Ordinary	331	—	12,238	61¼	979	367	415	14,060¼	14,874	743¼	70	—	9-16
Perpets, Fine	7	4½	440	2¼	35¼	13¼	12	502¼	576	28¾	44½	—	10
Ordinary	43	4½	1,729	8½	138¼	51¾	72	1,999½	2,142	107¼	35¾	—	2
White Serges	1	15	166	½	13¾	4¾	7½	102	237	11¾	33¾	—	19⅞
Total Woollens	—	£.	21,862	109	1,748¼	655¼	647¾	25,022½	26,983	1,349	611½	—	2 13-16
METALS.	Tons. Ct. Qrs. lb.												
Copper	372 1 — 18		33,278	166½	2,662¼	998¼	3,722	40,827	45,537	2,277	2,433	—	7⅓
Lead	55 2 1 14		1,027	5¼	82	30¾	551	1,696	1,475	73¾	—	294¾	28⅝
Iron	264 8 1 20		4,371	21¾	349½	131¼	2,645	7,518½	6,812	340½	—	1,047	23 15-16
Steel	2 1 — 10		60	—½	4¾	1¾	21	88	93	4¾	— ¼		
Total Metals	—	£.	38,736	194	3,098½	1,162	6,939	50,129½	53,917	2,696	2,433¼	1,341¼	
Grand Total	—	£.	60,598	303	4,847	1,817¼	7,586¼	75,152	80,900	4,045	3,044¼	1,341¼	

Nett Profit on Metals, £. 1,091 ½, or 2 13-16 per Cent.

Total Nett Profit, £. 1,703, or 2 13-16 per Cent. on First Cost.

CALCULATE of the PROFIT or LOSS on SALES of EUROPE GOODS at *MADRAS*, 1784-5.

	Quantity sold.	First Cost.	Charges in Engla. at Half per Cent.	Interest of Money, 2 Years, 4 per Ct. per Ann.	Insurance, at 3 per Cent.	Freight, at 10l. per Ton in Time of Peace.	Total Amount.	Sale in India, at 8s. the Pagoda.	Charges of the Import Warehouse.	Profit.	Loss.	Gain or Loss per Cent.
WOOLLENS.	Bales. Pieces. Yds.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
Broad Cloth, Fine -	72 16	4,444	22	355½	133¼	90	5,044¾	5,964	298	621¼	—	13 15-16
	P.											
Do. Do. Aurora -	73 4	3,455	17½	276¼	103½	91	3,943¼	4,579	229	406¾	—	11¾
Do. Do. Ordinary	263 4½	9,956	48½	772¼	289¾	330	11,096½	12,179	609	473½	—	4⅞
Perpets, Fine - -	3 14¾	228	1	18	6¾	5	258¾	301	15	27¼	—	11⅞
Ordinary	23 5	1,025	5	82	30¾	39	1,181¾	1,202	60	—	39¾	3⅞
Total Woollens -	— £.	18,808	94	1,504	564	555	21,525	24,225	1,211	1,528¾	39¾	

Nett Profit on Woollens, £. 1,489, or 7 15-16 per Cent. on the First Cost.

METALS.	Tons. Ct. Qrs. lb.											
Copper - - -	365 6 2 4	33,825	169	2,706	1,014¾	3,653	41,367¾	41,279	2,064	—	2,152¾	6⅜
Lead - - -	63 1 3 3	1,104	5½	88¼	33	631	1,861¾	1,682	84	—	263¾	23⅞
Iron - - -	92 1 4 7½	1,758	8¾	140½	52¾	921	2,880¾	2,547	127	—	460¾	26 1-6
Steel - - -	9 8 1 2¾	279	1½	22¼	8½	94	405¼	397	20	—	28¼	10
Total Metals. -	— £.	36,966	184½	2,957	1,109	5,299	46,515½	45,905	2,295	—	2,905½	7⅞
Grand Total -	— £.	55,774	278½	4,461	1,673	5,854	68,040½	70,130	3,506	1,528¾	2,945¼	

Total Nett Loss, £. 1,416 ¼, or 9-16 per Cent. on First Cost.

CALCULATE of the PROFIT or LOSS on SALES of EUROPE GOODS at *MADRAS*, 1785-6.

Grand Total -	-	—	£.	55,774	278½	4,401	1,073	5,054	66,5[illegible]2	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Total Nett Loſs, £. 1,416 ½, or 9-16 per Cent. on Firſt Coſt.

CALCULATE of the PROFIT or LOSS on SALES of EUROPE GOODS at *MADRAS*, 1785-6.

	Quantity ſold.				Firſt Coſt.	Charges in Engla. at Half per Cent.	Intereſt of Money, 2 Yrs. at 4 per Ct. per Ann.	Inſurance, at 3 per Ct.	Freight, at 10l. per Ton in Time of Peace.	Total Amount.	Sale in India at 8s. the Pagoda.	Charges of the Import Warehouſe.	Profit.	Loſs.	Gain or Loſs per Cent.
WOOLLENS.	Bales.	Ps.	Yds.		£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	
Broad Cloth, Fine -	87	2	8		5,272	26¼	421¼	158	107¼	5,985½	6,379	318¾	74¾	—	1 4-5
Aurora - -	85	4	8		3,936	19½	314¾	118	106¾	4,494¼	4,957	247¼	214½	—	5 7-16
Ordinary -	299	5	12		10,997	55	879¾	330	373¾	12,635½	13,496	674¾	185¾	—	1 11-16
Perpets, Fine - -	4	5	17		255	1¼	20¼	7¾	6¼	291	318	15¾	11¾	—	4 ⅓
Ordinary -	16	5	3		659	3¼	52¼	19¾	26¼	761½	784	39	—	16½	2 7-16
Total Woollens -	—		£.		21,119	105¼	1,689¼	633½	621¼	24,168¼	25,934	1,296	486¼	16½	
Nett Profit on Woollens, £. 469½, or 2 3-16 per Cent. on Firſt Coſt.															
METALS.	Tons.	Ct.	Qrs.	lb.											
Copper - - -	684	15	—	26	63,550	317¾	5,084	1,906½	6,847½	77,705¾	77,023	3,851	—	4,533¼	7⅛
Lead - - -	5	14	2	16	100½	—½	8	3	57	169	153	7¾	—	23¾	23
Iron - - -	47	11	3	4	946	4¾	75¾	28¼	475½	1,530¼	1,251	62½	—	341¼	36
Steel - - -	5	10	2	18	165¼	—¼	13	4¾	55	238¾	238	11¾	—	12½	7½
Total Metals -	—		£.		64,761¼	323¾	5,180¾	1,942½	7,435	79,643¾	78,665	3,933	—	4,911¼	7 9-16
Grand Total -	—		£.		85,880¼	429	6,870	2,576	8,056¾	103,812	104,599	5,229	486¼	4,928¾	

Total Nett Loſs, £. 4,442, or 5¾ per Cent. on Firſt Coſt.

CALCULATE of the PROFIT or LOSS on SALES of EUROPE GOODS at *MADRAS*, 1786-7.

	Quantity sold.	First Cost.	Charges in Engla. at Half per Cent.	Interest of Money, 2 Yrs. at 4 per Ct. per Ann.	Insurance, at 3 per Cent.	Freight, at 10l. per Ton in Time of Peace.	Total Amount.	Sale in India at 8s. the Pagoda.	Charges of the Import Warehouse.	Profit.	Loss.	Gain or Loss per Cent.
WOOLLENS.	Bales.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	
Broad Cloth, Fine	62 1/4	3,639	18 1/4	291	109	78	4,135 1/4	3,735	186 3/4	—	587	16 1-7
Aurora	72 3/4	3,330	16 3/4	266 1/2	99 3/4	91	3,804	4,353	217 1/2	331 1/2	—	10
Ordinary	222 1/4	8,198	41	656	246	278	9,419	10,191	509 1/2	262 1/2	—	3 1-5
Perpetuanoes, Fine	3 1/4	203	1	16 1/4	6	5 1/2	232	283	14	37	—	18 1/4
Ordinary	17 3/4	722	3 1/2	57 3/4	21 3/4	21 1/4	826 1/2	907	45 1/4	35 1/2	—	5
Tabinets	1	127	—1/2	10	3 1/4	5	146 1/4	68	3 1/2	—	81 1/4	64 1/3
Total Woollens — £.		16,219	81	1,297 1/2	486 1/4	479	18,562 3/4	19,537	976 1/2	666 1/2	668 3/4	

Nett Loss, £. 2 1/4, or 1-80.

METALS.	Tons. Ct. Qrs. lb.											
Copper	185 3 3 5	16,564	82 3/4	1,325	497	1,852	20,320 1/4	20,126	1,006 1/4	—	1,201	7 1/4
Lead	29 3 1 26	504	2 1/4	40 1/4	15 1/8	291 1/4	853 7/8	777	39	—	115 7/8	22 1/4
Iron	55 15 2 10	1,010	5	80 1/4	30 3/8	557 1/4	1,683 7/8	1,419	71	—	335 7/8	33 1/4
Steel	24 5 2 25	718	3 1/4	57 1/2	21 1/2	242 7/8	1,043 3/8	927	46 1/4	—	162 3/8	22 3/8
Sheet Lead	1 — — —	24	—1/4	2	—1/4	10	37	39	2			
Total Metals — £.		18,820	94 1/4	1,505 1/2	564 1/4	2,954 3/8	23,938 7/8	23,288	1,164 1/2	—	1,815 3/8	9 3/8
Grand Total — £.		35,039	175 1/4	2,803	1,051	3,433 3/8	42,501 1/8	42,825	2,141	666 1/2	2,484 1/8	

Nett Loss, £. 1,817 1/8, or 5 18-100.

Grand Total -	— £.	35,039	175¼	2,803	1,051	3,433⅜	42,501⅛	42,825	2,141	666½	2,484½		

Nett Loſs, £. 1,817⅛, or 5 18-100.

	Quantity ſold.	First Coſt.	Charges in Engla. at Half per Cent.	Intereſt of Money, 2 Yrs. at 4 per Ct. per Ann.	Inſurance, at 3 per Ct.	Freight, at 10l. per Ton in Time of Peace.	Total Amount.	Sale in India at 8s. the Pagoda.	Charges of the Import Wareh.	Profit.	Loſs.	Gain or Loſs per Cent.
WOOLLENS.	Bales.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	
Broad Cloth, Fine -	53	3,693	18½	295½	110¾	66¼	4,184	4,922	246	492	—	13⅓
Aurora -	37⅔	1,721	8½	137⅔	51½	47½	1,966¼	2,345	117¼	261½	—	15 1-5
Ordinary -	301	11,192	56	895⅓	335¼	376¼	12,855½	13,769	688½	225½	—	2
Perpets, Fine - -	6 7	356	1¾	28½	10¾	10¼	407¼	531	26½	97¼	—	27⅔
Ordinary -	21 1-10	926	4⅔	74	27¾	35	1,067¾	1,140	57	15⅝	—	1⅓
Jeanets - - -	2 18	172	—¼	14	5	12	203¾	267	13⅓	50	—	29 1-5
Total Woollens -	— £.	18,060	90	1,445	541½	547¼	20,683¾	22,974	1,148½	1,141¾	—	6½
METALS.	Tons. Ct. Qrs. lb.											
Copper - - -	258 17 3 17	23,026	115¾	1,842⅜	690¾	2,589	28,263¾	29,733	1,486½	—	16⅜	1-14
Lead - - -	22 18 2 23	402	2	32	12	229⅜	677⅜	612	30½	—	95⅛	23⅜
Iron - - -	69 8 2 6	1,287	6⅜	103	38¾	694¼	2,129½	1,844	92¼	—	377¼	29⅓
Steel - - -	1 19 — 12	37	—¼	3	1	20	61¼	78	4	12¾	—	34½
Total Metals -	— £.	24,752	124	1,980¼	742½	3,532⅝	31,131⅛	32,267	1,613¼	12¾	490⅜	

Nett Loſs, £. 477⅛, or 1 93-100.

Grand Total -	— £.	42,812	214	3,425¼	1,284	4,079⅞	51,815⅛	55,241	2,761¼	1,154½	490⅜	

Nett Profit, £. 664½, or 1 55-100.

CALCULATE of the PROFIT or LOSS on SALES of EUROPE GOODS at *MADRAS*, 1788-9.

	Quantity sold.	First Cost.	Charges in Engla. at Half per Cent.	Interest of Money, 2 Yrs. at 4 per Ct. per Ann.	Insurance at 3 per Ct.	Freight, at 10l. per Ton in Time of Peace.	Total Amount.	Sale in India at 8s. the Pagoda.	Charges of the Import Warehouse.	Profit.	Loss.	Gain or Loss per Cent.
WOOLLENS.	Bales.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	
Broad Cloth, Fine -	51	3,532	17½	282¼	106	64	4,002	4,434	220	212	—	6
Do. Superfine Medley -	6	620	3	49½	18½	7	698	842	42	102	—	16½
Aurora -	33½	1,556	7¾	124½	46½	42¼	1,777	1,983	96	110	—	7⅛
Ordinary -	271½	10,230	51¼	818½	307	340	11,746¾	12,556	623	186¼	—	1 5-6
Casimires - - -	10	484	2½	38¾	14½	25⅛	565	741	37	139	—	28 7-16
Perpets, Ordinary -	15	650	3¼	52	19½	25	749¾	863	43	70¼	—	10¾
Jeanets - - -	2	134	—½	10¾	4	8¾	158	191	9	24	—	18
Total Woollens -	— £.	17,206	85¾	1,376½	516	512¼	19,696½	21,610	1,070	843½	—	5 9-10
METALS.	Tons. Ct. Qrs. lb.											
Lead - -	27 1 3 10	507	2½	40½	15¼	270	835¼	722	36	—	149¼	29 3-5
Sheet Lead - -	7 3 - —	264	1¼	21	8	70	364¼	357	17	—	24¼	9⅛
Copper—Plates -	270 1 3 13											
Do. — Manufactured	110 1 1 7	26,778	134	2,142¼	803¼	4,000	33,857½	44,945	2,237	8,850½	—	33 1-20
Do. — Japan -	20 - - —											
Iron - -	149 3 2 10	2,708	13½	216¼	81¼	1,490	4,509½	4,137	204	—	576½	21¼
Steel - -	7 3 1 14¼	612	3¼	49	18¼	70	752½	725	36	—	63½	10⅓
Total Metals -	— £.	30,869	154½	2,469½	926	5,900	40,319	50,886	2,530	8,850½	813½	

Nett Profit on Metals, £.8,037, or 26 per Cent.

Grand Total -	— £.	48,075	240¼	3,846	1,442	6,412¼	60,015½	72,496	3,600	9,694	813½	

Total Nett Profit, £.8,880¼, or 18½ per Cent. on the

Grand Total -	—	£.	48,075	240¼	3,846	1,442	6,412½	60,015½	72,496	3,600	9,694	813⅜		

Total Nett Profit, £. 8,880½, or 18¼ per Cent. on the

CALCULATE the PROFIT or LOSS on SALES of EUROPE GOODS at BOMBAY, 1784-5.

	Quantity sold.		First Cost.	Charges in Engla. at Half per Cent.	Interest of Money, 2 Yrs. at 4 per Ct. per Ann.	Insurance, at 3 per Ct.	Freight, at 10l. per Ton in Time of Peace.	Total Amount.	Sale in India at 2s. 3d. per Rupee.	Charges of the Import Wareh.	Profit.	Loss.	Gain or Loss per Cent.
WOOLLENS.	Bales.	Pieces.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	
Broad Cloth - -	106	2½	4,844¼	24¼	387½	145⅜	132⅞	5,534¾	4,892¾	97⅞	—	739⅛	15¼
Long Ells - -	101	10½	4,635½	23⅛	370⅞	139	169⅛	5,337⅛	3,898⅜	77⅞	—	1,517⅞	32¾
Camblets - -	—	6½	27⅜	—⅛	2¼	— ⅞	1½	32⅛	40½	—¾	⅞	—	25¾
Total Woollens -	—	£.	9,507⅛	47½	760⅛	285¼	303½	10,904½	8,831⅛	176½	7⅛	2,257	

Nett Loss, £. 2,249⅜, or 23½.

METALS.	Tons.	Ct.	Qrs.										
Lead - - -	48	5	1	857¾	4¼	68⅛	25¾	482⅛	1,439	851⅛	17	—	604⅞	70½
Iron - - -	116	—	1½	2,076½	10⅜	166⅛	62¼	1,160⅛	3,475⅜	1,977	39½	—	1,537⅞	74
Steel - - -	13	1	1	338	1⅝	27	10⅛	130⅛	507⅜	304⅛	6	—	208¾	62
Copper—Plates -	64	—	2	5,364½	26⅞	429⅛	160⅞	640¼	6,621⅛	9,135	182¾	2,330⅝	—	43½
Do. — Fine - -	81	6	3	8,160⅛	40⅞	652⅞	244¼	813⅜	9,912½	10,993⅛	219⅞	861⅛	—	10 9-16
Do. — Japan -	4	—	—	370	1⅞	29⅝	11⅛	40	452⅛	489	9¾	26⅛	—	7½
Total Metals -	—	£.		17,167⅜	85⅞	1,373⅜	514⅞	3,267	22,408½	23,750⅜	474⅞	3,218⅛	2,351½	

Nett Profit, £. 867⅜, or 5 1-19.

Grand Total -	—	£.	26,675	133⅜	2,134	800⅛	3,570½	33,313	32,582⅜	651⅜	3,226½	4,608½	

Total Nett Loss, £. 1,382, or 5⅛.

CALCULATE of the PROFIT or LOSS on SALES of EUROPE GOODS at *BOMBAY*, 1785-6.

	Quantity sold.	First Cost.	Charges in Engla. at Half per Cent.	Interest of Money, 2 Yrs. at 4 per Ct. per Ann.	Insurance, at 3 per Cent.	Freight, at 10l. per Ton in Time of Peace.	Total Amount.	Sale in India, at 2s. 3d. per Rupee.	Charges of the Import Wareh.	Profit.	Loss.	Gain or Loss per Cent.
WOOLLENS.	Bales. Pieces.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
Broad Cloth	1,379 1	54,819½	274	4,385½	1,644½	1,724	62,847½	52,902⅛	1,058	—	11,002⅞	20.07
Long Ells	114 1½	3,970½	29⅞	477⅛	179⅛	190	6,847⅛	7,003	140	15⅞	—	—.25
Total Woollens	— £.	60,790	303⅝	4,863⅛	1,823⅝	1,914	69,694⅛	59,905⅛	1,198	15⅞	11,002⅞	
								Nett Loss, £. 10,987, or 18.07 per Cent.				
METALS.	Tons. Ct. Qrs.											
Lead	34 — 2	1,771	8⅞	141⅛	53⅛	340¼	2,314⅞	893	17⅞	—	1,439¾	81.25
Iron	40 9 1	718¾	3⅝	57½	21½	404⅝	1,206	311½	6¼	—	901½	125.48
Steel	35 17 2½	1,048½	5¼	83⅞	31½	358¼	1,527⅞	1,490¼	29¾	—	67⅝	6.39
Copper—Plates	61 1 2	5,037⅝	25⅛	403	151⅛	610¼	6,227⅛	6,910⅞	138¼	545½	—	10.82
Do. — Fine	147 — —	14,407	72	1,152½	432⅜	1,470	17,533⅜	15,227⅜	304½	—	2,610½	18.12
Do. — Japan	25 2 2½	2,379⅛	11⅞	190¼	71⅜	251¼	2,903⅞	2,662¾	53¼	—	294⅜	12.36
Total Metals	— £.	25,361½	126¾	2,028¾	760¾	3,435⅛	31,713⅜	27,495⅛	549⅞	545½	5,313⅛	
								Nett Loss, £. 4,767⅛, or 18. 8 per Cent.				
Grand Total	— £.	86,151½	430⅛	6,891⅞	2,584⅜	5,349⅛	101,408	87,401¼	1,747⅞	561⅜	16,316	
								Total Nett Loss, £. 15,754⅛, or 18. 28 per Cent.				

CALCULATE of the PROFIT or LOSS on SALES of EUROPE GOODS at *BOMBAY*, 1786-7.

Grand Total	—	£.	86,151½	430⅛	6,891⅞	2,584⅜	5,349⅛	101,408	87,401¼	1,747⅞	561⅛	16,316		

Total Nett Loss, £. 15,754 s. or 18. 28 per Cent.

CALCULATE of the PROFIT or LOSS on SALES of EUROPE GOODS at *BOMBAY*, 1786-7.

	Quantity sold.			First Cost.	Charges in Engla. at Half per Cent.	Interest of Money, 2 Yrs. at 4 per Ct. per Ann.	Insurance, at 3 per Cent.	Freight, at 10l. per Ton in Time of Peace.	Total Amount.	Sale in India at 2s. 3d. per Rupee.	Charges of the Import Warehouse.	Profit.	Loss.	Gain or Loss per Cent.
WOOLLENS.	Bales.	Pieces.		£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	
Broad Cloth	452	2		20,975⅞	104⅞	1,678	629¼	565⅜	23,953⅜	27,564⅞	551¼	3,060¼	—	14.58
Long Ells	227	10½		9,301⅛	46½	744	279	379⅛	10,749¼	10,002⅛	200	—	947⅞	10.18
Camblets (damaged)	—	4⅛		7¼	—	— ⅛	— ¼	1	9⅝	11¼	— ¼	1⅜	—	14.28
Allepines (Ditto)	—	5		17	—	1⅛	— ⅛	1½	20¼	6⅛	— ⅛	—	14¼	86.76
Total Woollens	—		£.	30,301¼	151⅜	2,424	909⅜	947	34,733½	37,584⅞	751⅛	3,061⅛	961⅞	

Nett Profit, £. 2,099¼, or 6.92 per Cent.

METALS.	Tons.	Ct.	Qrs.											
Lead	83	—	1½	1,540½	7¾	123¼	46¼	830⅛	2,547⅞	2,171½	43⅜	—	419¾	27.20
Iron	98	13	—	1,622¼	8⅛	129¾	48⅝	986½	2,795¼	1,990	39¼	—	845	52
Steel	22	11	3½	695½	3½	55⅝	20⅞	225⅝	1,001⅛	978⅜	19½	—	42½	6
Copper—Plates	188	12	1	15,323¾	76⅝	1,225¾	459⅝	1,886⅛	18,971⅛	22,285¼	495¼	2,818⅜	—	18.39
Ditto — Fine	347	1	2	33,026⅜	165⅛	2,642⅛	990¼	3,470¼	40,295⅝	42,830⅛	858⅛	1,676⅛	—	5.07
Ditto — Japan	39	15	—	3,498⅛	17½	279⅞	105	397½	4,298	4,561¼	91¼	172	—	5
Total Metals	—		£.	55,706	278⅛	4,456⅛	1,671⅛	7,796⅞	69,909	74,816½	1,548¼	4,666½	1,307¼	

Nett Profit on Metals, £. 3,359¼, or 6.3 per Cent.

Grand Total	—	£.	86,007¼	430	6,880⅜	2,580½	8,743⅜	104,642½	112,401⅜	2,299⅞	7,728⅛	2,269⅛		

Total Nett Profit, £. 5,459, or 6.34 per Cent.

CALCULATE of the PROFIT or LOSS on SALES of EUROPE GOODS at *BOMBAY*, 1787-8.

	Quantity sold.	First Cost.	Charges in Engla. at Half per Cent.	Interest of Money, 2 Yrs. at 4 per Ct. per Ann.	Insurance, at 3 per Ct.	Freight, at 10l. per Ton in Time of Peace.	Total Amount.	Sale in India at 2s. 3d. per Rupee.	Charges of the Import Warehouse.	Profit.	Loss.	Gain or Loss per Cent.
WOOLLENS.	Bales. Pieces.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	
Broad Cloth - -	878 4½	39,787¼	199	3,183	1,193⅜	1,098⅞	45,461¼	44,414	888¼	—	1,936	5
Long Ells - -	278 17⅓	13,215½	66	1,057½	396½	468	15,203½	14,584⅞	291½	—	910⅛	7
Tabinets *(N. B. damaged)*	— 14	115⅝	¼	9¼	3½	3½	132⅝	35⅝	— ¾	—	97¼	85
Total Woollens -	— £.	53,118⅜	265¼	4,249½	1,593⅜	1,570⅜	60,797⅜	59,034¾	1,180¼	—	2,943⅜	5½
METALS.	Tons. Ct. Qrs.											
Lead - - -	75 11 —½	1,402	7	112⅛	42	755¾	2,318⅞	1,683¾	33¾	—	668⅞	47⅔
Iron - - -	78 15 —	1,381¼	7	110½	41½	787½	2,327¼	1,546	31	—	812¼	59
Steel - - -	62 — —½	2,282¾	11½	182⅝	68½	620¼	3,165⅜	2,306¼	46⅛	—	905	39⅔
Copper—Plates -	222 6 —	18,460¼	92¼	1,476⅞	553¾	2,223	22,806⅛	27,218¼	544⅜	3,867¾	—	21
Fine -	155 18 —	14,808¼	74	1,184⅜	444¼	1,559	18,070⅛	18,874½	377½	426⅞	—	2⅜
Japan -	14 17 —½	1,330½	6⅝	106½	39⅞	148¾	1,632¼	1,948⅛	39	276⅞	—	20¼
Total Metals -	— £.	39,665	198⅜	3,173¼	1,189⅞	6,094¼	50,320¾	53,577⅛	1,071¼	4,571½	2,386⅛	

Nett Profit, £. 2,184⅞ or 5½.

Grand Total -	— £.	92,783⅛	463⅛	7,422¾	2,783½	7,664⅝	111,118⅛	112,612⅜	2,152½	4,571½	5,330	

Nett Loss £. 758½, or 23-28.

Grand Total -	— £.	92,783⅜	40⅜	7,422¼	2,703½	7,048					Nett Loſs £. 758½, or 23-28.		

	Quantity ſold.	Firſt Coſt.	Charges in Engla. at Half per Cent.	Intereſt of Money, 2 Yrs. at 4 per Ct. per Ann.	Inſurance at 3 per Cent.	Freight, at 10l. per Ton in Time of Peace.	Total Amount.	Sale in India, at 2s. 3d. per Rupee.	Charges of the Import Warehouſe.	Profit.	Loſs.	Gain or Loſs per Cent.
WOOLLENS.	Bales.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	
Broad Cloth, Coarſe -	100	4,050	20¼	324	121½	125	4,640¾	4,141¾	82¾	—	581¾	14⅓
Fine - -	3⅔	140	—¾	11¼	4¼	5	161¼	154¾	3	—	10	7 1-7
Superfine -	10	696	3½	55¼	20⅞	12½	788⅛	769	15¼	—	34⅞	5
Long Ells - - -	90 3-5	3,870	19½	309½	116	151	4,466	4,278½	85½	—	273	7 1-20
Do. — Broad - -	2	110¾	—½	8⅞	3¼	2½	125⅞	122⅛	2½	—	6	5½
Thickſets - - -	— 1-5	17¼	—	1½	— ½	— ½	19¾	19	— ¼	—	1	4½
Fuſtians - - - -	— 3-5	13¾	—	1	— ½	—	14¾	14⅞	— ¼	—	— ¼	2
Caſimere Cloths - -	1 5-6	312	1½	25	9⅜	2¼	350⅛	344⅞	7	—	12¼	4
Wilton Carpeting -	1,498¾ Yds.	394⅛	2	31½	11⅞	55¼	495¼	436⅞	8¾	—	67⅛	17
Total Woollens -	— £.	9,603⅜	48	768¼	288⅛	354½	11,062⅜	10,281⅜	205¼	—	986¼	10¼
METALS.	Tons. Ct. Qrs. lb.											
Lead - - -	152 4 1 7	3,182	16	254½	95½	1,522	5,070	4,326¾	86½	—	829¾	26 1-13
Iron - - -	347 2 3 15	5,902	29½	472⅛	177	3,471½	10,052⅛	6,947½	139	—	3,243⅜	55
Steel - - -	4 10 — 23	134⅞	—¾	10¾	4	45	195⅜	157¼	3⅛	—	40¾	31
Copper—Plates - -	332 6 3 9	23,264	116¼	1,861¼	698	3,323⅜	29,263⅜	38,930⅜	778½	8,888¾	—	38 3-16
Do. — Fine - -	103 18 2 17	8,782	44	702½	263¼	1,039¼	10,831¼	11,897	238	827¾	—	9 4-9
Do. — Japan - -	34 14 3 17	2,728⅜	13½	218¼	81⅛	347½	3,389½	4,250¼	85	775¾	—	28½
Tin - - - -	3 10 — 9	291½	1½	23¼	8¼	35	360	322	6½	—	44½	15¼
Total Metals -	— £.	44,284¾	221½	3,542⅞	1,328⅛	9,783⅛	59,161⅜	66,831⅛	1,336⅛	10,492¼	4,158⅛	
						Nett Profit on Metals, £. 6,333⅛, or 143-10 per Cent.						
Grand Total -	— £.	53,888⅛	269½	4,311¼	1,616¼	10,138⅛	70,223¾	77,113	1,541⅞	10,492¼	5,144⅞	
						Nett Profit, £. 5,347⅜, or 10 per Cent. nearly.						

N. B. Diſcount deducted.

CALCULATE of the PROFIT or LOSS on SALES of EUROPE GOODS at *BOMBAY*, 1789-90.

	Quantity sold.	First Cost.	Charges in Engla. at Half per Cent.	Interest of Money, 2 Yrs. at 4 per Ct. per Ann.	Insurance, at 3 per Ct.	Freight, at 10l. per Ton in Time of Peace.	Total Amount.	Sale in India at 2s. 3d. per Rupee.	Charges of the Import Warehouse.	Profit.	Loss.	Gain or Loss per Cent.
WOOLLENS.	Bales.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	
Broad Cloth, Superfine	18¾	1,337	6¾	107	40	20	1,510¾	1,471	29½	—	69¼	5¼
Fine	25	1,102	5½	88	33	27½	1,256	1,218	24¼	—	62¼	5¼
Coarse	203½	8,852	44¼	708	265½	247½	10,117½	9,787	195¾	—	526	6
Long Ells	114½	5,338	26¾	427¼	160	175	6,126¾	5,865	117¼	21	—	— 7-16
Cassimires	11	129	—½	10¼	3¾	1¾	145¼	108	2	—	39¼	31¼
Shalloons	3¾	117	—½	9¼	3½	5	135¼	129	2½	—	8¾	8
Camblets (damaged)	—¾	52	—¼	4	1½	5	62¾	16	— ¼	—	47	90
Thicksets, Do.	—½	45	—¼	3½	1¾	4	54	20	— ½	—	34½	77
Fustians, Do.	18 Yds.	1¼	—	—	—	—	1¼	1½	—	— ½	—	40
Wilton Carpeting	924½ Yds.	257	1¼	20½	7½	38½	324¾	284	5¾	—	46½	18
Total Woollens	— £.	17,230¼	85¾	1,377¾	516	524¼	19,734	18,899½	377¼	21½	833½	
					Nett Loss on Woollens, £. 812¼, or 4 7-10 per Cent. on First Cost.							
METALS.	Tons. Ct. Qrs. lb.											
Lead	127 19 3 8	2,891	14½	231¼	87½	1,280	4,503¾	3,605	72	—	970¾	33¾
Iron	145 13 2 15	2,477	12¼	198¼	74½	1,455	4,217¾	2,738	54¾	—	1,534¼	61¼
Steel	206 7 2 25	6,090	30½	487¼	183	2,065	8,855¼	7,303	146	—	1,698¾	27 11-12
Copper—Fine	100 4 1 17	8,642	43¼	691¾	259½	1,002½	10,638¾	10,545	211	—	304¾	3¾
Do. — Plate	156 15 3 21	11,685	58½	934¾	350¾	1,570	14,598¾	17,150	343	2,208¼	—	18¾
Do. — Japan	29 16 — 20	2,594	13	207½	77½	300	3,192	3,524	70½	261½	—	10
Total Metals	— £.	34,379	172¼	2,750¾	1,032	7,672½	46,006½	44,865	897¼	2,469¾	4,508½	
					Nett Loss on Metals, £. 2,038¾, or 5 9-10 per Cent.							
Grand Total	— £.	51,609¼	258	4,128¼	1,548	8,196¾	65,740½	63,764¼	1,275	2,491¼	5,342	
					Nett Loss on the Whole, £. 2,850¾, or 5½ per Cent. on First Cost.							

APPENDIX, No. 2.

Tonnage allowed Commanders and Officers.

	Tons.	Feet.	
Commander — —	56	20	
Chief Mate — —	5	—	N. B. This Allowance will probably be increaſed.
Second Mate — —	4	—	
Third Mate — —	3	—	
Fourth Mate — —	2	—	
Fifth Mate — —	1	—	
Purſer — —	3	—	
Surgeon — —	3	—	
Surgeon's Mate — —	2	—	
Boatſwain — —	1	—	
Gunner — —	1	—	
Carpenter — —	1	—	
Carpenter's Mate —	—	10	
	Feet.		
Four Midſhipmen, each -	10	1	—
Four Quarter Maſters, each -	10	1	—
Captain and Ship's Steward, each	10	—	20
Captain and Ship's Cook, each	10	—	20
Caulker — —	—	—	10
Cooper — —	—	—	10
Armourer — —	—	—	10
Sail Maker — —	—	—	10
Midſhipman and Coxſwain —	—	—	10
		87	—

JOHN HAFFEY.

APPENDIX, No. 3.

Victualling-Bill and Stores of the Ship Captain
Commander, Burthen Tons,
Men, Guns, bound for

Viz.

ALE, Beer, Wine, or other Liquors, in Caſks or Bottles, for the Uſe of the Commander's Table, allowing 252 Gallons, or 36 Dozen Quart Bottles to the Ton *Eleven Tons*

Beef, Pork, Bacon, Suet, and Tongues - - *Twenty-five Tons*

Beer,

Beer, Strong and Small, in Caſks (not Bottles)	*Twenty-eight Tons*
Bread	*Thirty Thouſand Weight*
Butter	*Thirty Firkins*
Brandy and Engliſh Spirits	*Two Hundred and Fifty Gallons*
Billet Wood	*Twenty-five Thouſand*
Brimſtone	*Two Hundred Weight*
Coals	*Fifteen Chaldron*
Candles	*Fifty Dozen*
Cheeſe	*Fifty Hundred Weight*
Chirurgery and Drugs	*Fifty Pounds Value*
Canvaſs	*Twenty Bolts*
Confectionary	*Three Caſes*
Flour	*Seventy Hundred Weight*
Fiſh *per* Tale	*Seven Thouſand*
Grocery	*Thirty Hundred Weight*
Gunpowder	*Fifty Barrels*
Iron Shot	*Four Tons*
Iron for Store	*Four Tons*
Lime Juice	*One Hundred Gallons*
Lead Shot of Sorts	*Five Hundred Weight*
Muſtard Seed	*Ten Buſhels*
Oatmeal	*Fifty Buſhels*
Oil, Sweet and Lamp	*Three Hundred Gallons*
Oats, Barley, and Bran	*Three Hundred Buſhels*
Oranges and Lemons	*Six Cheſts*
Oilmen's Stores	*Five Caſes*
Peaſe	*One Hundred and Eighty Buſhels*
Pitch	*Twenty Barrels*
Red and White Herring and Salmon	*Five Barrels*
Roſin	*Six Hundred Weight*
Spare Cordage	*Five Tons*
Sheet Lead for Store	*Two Tons and a Half*
Salt, White and Bay	*Forty Buſhels*
Slops	*Two Cheſts*
Tobacco	*Twenty Hundred Weight*
Tobacco Pipes	*One Hundred Groce*
Tar	*Twenty Barrels*
Turpentine	*Three Barrels*
Vinegar	*Six Hogſheads*
Water, what ſhall be thought fit, but not leſs than	*Forty Tons*
Alſo one Caſe or Caſk of Brandy or Strong Waters for each Seaman, not exceeding	*Six Gallons*

Boatſwain's,

Boatſwain's, Gunner's, and Carpenter's Stores, as uſual, that are not particularly before mentioned, ſeeing them to be ſuch.

East India Houſe,
the 178 By the Committee of Shipping of the Court of Directors.

APPENDIX, No. 4.

At a COURT of DIRECTORS, held on Wedneſday the 19th Auguſt, 1789.

Extract of the Report from the Special Committee, appointed to conſider the Regulations propoſed by DAVID SCOTT, *Eſq. for improving the Company's Commerce.*

13. YOUR Committee, however, ſee no reaſon to alter thoſe regulations under which the commander and officers are permitted to participate in the commerce of the Company at preſent; but they are of opinion that all ſurplus tonnage whatſoever, and to all parts of India, after ſufficient room is reſerved for kintledge, all weighable and meaſureable goods, merchandize, king's ſtores, paſſengers, and uſual privilege for the Company's officers, ſhould be offered to the commanders of the reſpective ſhips upon the following conditions, and with permiſſion to load any ſorts of goods whatſoever on ſuch ſurplus tonnage, woollens, copper, and military and warlike ſtores excepted; your Committee truſting that ſufficient and ample room will always be reſerved for the recruits, as the moſt eſſential object for the preſervation of the Britiſh empire in India.

14. The conditions which your Committee propoſe to annex to ſuch privilege are, that the commanders pay the proceeds in ſpecie, bonds, or any other of the Company's ſecurities, into the treaſury where they import in India for long bills, as at preſent granted to the ſubſcribers of the bonded debt.

At a COURT of DIRECTORS, held on Wedneſday the 2d December, 1789.

ON A MOTION,

Reſolved, by the ballot, That the Court of Directors, in order to give every encouragement to the Britiſh manufactures, have come to ſeveral reſolutions, of which the following are particularized for the uſe of the public:

To increaſe the Company's exports to India, to the utmoſt extent in their power, for which purpoſe they have directed an augmentation to the inveſtment for the preſent ſeaſon, of above two thouſand five hundred tons:

To allow the commanders and officers of their ſhips to fill up, freight-free, all ſuch outward tonnage as may be unoccupied by the Company:

To allow the Company's ſervants, and merchants reſiding under the Company's protection in India, to fill up ſuch homeward tonnage, as may be unoccupied by the Company, at a reaſonable freight.

Ordered, That the foregoing Reſolutions be publiſhed in the London Gazette and Morning Papers.

EAST INDIA HOUSE.

December 2d, 1789.

The Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies, do hereby give notice,

That in order to give every encouragement to the Britiſh manufactures, they have come to ſeveral Reſolutions, of which the following are particularized for the uſe of the public:

To increaſe the Company's exports to India to the utmoſt extent in their power; for which purpoſe they have directed an augmentation to the inveſtment for the preſent ſeaſon, of above two thouſand five hundred tons:

To allow the commanders and officers of their ſhips to fill, freight-free, all ſuch outward tonnage as may be unoccupied by the Company:

To allow the Company's ſervants, and merchants reſiding under the Company's protection in India, to fill up ſuch homeward tonnage, as may be unoccupied by the Company, at a reaſonable freight.

By order of the ſaid Company.

THOMAS MORTON, Secretary.

Account of Extra Tonnage carried out in Private Trade by the Commanders and Officers of the following Ships, in conſequence of the Advertiſement in the Public Papers of the 2d December, 1789.

			Tons.	Feet.
Francis	Captain R. Burrows		16	—
Earl Abergavenny	J. Wordſworth		22	20
Lord Thurlow	Wm Thomſon		50	—
Earl Fitzwilliam	Ja^s^ Dundas		24	10

Prince

			Tons.	Feet.
Prince Willm Henry	R. Dundas		25	—
Queen	Peter Douglas		32	—
Ditto	C. Chriſtie, Chief Mate		3	—
Princeſs Amelia	Captain George Millet		24	—
Ditto	George Elliott, Surgeon		1	—
Henry Dundas	Thos Dundas, Chief Mate		2	20
William Pitt	Captain Charles Mitchell		22	—
Warren Haſtings	J. P. Larkins		20	—
Lord Walſingham	James Young		1	10
Ditto	Thos Kerr, Surgeon		1	20
	Tons		245	—

1790.		Tons.
Albion	Captain Wm Parker	10

APPENDIX, No. 5.

Manifeſt Outwards of the LORD NORTH, *ſince called the* DAPHNE.

		C.	Q.	lb.
72	Coils Cordage	594.	3.	8.
22	Caſes Glaſs			
2	Puncheons Rum			
10	Bales Canvas			
133	Maſts			
4	Bales Sail Cloth			
2	Whiſkyes and Harneſs			
1	Cable			
60	Hhds Beer			
18	Looſe Blocks			
46	Bdles. Blocks			
20	Iron Cannon			
20	Carriages			
1½	Ton Shot, large			
4	Large Cannon			
89	Caſks Shot			
3	Hampers Ship Chandlery			
2	Per Quarter Badges			
9	Packages, Sundries			
12	Bales of Sail Cloth			
63	Swivel Guns			
3	Caſes, Copper			
1	Box Plate			
10	Barrels Gunpowder			

Particulars of Goods in the ST. JOSEPH, *from Oſtend.*

40 Tons, Iron
1 Chariot complete
187 Grapnails, 123 Anchors (26 Bags and Caſks Corks)

WROUGHT IRON.

60 Tons, Iron
6 Trunks, 2 Parcels
11,979 Plates Copper
1 Coach and Harneſs, 1 Ditto – Ditto
1 Chariot, 2 Chaiſes and Harneſs, 2 Coaches and Ditto
1 Body, 3 Chariots and Harneſs
$\frac{15}{29}$ Packages
$\frac{1}{4}$ Four Caſks Rum
34 Bales, $\frac{11}{20}$ Bales } Scarlet Cloth
100 Caſks Beef, 66 Ditto Pork, 12 Ditto Suet
27 Buſhels Wheat, ground, 350 Bags Bread

APPENDIX, No. 6.

Extract of Letter from Mr. Malet to the Governor General; dated Poonah, 8th Auguſt, 1788.

I SHALL endeavour, by a ſlight ſketch of the genius of this Government, as far as it relates to the ſubject, to meet the ultimate object of your Lordſhip in Council, of enabling you to form a judgment how far the ſtate of our commercial intercourſe with it is capable of improvement to the advantage of both.

The Peſhwa adminiſtration is, in every act, more or leſs influenced by that avarice which ſo invariably and ſo ſtrongly marks the Bramin character, while mean in its genius, and graſping in its policy, it frequently miſtakes the mode of gratifying its ruling paſſion. Averſe from, and probably ignorant of, the ſyſtematic and equitable principles on which alone commerce can be rendered flouriſhing, by encouraging the induſtry in the ſecurity and happineſs of the ſubject, its chief attention ſeems directed to conqueſt and depredation, giving employment at once to the deſultory military ſpirit of the Marattas, and ſupplying the ſtate, and the chief individual Bramins, with wealth and power.

Commerce,

Commerce, but more eſpecially foreign, leſs underſtood, would be more ſlow and precarious in its operations. The arrangements neceſſary for its effectual protection, are incompatible with that ſpirit of expedient venality by which every thing is influenced at Poonah. They would in ſome meaſure intrench upon the arrogant principles of ariſtocracy, by a general diffuſion of wealth, and interfere with the ſyſtem of forms, which is univerſally adopted, from the ſmalleſt branch of the cuſtoms to the diſpoſal of provinces; whence the ſubject, inſtead of experiencing the uniform and vigorous protection of a wiſe government, is cruelly ſacrificed to the rapacity and oppreſſion of the higheſt bidder.

The ſtate of the numerous ports of the Maratta empire on the Coaſt of Malabar and Guzerat, but more eſpecially the former, evinces a ſpirit hoſtile to commerce; and I have not a doubt, were its fleet equal to the end, but that it would be inſtantly converted to the ſame predatory purpoſe at ſea, as its armies are by land, as it now is againſt all thoſe whom it can maſter: This, perhaps, is fortunate for us, as preſenting a bar to the admiſſion and rivalſhip of our European neighbours; though certainly the cuſtoms for a ſingle year, in a well-frequented port, not to mention the numberleſs advantages of population, &c. would greatly exceed the profits of plunder, after deducting the expence, which muſt be great, in keeping up a number of piratical veſſels.

The rich and commercial kingdom of Guzerat (every town of which is or was inhabited by rich Banians a tribe as attached to commerce as any other tribe of Hindoos to its hereditary purſuits) flouriſhed infinitely more by its traffic during the violent convulſions of the Mogul Government, previous to the eſtabliſhment of the Maratta power, than it ever has ſince that event, though time and tranquillity have given ample leiſure for doing away the effect of conqueſt, and the transfer of dominion.

The Moguls, magnificent and oſtentatious, required every article of luxury: Towns and cities grew out of this ſpirit.—The Bramins and Marattas, leſs refined, and more parſimonious, are averſe from, and ignorant of, thoſe coſtly modes of expence; hence thoſe towns and cities, deprived of the cauſe of their exiſtence, are mouldering faſt into ruin, and their wealthier inhabitants have ſunk under, or fled from, the rapacity of their new maſters.

In this cauſe might probably be traced the ſeeds of the preſent drooping commercial ſtate of all thoſe provinces of Hindoſtan that have been ſubjected to the Maratta power, under which the provincial monied men, not to mention the ſubſtantial landholders, have been ſubjected to oppreſſions and exactions. Perſonal property has become inſecure; induſtry has failed; an ariſtocratical

ariſtocratical wealth, ariſing from the ſoil, and the labours of the peaſantry, has ſucceeded, which is confined to the conquerors; and Poonah has become an inſatiable ſink, into which vaſt treaſures have been poured, ſcarce ever again to circulate.

This was not the caſe under the Moguls. The riches carried annually to Delhi did not ſtagnate there. The internal commerce of the empire, and the ſpirit of the people, gave full employment to the foreign influx of wealth, the productions of each province, and the performance of every art, were in high demand; and the pay of the vaſt armies of the empire kept pace in magnificence with every other article of expence. Hence aroſe numberleſs channels through which the wealth of the empire was again circulated to its extreme branches.

The mere accumulation of riches by the inhabitants of an empire is vicious and ſordid, but much more ſo when it becomes the ſole object of the rulers.—A wiſe legiſlature ſtudies to make them the ſtimulatives of genius, of ſcience, of agriculture, and of commerce; to convert them to the conſumption of the produce of induſtry, and ſo to arrange them, as that the coffers of the ſtate may be repleniſhed from the redundance of the ſubject; —but, my Lord, this ſyſtem is not known at Poonah.

The fixed and grand ſource of this State's revenue is agriculture, the beſt, perhaps, on which a nation can depend. That it has ſuch a revenue, is the neceſſary conſequence of poſſeſſing an immenſe tract of productive domain. That it is not more productive, but, on the contrary, that it labours under every diſadvantage, proceeds from a faulty conſtitution. The ſecond is its tribute, fixed by various denominations on the greateſt part of Hindoſtan. The third, the predatory collections of its armies. The fourth, its domeſtic ſequeſtrations; and the laſt, its collections on the commerce of the empire, which I am inclined to think are comparatively trifling and inſignificant.

Poonah is ſtill a large village, to which people of all denominations and all profeſſions are now beginning to reſort from the other ruined parts of Hindoſtan, particularly from the decayed Mogul cities.—Its reputation for ſecurity, ſince the two abortive expeditions from Bombay, has greatly tended to promote its increaſe and population, as the wealthier Bramins have in conſequence begun to employ ſome part of their hidden riches in building; which ſingle circumſtance neceſſarily gives employment to a great number and a great variety of artificers, as the wants attendant on large buildings are endleſs.

The circumſtances which are above enumerated, of the great wealth of the Bramins, and the great increaſe of Poonah in buildings and inhabitants, muſt, I ſhould imagine, cauſe a greater demand for the articles which can be furniſhed only from Bombay

bay than heretofore; but from what I can obſerve of the preſent genius of this Government, I confeſs that I am inclined much to doubt the practicability of improving or extending our commerce by any extraordinary means adopted for that purpoſe; and as I believe that the common courſe of cauſes ariſing from the ſtate of ſociety, has already operated its utmoſt effects, and will continue ſo to do, ſo do I think that endeavours to improve or extend them, would rather tend to awaken jealouſy and ſuſpicion of our intentions, than to anſwer the liberal end propoſed by your Lordſhip in Council.

An

APPENDIX, No. 7.

An ACCOUNT of the Remains of EUROPE GOODS at *MADRAS*, from 1782-3 to 1783-4.

	1782-3.		1783-4.	
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
WOOLLENS.	Bales. Pieces. Yds.	£.	Bales. Pieces. Yds.	£.
Broad Cloth, Fine	124 3 2	8,069	147 5 11	9,297
Double Colour	2 4 11	339	— 4 14	98
Aurora	84 4 12	4,518	160 — 5	8,301
Ordinary	210 5 15	8,775	289 1 15	11,845
Superfine Medley Cloth	—	—	—	—
Perpetuanoes, Fine	—	—	7 3 2	482
Ordinary	7 7 18	318	19 12 5	867
White Serges	— 36 20	187	— — 45	4
Camblets	— 3 17	28	— 3 1	26
Shalloons	— — 3	1	— — 1	1
Jeanets	—	—	—	—
Velvets	— — 64	75	— — 28	33
Caſimirs	—	—	—	—
Calamancoes	— — 134	8	— — 109	6
Brocades	— — 18	56		
Total Woollens	— £.	22,374	— £.	30,960
METALS.	Tons Ct. Qrs. lb.		Tons. Ct. Qrs. lb.	
Copper	100 18 — 12	9,771	694 11 — 15	71,526
Lead	95 15 1 27	1,709	197 12 3 23	3,760
Sheet Lead	—	—	1 13 1 25	43
Iron	190 2 3 1	3,274	105 14 — 6	2,332
Steel	29 6 2 3	958	27 5 2 25	891
Total Metals.	— £.	15,712	— £.	78,552
Grand Total	— £.	38,086	— £.	109,512

APPENDIX, No. 7, *continued.*

An ACCOUNT of the Remains of EUROPE GOODS at *MADRAS*, from 1784-5 to 1786-7.

1784-5.		1785-6.		1786-7.	
Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
Bales. Pieces. Yds.	£.	Bales. Pieces. Yds.	£.	Bales. Pieces. Yds.	£.
138 2 7	8,480	99 — 9	5,949	44 5 1	2,603
— 4 5	88	— — 7	8	— — 5	6
186 2 2	9,666	237 3 5	12,070	281 5 15	14,295
358 3 4	14,517	457 1 12	18,542	554 3 5	22,606
—	—	—	—	—	—
5 8 8	366	3 2 15	204	1 12 5	102
19 7 4	860	11 2 1	497	1 5 3	56
— — 17	1				
— 3 1	26	— 1 31	13	— 1 20	11
— — 1	— 2-5				
—	—	—	—	—	—
— — 28	33	— — 28	33	— — 28	33
—	—	—	—	—	—
— — 109	6	— — 108	6	— — 108	6
— £.	34,043 2-5	— £.	37,322	— £.	39,718
Tons. Ct. Qrs. lb.		Tons. Ct. Qrs. lb.		Tons. Ct. Qrs. lb.	£.
507 13 — 14	52,410	43 15 1 1	4,492	52 — 1 23	5,366
184 10 — 6	3,574	178 15 1 18	3,464	238 15 3 16	4,567
2 4 — 18	57	—	—	—	—
72 14 1 2	1,615	25 2 2 —	570	12 8 1 —	381
17 17 1 22	583	12 6 2 3	402	5 19 3 9½	195
— £.	58,239	— £.	8,928	— £.	10,509
— £.	92,282 2-5	— £.	46,250	— £.	50,227

APPENDIX, No. 7, *continued.*

An ACCOUNT of the Remains of EUROPE GOODS at *MADRAS*, from 1787-8 to 1788-9.

	1787-8.		1788-9.	
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
WOOLLENS.	Bales. Pieces. Yds.	£.	Bales. Pieces. Yds.	£.
Broad Cloth, Fine -	60 1 10	3,938	119 2 8	8,243
Double Colour -	— — 5	6	— — 5	6
Aurora - -	324 1 7	16,360	126 2 3	6,380
Ordinary -	571 4 15	23,510	437 4 1	18,089
Superfine Medley Cloth	—	—	27 4 13	2,814
Perpetuanoes, Fine -	— 5 5	16	— 5 1	15
Ordinary -	— 2 20	6	25 — 22	1,193
White Serges - -				
Camblets - -	— 1 2	8		
Shalloons - -				
Jeanets - - -	— — 7,639	1,042	— — 6,543	893
Velvets - - -	— — 28	33		
Cassimirs - -	—	—	— — 4,000	1,780
Calamancoes - -	— — 108	6		
Brocades - -				
Total Woollens -	—	£. 44,925	—	£. 39,413
METALS.	Tons. Ct. Qrs. lb.		Tons. Ct. Qrs. lb.	
Copper - -	— 8 1 19	45	— 8 1 19	45
Lead - -	265 17 2 19	5,153	283 17 — 23	5,634
Sheet Lead - -	— 16 3 26	22		
Iron - - -	62 6 1 14	1,640	87 17 2 5	2,032
Steel - - -	24 — 2 15	930	16 17 1 1	652
Total Metals -	—	£. 7,790	—	£. 8,363
Grand Total -	—	£. 52,715	—	£. 47,776

APPENDIX, No. 7, *continued.*

An ACCOUNT of the Remains of EUROPE GOODS at *BOMBAY*, from 1783-4 to 1784-5.

	1783-4.		1784-5.	
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
WOOLLENS.	Bales. Cloths.	£.	Bales. Cloths.	£.
Broad Cloth	225 1	9,453	778 1	35,157
Do. - cut and looſe	4 —½	210	2 1	134
Wilton Carpeting	—	—	—	—
Long Ells	53 14 Ps.	2,438	112 2 Ps.	6,211
Broad Do.	—	—	—	—
Camblets	12 3 Yds.	104	11 Ps.	73
Allepines	— 113¼	20	113¼ Ys.	20
Thickſets	—	—	—	—
Fuſtians	—	—	—	—
Caſimirs	—	—	—	—
Shalloons	—	—	—	—
Total Woollens	— £.	12,225	— £.	12,958
METALS.	Tons. Ct. Qrs. lb.	£.	Tons. Ct. Qrs. lb.	£.
Lead	31 1 - 8	593	32 19 — 16	684
Iron	126 12 2 22	2,519	61 2 2 11	1,182
Steel	3 5 1 27	98	20 7 — 24	596
Copper, Fine	36 2 2 26¼	3,785	94 4 1 5¼	10,287
Plates	1 17 - 18¾	162	2 1 — 26	189
Japan	— 5 - 20	22	— 4 — 21	20
Tin	—	—	—	—
Total Metals	— £.	7,179	— £.	41,595
Grand Total	— £.	19,404	— £.	54,553

APPENDIX, No. 7, *continued.*

An ACCOUNT of the Remains of EUROPE GOODS at *BOMBAY*, from 1785-6 to 1786-7.

	1785-6.		1786-7.	
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
WOOLLENS.	Bales. Cloths.	£.	Bales. Cloths.	£.
Broad Cloth	65 2	5,925	230 2	10,954
Do. - cut and loose	1 2	106	— 1½	39
Wilton Carpeting	—	—	—	—
Long Ells	113 1	5,679	74 6	4,861
Broad Do.	—	—	—	—
Camblets	11 Ps.	71	7 Ps 5 Yds.	56
Allepines	113¼ Ys.	20		
Thickfets	—	—	—	—
Fuftians	—	—	—	—
Cafimirs	—	—	—	—
Shalloons	—	—	—	—
Total Woollens	— £.	11,801	— £.	15,910
METALS.	Tons. Ct. Qrs. lb.		Tons. Ct. Qrs. lbs.	
Lead	48 17 2 18	1,056	25 13 2 —	522
Iron	78 17 3 24	1,482	29 5 2 25	550
Steel	— 2 1 1	4	7 9 2 7	290
Copper, Fine	241 — 2 14½	25,949	58 12 3 16½	6,042
Plates	89 18 - 27½	8,119	— 4 - 12	18
Japan	39 15 1 7½	3,868	— — 1 7½	1
Tin	—	—	—	—
Total Metals	— £.	40,478	— £.	7,423
Grand Total	— £.	52,279	— £.	23,333

APPENDIX, No. 7, *continued.*

An ACCOUNT of the Remains of EUROPE GOODS at *BOMBAY*, from 1787-8 to 1789-90.

1787-8.		1788-9.		1789-90.	
Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
	£.		£.		£.
Bales. Cloths.		Bales. Cloths.		Bales. Cloths.	
548 2	25,841	942 —½	44,832	1,217 —	55,655
2 —¼	148	5 —¾	374		
—	—	2,487 Yds.—4-8	755	1,563 Yds.	471
107 3	5,009	166 11 Yds.	8,019	250 Pieces.	12,372
366 7	11,246	303 7	10,099	27 —	5,847
7 5	56	7 5	56		
		Bale.			
—	—	1 447 Yds.	164	1 156 Yds.	116
—	—	121½	9	— 103½	8
—	—	1 23 Yds.	203	1 23	60
—	—	—	—	1 163	224
— £.	42,300	— £.	64,511	— £.	74,754
	£.				
Tons. Ct. Qrs. lb.		Tons. Ct. Qrs. lb.		Tons. Ct. Qrs. lb.	
—	—	68 8 3 26	1,581	— 9 1 20	13
47 12 3 6	894	—	—	3 19 3 17	75
—	—	147 7 - 16	4,877	1 6 2 17	43
12 11 2 7½	1,326	32 14 3 17	3,003		
—	—	2 15 2 16½	215	— 6 — 27¼	25
— 2 1 2	10	— 1 - 26	5		
—	—	21 14 1 6	2,057		
— £.	2,230	— £.	11,698	— £.	156
— £.	44,530	— £.	76,209	— £.	74,910

APPENDIX, No. 7, *continued.*

An ACCOUNT of the Remains of EUROPE GOODS at *BENGAL*, from 1783-4 to 1784-5.

	1783-4.		1784-5.	
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
WOOLLENS.	Bales. Pieces.	£.	Bales. Pieces.	£.
Broad Cloth, Superfine	—	—	—	—
Medleys, Do.	—	—	—	—
Fine	227 4	12,043	159 5	8,355
Aurora	672 5	34,913	284 —	14,709
Ordinary	1,289 5	52,296	1,016 4	41,202
Broad Perpets, Ordinary	55 2	2,324	63 4	2,748
Fine	16 2	910	5 8	336
Imitation of Cafimirs	—	—	—	—
Perpets, Fine	35 9	2,248	7 4	467
Ordinary	71 18	3,055	58 12	2,556
Tabbinets	—	—	—	—
Flannels	10 —	872	1 19	170
Serges, White	3 —	321	3 —	321
Velvets	—	—	—	—
Cafimirs	—	—	—	—
Total Woollens	—	£. 108,982	—	£. 70,864
METALS.	Tons. Ct. Qrs. lb.		Tons. Ct. Qrs. lb.	
Copper	981 1 — —	99,791	843 6 — —	86,425
Lead	76 — — —	1,442	34 12 — —	691
Iron	161 2 — —	3,096	153 — — —	2,948
Steel	—	—	3 3 — —	92
Tin	— 2 2 —	14	— 2 2 —	14
Total Metals	—	£. 104,343	—	£. 90,170
Grand Total	—	£. 213,325	—	£. 161,034

APPENDIX, No. 7, *continued.*

An ACCOUNT of the Remains of EUROPE GOODS at *BENGAL*, from 1785-6 to 1787-8.

1785-6.			1786-7.			1787-8.		
Quantity.		Value.	Quantity.		Value.	Quantity.		Value.
Bales.	Pieces.	£.	Bales.	Pieces.	£.	Bales.	Pieces.	£.
—		—	—		—	—		—
—		—	—		—	—		—
186	4	9,819	146	3	7,373	86	4	4,525
156	5	7,961	6	2	320	2	5	131
638	4	25,873	695	2	28,210	524	1	17,254
65	2	2,906	59	8	2,750	56	5	2,339
9	6	564	—	8	48	8	8	521
—		—	—		—	—		—
16	18	1,054	3	15	233	—	4	12
51	11	2,102	23	8	1,035	51	6	2,309
—		—	—		—	—		—
7	9	706	—	9	42	—	9	34
3	—	321						
—		—	—		—	—		—
—		—	—		—	—		—
—	£.	51,306	—	£.	40,011	—	£.	27,125
Tons.	Ct.	Qrs.	lb.		Tons.	Ct.	Qrs.	lb.		Tons.	Ct.	Qrs.	lb.	
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
269	3	—	—	27,410	296	2	—	—	29,699	405	4	—	—	39,175
—				—	1	8	—	—	28	6	5	—	—	159
78	1	—	—	1,500	76	4	—	—	1,450	13	5	—	—	249
10	12	—	—	306	2	19	—	—	118		—			—
—	1	1	9	7	—	1	1	9	7					
—	£.			29,223	—	£.			31,302	—	£.			39,583
—	£.			80,529	—	£.			71,313	—	£.			66,708

APPENDIX, No. 7, *continued.*

An ACCOUNT of the Remains of EUROPE GOODS at *BENGAL*, from 1788-9 to 1789-90.

	1788-9.			1789-90.		
	Quantity.		Value.	Quantity.		Value.
WOOLLENS.	Bales.	Pieces.	£.	Bales.	Pieces.	£.
Broad Cloth, Superfine	—		—	55	3	4,479
Medleys, Do.	16	2	2,888	15	5	2,800
Fine	66	3	4,691	30	4½	1,277
Aurora	17	3	877	360	—	19,031
Ordinary	638	2	22,592	262	4½	11,205
Broad Perpets, Ordinary	55	7	2,544	76	9	3,594
Fine	7	6	454	17	6	1,094
Imitation of Cassimirs	1	—	68			
Perpets, Fine	—	4	12	14	15	944
Ordinary	89	19	4,057	145	9	6,663
Tabbinets	—		—	2	—	355
Flannels	9	—	34			
Serges, White						
Velvets	—		—	—	7½	275
Cassimirs	11	8	2,053	10	8	1,876
Total Woollens	—		£. 40,270	—		£. 53,593
METALS.	Tons. Ct. Qrs. lb.			Tons. Ct. Qrs. lb.		
Copper	20 17 — —		2,056	23 6 — —		2,258
Lead	26 14 — —		643	21 — — —		569
Iron	21 — — —		463	15 — — —		14
Steel	73 18 — —		2,611	3 11 — —		122
Tin						
Total Metals.	—		£. 5,773	—		£. 2,963
Grand Total	—		£. 46,043	—		£. 56,556

APPENDIX,

APPENDIX, No. 8.

An ACCOUNT of the Number of Bales and Pieces of Woollens, &c. exported to India, from the Year 1784 to 1790; diſtinguiſhing each Year.

Years.	BROAD CLOTH.		LONG ELLS.		CAMBLETS, &c.	
	Bales.	Pieces.	Bales.	Pieces.	Bales.	Pieces.
1784	1,922	5,777½	243	3,964	17	442
1785	1,384	4,297	369	5,161	16	250
1786	1,966	6,091¼	901	12,751	11	456
1787	1,720	5,612½	511	8,010	58	574
1788	1,796	5,490½	709	10,580	57	1,278
1789	1,875	4,193	335	5,977	13	297
1790	1,369	4,170	194	3,486	39	619
	11,532	35,632	3,262	49,929	211	3,916

APPENDIX, No. 9.

Extract of the Commercial Treaty concluded with the Nabob Vizier, the 25th July 1788.

Art. V. BROAD Cloth, iron, copper, lead, manufactures of iron, copper, lead, gold, or ſilver, raw ſilk, ſilk piece goods, cotton piece goods, and piece goods made partly of ſilk and partly of cotton, exported from the dominions of the Company to the dominions of the Vizier, ſhall pay an import duty of two and an half per Cent. to his Excellency, on the price ſpecified in the Rowannah taken out in the Company's dominions.

Art. IX. All goods not ſpecified in the foregoing articles, exported from the reſpective dominions of the contracting parties, ſhall be ſubject to a duty of five per Cent. on the valuation inſerted in the Rowannah of the country from whence they were originally exported. If the goods ſhall have been exported from the Company's dominions to the dominions of the Nawab Vizier, his Excellency will collect the duty aforeſaid at one of the ſtations mentioned in the third article: If from the territories of his Excellency to the dominions of the Company, two and an half per Cent. ſhall be levied at the firſt eſtabliſhed ſtation in the diſtrict of Benares, and two and an half per Cent. at the firſt authorized ſtation in the province of Behar; or ſhould the ſaid goods enter the Company's provinces without paſſing through the juriſdiction of Benares, the whole duty of five per Cent. ſhall be collected at the firſt authorized ſtation in the province of Behar.

APPENDIX, No. 10.

Extract of the Company's Commercial Letter to Bombay, dated 21ſt April 1790.

IN reſpect to the woollens, it is with the moſt ſerious regret we learn, that the trade therein is ſenſibly on the decay: As this branch of manufacture is of the firſt importance to the intereſts of the country at large, we have at all times been deſirous of giving it every aſſiſtance and ſupport in our power, even at the expence of a diminution of thoſe advantages to which, in our mercantile capacities, we had the faireſt claim; nor ſhould we now heſitate to ſacrifice every idea of profit whatever, could the vend thereby either be aſſiſted or extended. Conſidered therefore as a national concern, it becomes highly neceſſary that the cauſes of this decay ſhould be fully and minutely aſcertained and ſet forth; and we accordingly direct, that on the receipt of theſe advices (or as ſoon after as may be convenient) you cauſe an enquiry to be ſet on foot for the purpoſe of procuring every degree of needful information on the ſubject. In the proſecution of this inveſtigation, we think it material that your attention ſhould principally be directed to the following points:

1ſt. To aſcertain the quantity and aſſortments of woollens formerly vended at your ſales, and for what markets they were ultimately deſigned.

2d. How far thoſe quantities have been, or are at preſent, increaſed or diminiſhed.

3d. To what immediate or eventual cauſes ſuch increaſe or decreaſe has been owing.

4. Whether thoſe markets are now ſupplied through any other medium than that of our ſales; and,

5th. If ſo, whether that ſupply is furniſhed by any other nation, or by illicit traders of our own.

6th. What alterations have taken place in the invoice and ſelling prices.

7th. Whether any, and what difference exiſts as to the qualities of the articles now ſupplied, compared with thoſe of former periods; and,

8th. Whether any, and what meaſures can be adopted, if not for extending, at leaſt for reſtoring this branch of commerce to its former ſtate.

Par. 26. In your purſuits reſpecting theſe, as well as any other points that may occur, as pertinent to the ſubject in queſtion, it ſtrikes us that you may derive much uſeful information, by conſulting with ſome of the moſt eminent of the Britiſh and Native merchants reſiding under the Company's protection; but as you may be the beſt judges altogether of the manner in which the object of our wiſhes can be beſt effected, we leave it to you to act therein as you ſhall deem beſt ſuited to the end propoſed, truſting that a ſenſe of that duty you owe not only to the Company but to your country, will lead you to give the ſubject every degree of attention, the nature and the importance of it appears to require and demand.

APPENDIX, No. 11.

An ACCOUNT of the Quantity of each Sort of METALS exported to India, from the Year 1784 to 1790; diſtinguiſhing each Year.

	LEAD.				IRON.				STEEL.				TIN.				COPPER.			
	Tons.	Ct.	qrs.	lbs.	Tons.	Ct.	qrs.	lbs.	Tons.	Ct.	qrs.	lbs.	Tons.	Ct.	qrs.	lbs.	Tons.	Ct.	qrs.	lbs.
1784	50	2	—	21	100	—	—	—	25	—	—	—		—			982	5	3	21
1785	150	3	3	8	160	—	—	—	32	19	2	—		—			820	17	3	23
1786	170	4	1	26	230	—	—	—	115	—	—	—		—			959	3	3	14
1787	490	6	3	21	665	—	—	—	212	2	3	8	25	4	2	22	1,322	6	2	6
1788	260	5	—	1	515	—	—	—	141	6	1	8		—			990	6	2	8
1789	550	7	3	25	725	—	—	—	104	—	—	—	15	1	—	14	2,874	11	1	16
1790	600	6	2	25	640	—	—	—	75	—	—	—	9	18	3	16	1,951	—	3	27
Tons -	2,271	17	—	15	3,035	—	—	—	705	8	2	16	50	4	2	24	9,900	13	1	3

APPENDIX, No. 12.

PRICE CURRENT of EUROPE GOODS for *BOMBAY* MARKET, if Five or Six Ships came in the Seaſon, will be ſufficient for each Ship's Cargo.

	Rupees	
200 Candy of Iron, flat thin Bars -	75	Per Candy of 20 Maunds
5,000 Maunds of Copper of Sorts		
3,000 Ditto of Plate - - - - -	16	Rupees per Maund of 37 Pound.
1,000 Ditto of thick Sheet - - -	20	Do. - - Do.
500 Ditto Stick, but thin - - -	18	Do. - - Do.
500 Ditto Round Sheet, thick - -	20	Do. - - Do.
Quickſilver - - - - - -	35	Do. - - Do.
1,000 Wt. of Lead in ſmall Pigs -	12	Per Hundred Weight,
100 Do. of Do. Sheet - - -	13	Do. - - Do.
200 Do. Red Lead, in ſmall Caſks	12	Do. - - Do.
100 Do. White Do, - - Do. -	13	Do. - - Do.
200 Do. Steel in Faggots - - -	14	Do. - - Do.
200 Do. Iron Bolts - - - -	10	Do. - - Do.
50 Anchors, from 13 to 8 Cwt. -	15	Do. - - Do.
50 Grapnals, from 1 to 7 Do. -	15	Do. - - Do.
50 Wt. Iron Hoops - - - -	14	Do. - - Do.
100 Do. of Glaſs Beads of Colours	50	Do. - - Do.
500 Pounds Saffron, but dry - -	18	Per Pound,
1,000 Do. of Cochineal - - - -	9	Do.

MARINE STORES.

300 Cwt. of Cordage of Sorts
100 Coil, ſmall, from 1 to 5 Inches, about 20 Cwt.
More of 6 Thread Ratlin, will be about 200 Cwt.
20 Do. Hawſer, few cables, 6 to 10, in all about 20 Coil; about 100 Wt.

BLOCKS.

500 Single and double of Sorts, from 3 to 10 Inches - -
50 Bolts of Canvas, from 1 to 3 No. - - - - - -

} 30 per Cent.

100 Pieces of Bunting, but moſt Red	30 per Cent.
5 Large Anchors, from 25 to 35 Cwt	
50 Kegs of Paint of Sorts, but dry	
1 Jar Linſeed Oil	
1,000 Pound Wt. Twine, and few Skin Lines of Sorts	
Glaſs Ware of Sorts, about 25 Cheſts	50 per Cent. on Europe Coſt.
Globe Lamps, and a few Cabbin Lamps	
Wall Shade	
Table Shades	
Hand Globe	
Hanging Jarandoles, but plain Cut from 8 to 12 Lights, and Some different Lights	
Roſe-Water Bottles	
Small thick plain Wine Glaſſes, but few	
Table Luſtres, from 4 to 6 Lights, plain cut, few different Colours	
10 Pair large Looking-Glaſſes, ſquare, from 40 to 70 Inches in length, but plain Gilt Frames	
20 Boxes of Window Glaſs, from 6 to 9 Inches	
10 Do. ſquare Hand Lanthorns	

SADLERY.

4 Pair Chariot Harneſs	30 per Cent. on Europe Coſt.
10 Single Harneſs	
Few Pair Shoes and Boots	

EATABLES and DRINKABLES.

5 Cheſts Claret	50 per Cent.
10 Do. Porter	
10 Do. Pale Ale	
30 C. Porter	
30 Do. Pale Ale	
3 Cheſts Perry Wine	

Hams and Cheeſes, about 1,000 Pound	50 per Cent.
New Faſhion Argon Table Clock with Plain Work	50 per Cent.
2 Boxes of Hats, of Sorts	40 per Cent.
Under-mentioned Articles no Demand.	
Cutlery	
Ironmongery	
Silk Hoſe	
Stationary	
Sword Blades	
Jewellery	
Tar and Pitch	
Horn Lanthorns	
Perfumery	
Millinery	
Plumbs and Raſberry Brandy	
Rum	
Pickle	
Oil	
Silver Plates	

Prices of Europe Articles in BOMBAY, *25th December* 1790.

	Rupees	
Iron in Narrow Bars	85	Per Surat Candy, or Engliſh Pound, 747—3 Candies 1 Ton
Do. in Flat Bars	82	Rupees Do. — Do.
Do. in Square Boxes	80	Do. — Do. — Do.
Copper in Sheet for Sheathing	17	Rs. per Do. Maund of 37-3 Do.
Do. in Thick Sheets	17¼	Rs. per Do. — Do.
Do. in large and ſmall Diſhes	18½	Rs. per Do. — Do.
Do. in thick and thin Plates	15½	Rs. per Do. — Do.
Do. in Japan	15	Rs. per Do. — Do.
Lead in Pigs	15¾	Rs. per Hundred Weight
Lead in Sheets	16½	Rs. per Do. — Do.
Red Lead in Kegs, Common	12	Rs. per Do. — Do.
White Lead in Do.	21	Rs. per Do. — Do.
Steel in Faggots	14	Rs. per Do. — Do.
Iron Hoops for Caſks	95	Rs. per Surat Candy of Engliſh Pound 747.
Glaſs Ware in Hanging Lamps, Shades, plain Wine Glaſſes, and Cabbin Lamps	40	per Cent. on Coſt.

	Rupees	
Looking Glaſſes of all Sizes, ſquare -	30	per Cent. on Coſt.
Window Glaſſes, large, from 12 to 14, and 14 to 18 - - -	15	per Cent. on Coſt.
Window Glaſſes, ſmall, 4 to 6, and 6 to 8 - - - -	25	per Cent. on Coſt.
Glaſs Beads of all Colours - -	60	Rs. per Hundred Weight
Cordage from 2/2 to 7 Inches - -	19	Rs. per Hundred Weight
Do. from 7 to 12, and from 12 to 18	17	Rs. per Hundred Weight
Canvas, No. 1 to 7 - - -	60	per Cent. on the Coſt.
Lines and Twines - - -	60	per Cent. on Do.
Tar and Pitch - - -	10	to 15 per Cent.
Painters Colours - - -	15	per Cent. on Do.
Compaſſes - - - -	15	per Do.
Sheer Maſt and Spars - -	15	to 20 per Cent. on the Coſt
Blocks of all Sizes - - -	50	per Cent on the Coſt.
Guns, ſmall - - - -	50	per Cent. on the Coſt.
Gudgeons and Pintles for the Ships, ſmall Sizes - - - -	30	to 40 per Cent. on the Coſt
Iron.—Braſs and Iron Cheſt Locks, large Braſs Door Hinges, Deſk Furniture, Braſs and Iron Handles of all Sizes, Spenter Padlocks, Hand Vices, Bench Vices, Nails from Sixpenny to Fortypenny, and few Deck Nails - - -	—	25 to 30 per Cent. on the Coſt.
Cutlery, common Sorts - -	20	per Cent. on the Coſt.
Sword Blades - - -	40	per Cent. on the Coſt.
Perfumery - - - -	—	Prime Coſt.
Millinery - - - -	60	to 70 per Cent. on the Coſt
Stationary - - -	—	Prime Coſt.
Haberdaſhery - - -	—	Prime Coſt.
Hats - - - -	40	per Cent. on the Coſt.
Cotton Stockings - - -	60	per Cent. on the Coſt.
Silk Stockings - - -	35	to 40 per Cent. on the Coſt
Buttons for Coats - - -	30	per Cent. on the Coſt.
Childrens Toys - - -	20	per Cent. — Do.
Cloth for Coats - - -	30	per Cent. on — Do.
Shoes and Boots - - -	50	to 60 per Cent. on the Coſt.
Cochineal - - - -	10	Rs. per Pound.
Saffron high-coloured and free of Oil	16	Rs. per Pound.
Saffron with Oil - - -	13	Rs. per Pound.
Quickſilver - - -	40	Rs. per Surat Mannds of 37½ Pound Engliſh.
Cinebar in Kegs - - -	—	Rs. per Do. — Do.

APPENDIX,

APPENDIX, No. 13.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Kennaway, dated the 24th February 1791, entered on the Fort St. George Conſultations of the 11th March 1791.

I HAVE acknowledged already the receipt of your different letters to the Nizam; the firſt on the ſubject of teak timbers paſſing the Godavery being exempted from duties; the ſecond, expreſſive of your readineſs to ſupply his Highneſs with goods from the Company's Warehouſe. The former I have delivered, and, with a ſpeedy anſwer to it, have been promiſed, that though the heavieſt duties on this article are levied by a Zemindar, who, owing to the Nizam's abſence from his capital, is not at preſent in proper ſubjection, ſuch means as are practicable ſhall be taken to relieve the timber merchants from his impoſitions.

On the ſubject of the ſecond, I have had ſeveral converſations with the Nizam's miniſters, in which I have found ſo little reaſon to think your offer would be accepted of, nay, that it would not be conſtrued into ſome ſiniſter intention with regard to the Peiſhcuſh, that I am very averſe to delivering the letter, which I therefore ſhall not do, till I hear further from you; the object of it, indeed, if obtainable, I ſhould not conceive of any great advantage, on account of the very ſmall quantity of goods the Nizam would require, and the narrow and illiberal ſpirit which marks this government, in every pecuniary or mercantile tranſaction it is engaged in.

SECOND REPORT

OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE (APPOINTED BY THE COURT OF DIRECTORS TO TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION THE EXPORT TRADE FROM GREAT BRITAIN TO THE EAST INDIES, RELATIVE TO THE EXPORT TRADE TO CHINA) LAID BEFORE THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORDS OF THE COMMITTEE OF PRIVY COUNCIL APPOINTED FOR ALL MATTERS RELATING TO TRADE AND FOREIGN PLANTATIONS; WITH AN APPENDIX: DATED THE 29th DECEMBER, 1791.

YOUR Committee, purſuant to the Reſolution of Court of the 7th Inſtant, have taken into their conſideration a letter from William Fawkener, Eſquire, dated 24th November, 1791, by which it appears, that the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council, appointed for all matters relating to Trade and Foreign Plantations, having reſumed the conſideration of your Committee's Report on the Export Trade from Great Britain to the Eaſt Indies, deſire "that a Report may in like manner be made "on the Export Trade to China, Japan, and Perſia, ſo that "their Lordſhips may be enabled to judge what proſpect there "may be of extending or opening ſuch trade with any of thoſe "countries."

The nature of their Lordſhips preſent enquiry being ſimilar to that which occaſioned your Committee's former Report reſpecting India, they preſume a ſimilar arrangement of information may moſt effectually anſwer the purpoſes deſired.

That arrangment is as follows:

1ſt. The quantity and value in England of the ſeveral articles exported by the Company, and the profit or loſs on the ſale of thoſe articles.

2d. Such information as can be procured reſpecting the exports in private trade, allowed to the commanders and officers of the Company's ſhips, and the particular articles which compoſe that export.

3d. Such information as can be procured reſpecting illicit trade.

4th. The beſt means of computing the quantity of tonnage unoccupied on board the Company's ſhips, on the outward-bound voyage.

5th. The Company's endeavours to increaſe and extend the conſumption of Britiſh manufactures and produce, and to add new articles of that deſcription to the liſt of exports; the reſult of thoſe endeavours, and the reaſons to be aſſigned for their ſucceſs or failure.

Finally. Such remarks as occur reſpecting the export by the Company, and by individuals; and the beſt means that can be deviſed for extending the ſame.

Although your Committee will endeavour to confine themſelves to what has paſſed ſince the ſeaſon 1784-5, in order to preſerve as much as poſſible an uniformity in their proceedings, yet the nature of the preſent enquiry renders a retroſpective view of the Company's commerce, &c. more frequently requiſite than it was in the former Report.

The information contained in that Report will render it unneceſſary to enter into ſo much general detail; and they will, as far as poſſible, endeavour to avoid repetition.—But as their Lordſhips have been pleaſed to extend their enquiries far beyond what was firſt propoſed, and in addition to the Company's export trade to China, to mention Japan and Perſia, your Committee will firſt repeat a few general heads of remark, and then proceed to a diſcuſſion of the objects requeſted by their Lordſhips in two ſeparate Reports; the firſt of which ſhall be confined to China, and the other to Japan and Perſia.

FIRST.—The Quantity and Value of the Company's EXPORTS, with the Profit and Loſs thereon.

Accounts of the particulars of the Company's exports to China, having been produced by the proper officer, founded on the ſame data as in the former Report;

And the rate of exchange eſtimated at 6*s.* 8*d.* per tale;

A copy of thoſe accounts will be found in the Appendix.—From them it will appear as follows; *viz.*

By

By the SALES of EUROPE GOODS in *CANTON*, it appears, that in

Seaſon	Woollens were ſold, amounting to	Leaving a Nett Profit on the Firſt Coſt.	Nett Loſs on the Firſt Coſt.	Or per Cent.
1781-2	£. 55,477	—	£. 4,069 1/2	7 7/8
1782-3				
1783-4	236,209	—	9,135 1/4	4 1/4
1784-5	204,717	—	7,434 1/8	4
1785-6	192,456	—	3,367 1/2	1 1/16
1786-7	247,370	—	10,913 1/2	4 5/8
1787-8	206,359	—	4,881	2 3/8
1788-9	369,141	—	17,220 1/2	5 1/2
1789-90	321,132	—	15,995	5 7/16
1790-91	398,027	—	8,999 1/4	2 9/16
	2,230,888			
Total Nett Loſs for Ten Years on Woollens - -			£. 82,516 1/8	

Seaſon	Metals were ſold, amounting to	Leaving a Nett Profit on the Firſt Coſt.	Nett Loſs on the Firſt Coſt.	Or per Cent.
	£.	£.	£.	
1781-2	10,790	239 1/4	—	4 3/13
1782-3	3,781	—	273 1/8	12 1/16
1783-4	20,217	—	6,678	42 1/16
1784-5	13,019	—	4,493 1/8	43 1/4
1785-6	28,160	—	11,935	48 11/16
1786-7	45,144	—	20,494	51 13/16
1787-8	40,925	—	17,192 1/4	48 1/2
1788-9	41,948	—	19,146 1/2	49 5/8
1789-90	55,825	—	23,918 1/4	42 3/4
1790-91	142,312	—	4,509 1/4	4 1/8
	402,121	239 1/4	108,642 1/2	
			239 1/4	
Total Nett Loſs for Ten Years on Metals - -			108,401 1/2	

SECOND.—Exports in PRIVATE TRADE allowed to Commanders and Officers.

On this head your Committee have to confirm the information ſtated in the Firſt Report; obſerving, however, that the Court have this ſeaſon agreed to extend the privilege of the commanders and officers, in private trade outwards, from 87 to 92 tons per ſhip.

And they muſt acquaint the Court, that no official documents exiſt to diſtinguiſh what articles of thoſe exports in private trade, or what proportion of the whole amount thereof, are ſent to China.

It is known, nevertheleſs, that the export trade of the commanders and officers, whether permitted or illicit, has been confined to a very few articles: Skins and furs are ſuppoſed to conſtitute the principal amount in point of value.

Previous to the independence of America, ginſeng alſo formed an article of private export.

The reſt conſiſt of glaſs of various deſcriptions, jewellery, toys, and watches, cuttings of cloth, a very few woollens, ſome cutlery and hard ware, and ſilver.

If there be any other articles, they are ſo trifling as to have eſcaped the notice of your Committee. The article of quick-ſilver, which was formerly conſiderable, has been for ſome time abandoned altogether.

THIRD.—ILLICIT TRADE.

Your Committee have already ſubmitted to the Court all the information they can procure on this ſubject, relative to India; but they muſt obſerve that the articles of naval and military ſtores and copper, which form almoſt the whole of the illicit trade, as explained in the former Report for India, will not anſwer in China. Naval and military ſtores are unſaleable, and from the jealous apprehenſions of the Chineſe the Company find a difficulty in being permitted to keep even the guns and ſtores neceſſary for their ſhips. With regard to copper, it is the chief article which Japan furniſhes in return for the imports of her foreign trade.

FOURTH.—TONNAGE unoccupied on the Company's Outward-bound Ships.

Here your Committee muſt again refer to their Firſt Report.

FIFTH.—The Company's Endeavours to increaſe and extend the Conſumption of BRITISH MANUFACTURES and PRODUCE,

PRODUCE, and to add new Articles of that Deſcription to the Liſt of Exports; the Reſult of thoſe Endeavours, and the Reaſons to be aſſigned for their Succeſs or Failure.

Conformably to the plan which your Committee have preſcribed to themſelves, they now proceed to ſtate their beſt information on theſe points reſpecting China.—That vaſt kingdom, with regard to its internal commerce, is yet unknown to Europeans. Many years have indeed elapſed, ſince the firſt communication took place between Europe and China; almoſt every conſiderable European nation has had an intercourſe with that country by ſea or by land. Ambaſſadors and miſſionaries have reſided in the capital. It was therefore ſuppoſed that the fulleſt information exiſted with regard to the internal commerce of the country. But whatever gratification the philoſopher or the antiquary may find in the publications reſpecting this famous empire, the merchant can derive no aſſiſtance from them. It has been found that opinions hazarded by individuals for the extenſion and improvement of the trade, by means different from the uſual mode of proceeding, have conſtantly failed upon experiment, and have entailed conſequences permanently injurious to the Company's commerce.—Voyage writers, among other ſuperficial obſervers, have conduced to theſe errors; they have been ſtruck with the poliſhed manners of the Chineſe, the mildneſs and juſtice which appear in all their public edicts, and the known character of the preſent Emperor, who during a long reign has diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a ſtrict adherence to the adminiſtration of juſtice, and a general protection conſtantly afforded to the property and perſons of foreigners, as well as his own ſubjects. They have entertained an opinion, that the preſent cramped and humiliated ſtate of the European trade in China, muſt be entirely attributed to the want of ability and exertion of the traders themſelves; who, by laying a ſtate of their complaints before the Emperor, might immediately obtain effectual redreſs of all grievances. It remains however to be diſcovered, in what manner a *free* communication with the Emperor is to be acquired; and (which is ſtill more important) in what manner the Emperor's orders for redreſs can be carried into effect, conformably to the ſpirit, as well as the letter of thoſe orders. Applications to Pekin have been made on ſeveral occaſions; and they have ſucceeded in obtaining from the Emperor the moſt peremptory commands for redreſs. Thoſe edicts which related to the Engliſh, have been executed with the utmoſt civility and attention to our nation, and conformably to the ideas entertained in China of the true principles of juſtice. The

Mandarine

Mandarine to whom ſome of theſe complaints alluded was depoſed, and reſtitution was made. But the Company found themſelves in the end burthened with pecuniary impoſitions on their Commerce fully equal to the reſtitution made, and which, in the inſtance alluded to, it is feared will remain as a tax on the Company, although the object of complaint was merely of a temporary nature.

Under theſe circumſtances, it may be reaſonably ſuppoſed, that neither the Company nor their ſupra cargoes in China could have been diſpoſed to adopt any of the numerous wild projects which have been preſented to them. They had, on every occaſion, experienced a total want of ſubſtantial juſtice; for many experiments have actually been tried, which, after producing inſult, humiliation, impriſonment, and great loſs, have ever proved abortive.

If it ſhall ſtill be urged, however, that this failure has ariſen from a want of ſpirit or ability in the Company's ſervants, your Committee muſt refer to what has been done by other Europeans ſettled in China, ſome of whom have been enabled to communicate with Pekin, by means of the miſſionaries who have reſided there occaſionally for centuries. Your Committee do not know of a ſingle inſtance, in which even theſe apparent advantages have enabled other foreigners to benefit in preference to the Engliſh. It is true that they have not ſuffered in the ſame degree with our countrymen, and for reaſons ſtated by the Chineſe; *viz.* "that the Engliſh are a reſtleſs diſcontented ſet of people." However this reproach may impeach the prudence and diſcretion of the Company's ſervants, it muſt remove every idea of their want of exertion.

Numerous obſtacles to the trade ariſe from the nature of the Chineſe government, which is the moſt corrupt in the univerſe. Perhaps motives of policy (however miſtaken) may operate with the Chineſe in confining the European trade to Canton. We know that the profits of the merchants in Canton are conſiderable. We know that tea is produced to the northward of that place; that the great conſumption for furs and woollens muſt be in the capital or its neighbourhood; that of conſequence the growers of tea would receive a much higher price, and the conſumers of furs and woollens would purchaſe at a much cheaper rate, if our ſhips were permitted to proceed to a port in the north of China. Still, however, Europeans are confined to a diſtant port, and placed under reſtrictions in other reſpects, which ſtrongly indicate jealouſy and ſuſpicion.

Indeed at the firſt commencement of the trade with China, Europeans were admitted freely into all the ports; but it muſt be owned their diſſolute and irregular manners ſoon occaſioned their

their being reſtrained to Canton. What motives may now exiſt for the continuance of thoſe reſtraints, or what means are practicable for their removal, your Committee cannot pretend to determine. The merchants, with whom alone any conſiderable communication is had, are generally ſo ignorant as not to know what events are paſſing, if out of their own diſtrict. Nay, the knowledge of moſt of them is confined to the occurrences of the town where they happen to reſide.

Your Committee cannot therefore obtain any particular information upon which they can rely, relative to the various ſituations and deſcriptions of people in China, who either do, or are likely to conſume Britiſh produce and manufacture. It is only generally known, that woollens and furs are conſumed in the northern parts; that tin is uſed for religious purpoſes and conſumed every where; and the jewellery, toys, watches, &c. have been no doubt for the uſe of the great and of the affluent of every deſcription.

The Chineſe are timid and ſuperſtitious in the extreme, and naturally diſinclined to innovation.

Their extraordinary caution in preventing Europeans from tranſgreſſing the bounds preſcribed for them in the port of Canton, and alſo from acquiring the language, is notorious.

It has been difficult, nay almoſt impoſſible, to perſuade them of the advantage which would reſult to themſelves from extending the import of foreign articles into China.

Your Committee therefore preſume they ſhall be juſtified in their opinion, that the only mode of increaſing and extending the conſumption of Britiſh articles in China, is by means of the uſual and accuſtomed channels of trade now open; and that any endeavours, by a contrary mode of proceeding, would not only miſcarry, but be productive of the moſt fatal conſequences.

If this opinion, founded upon the beſt information of the nature of the Chineſe government, and of the manners and cuſtoms of the inhabitants, ſhall be thought to require further proof, your Committee are perſuaded that every doubt will be removed in the further progreſs of this report. But for the purpoſe of drawing the ſubject (important as it is) into the ſmalleſt compaſs, your Committee beg leave to obſerve, that any general remarks they may have occaſion to make, apply chiefly to woollens, as the article which affords the moſt favourable proſpect of an increaſed conſumption.

Before the Commutation Act the exports from this country were ſmall, and (what is extraordinary) were difficult to ſell. The Chineſe received them with reluctance, and upon ſome occaſions as the only mode of payment which the Company had to offer.

Your

Your Committee apprehend the export of manufactures by other European nations was trifling, and particularly ſo when compared with the ſtate of exports at the preſent time.

The Swediſh Company, by far the beſt regulated and moſt proſperous in Europe, ſent out ſilver to a large amount; and for the deficiency which their capital could not ſupply, they received money in China againſt the drafts of their ſupra cargoes on the Company in Europe. But they appear to have exported very little, if any, manufactures, notwithſtanding they could have purchaſed thoſe of Great Britain, or any other foreign country, delivered at Gottenburgh at a trifling advance of two or three per Cent. on the firſt coſt. The progreſs of the Swediſh Company was ſo rapid, and eſtabliſhed upon ſuch ſound principles, that if the Commutation Act had not intervened, that Company muſt have ſwallowed up moſt of the China trade, and reduced even the trifling proportion which Great Britain imported at that time, for her own conſumption.

Your Committee do not ſcruple to affirm, that the moſt lucrative and beneficial mode of carrying on the trade with China from Europe, is by the export of bullion; yet the Company have anxiouſly ſeized every opportunity of introducing Britiſh manufactures and produce in China, notwithſtanding they could have derived ſuperior advantages from a different conduct.

The exertions made in the year 1784-5, as mentioned in the former Report, for increaſing the exports to India, were extended to China.—And ſubſequent to the Commutation Act, means have been found to impreſs the minds of the Chineſe with two very important facts.

Firſt, That Great Britain could not continue to receive teas, to ſuch an immenſe value, unleſs the Chineſe would facilitate and encourage her produce and manufacture in return.

Secondly, That commercial profits to the Chineſe would attach equally to the import, as well as to the export trade.

Whether the preſent diſpoſition of that people ariſes from thoſe principles, or from any other cauſe, it is a fact, that the exports of the Company are greatly increaſed, and that there is reaſon to hope they may be further extended hereafter. Nor is this increaſing ſale of woollens the reſult of compulſion on the part of the Company's ſervants towards the Chineſe merchants. So far from it, the latter ſeek theſe articles with an avidity which every year produces an increaſed demand.

Your Committee have reaſon to think that upon ſome occaſions an advanced price might have been obtained for the old ſtaple articles of cloth and long ells. The ſupra cargoes however acted wiſely, and conformably to their inſtructions, they continued to ſell nearly at the ſame prices; having conſtantly in

in view to augment the quantity, and to inſpire confidence, inſtead of aiming at an occaſional profit.

It appears from the account in the Appendix, that the loſs on the Company's exports, both prior and ſubſequent to the Commutation Act, down to the lateſt period, have not varied in any conſiderable degree. This is an undeniable proof that the Company have forborne advantages to themſelves for the benefit of the public.

For the purpoſe of rendering the information which applies to this part of the ſubject complete, it becomes neceſſary to examine the quantities of manufactures and produce remaining on hand at the cloſe of the ſeaſon;

And in what manner the indents received from China have been complied with.

With regard to the ſeaſons 1781, 1782, 1783 and 1784, the Chineſe were probably glad to get any thing in payment for their teas, and for that reaſon Britiſh product and manufactures found a vent in China. But your Committee repeat with ſatisfaction, that after the year 1784, the ſame effect reſulted from cauſes totally different. The purchaſes before made by the Chineſe, as of neceſſity, thenceforward became a matter of choice. Since the period above-mentioned, the Company's warehouſe has been conſtantly cleared; and when the balance of caſh in the treaſury at Canton, at the cloſe of a ſeaſon, has amounted to above £. 500,000 ſterling, there has not been a ſingle piece of woollens remaining in warehouſe.

With regard to the indents, your Committee think it neceſſary to ſtate the following particulars, which they conceive will afford the fulleſt information and ſatisfaction; *viz.*

An ACCOUNT of TIN, LEAD and WOOLLENS, Indented for and Exported to China, from 1785 to 1791.

	TIN.		LEAD.		CLOTH.		LONG ELLS.		CAMBLETS.	
	Indented Tons.	Exported Tons.	Indented Tons.	Exported Tons.	Indented Cloths.	Exported Cloths.	Indented Pieces.	Exported Pieces.	Indented Pieces.	Exported Pieces.
1785	None.	None.	None.	2,040	3,503	4,534	50,000	60,000	None.	332
1786	Do.	Do.	Do.	1,830	3,501	3,491	40,000	60,000	Do.	200
1787	Do.	Do.	Do.	1,720	3,750	3,879	100,000	107,000	400	None.
1788	Do.	55	Do.	1,590	2,869	4,122	107,000	107,000	600	740
1789	Do.	783	Do.	1,610	3,093	4,608	112,500	112,520	800	1,200
1790	Do.	1,200	Do.	700	5,869	6,393	114,500	127,860	800	1,797
1791	1,187	1,200	Do.	710	6,402	6,456	136,200	150,000	2,240	2,340
	1,187	3,238	—	10,200	28,987	33,483	660,200	724,380	4,840	6,609

Memorandum.—The Year 1791 is upon Eſtimate.

The camblets formerly exported by the Company were unſaleable, owing to the Dutch having a peculiar mode of preparing that article. It was not until the year 1789 that the Company were ſatisfied our manufacturers had diſcovered the ſecret.—This they have done ſo completely, that your Committee entertain no doubt but that the Dutch muſt give up all competition whatſoever in camblets.

The manufacture of cloth is carried on in ſo many places, that the Company meet with no difficulty in a ſupply ſufficient to ſatisfy the increaſed demand compleatly.

With regard to long ells, the caſe is different, the manufacture is almoſt confined to a ſingle county, and is peculiar in itſelf. There is no doubt that almoſt any quantity may be made; but under the circumſtances already ſtated, and which will be further explained hereafter, it became not only of importance, but of the laſt neceſſity, that the accuſtomed quantity ſhould not be depreciated. And when it is remembered, that the export for 1782 was only 25,000 pieces, and for 1783 25,040 pieces, there can be no doubt but that it was deſirable to proceed gradually, and with ſome degree of caution. It appears, however, that the indents from China for this article, ſo far from being curtailed, have been generally exceeded by the exports. In conſequence the quantity intended for the preſent ſeaſon is no leſs than 150,000 pieces.

The conduct of the Company with reſpect to the proprietors of mines in Cornwall, by taking a large quantity of tin in the year 1789, repeating the ſame meaſure in the year 1790, and for the preſent ſeaſon, requires no explanation. And although no abſolute dependance can be placed on the reſult of the firſt experiment, which has proved ſucceſsful, yet the ſupra cargoes give reaſon to hope, that tin may become hereafter a ſtaple article amongſt the Company's exports.

Having thus ſtated what relates to the actual ſituation of the Company's export trade, your Committee truſt they may be permitted to draw a compariſon between that and the Company's export trade in the laſt century. They will, for this purpoſe, ſelect a period when the greateſt clamour was raiſed againſt the Company's excluſive commerce, which Government found it abſolutely neceſſary to confirm, notwithſtanding the enormous proportion of bullion exported at thoſe times, as will appear by the following ſtatement:

STATEMENT; *viz.*	Exported in Bullion.	Exported in Produce and Manufactures.
In 1652, 53, 54 } There was exported no more than	£. 8,441	3,278
In 1655, 56 } The trade was open, and the Company made no exports.		
In 1657 The Company began again under a joint ſtock, when they exported	74,235	2,114
In 1658, 59, 60 } The exports were	227,820	23,763
In 1671, 72, 73, 74 } The amount was	821,157	257,429
Total . . £.	1,131,653	286,584

The Company aſſerted at thoſe periods what has never been contradicted; *viz.* that their exports of tin, lead, and manufactures, were more than thoſe of all other European nations together.

To the above ſtatement your Committee beg leave to oppoſe the following; *viz.*

AMOUNT

AMOUNT of EXPORTS to INDIA, CHINA, &c. from Season 1781 to Season 1791, exclusive.

Season.	INDIA.			CHINA.			
	Merchandize or Manufactures.	Metals.	Stores.	Merchandize or Manufactures.	Metals.	Stores.	Bullion.
1781	£. 200,808	£. 157,614	£. 163,878	£. 129,179	£. 10,349	£. 2,206	
1782	123,834	183,356	133,773	94,992	9,416	1,717	
1783	95,261	122,855	77,237	113,763	4,579	1,748	
1784	92,205	93,806	55,256	146,741	27,835	2,904	
1785	74,683	80,152	104,226	224,612	37,989	7,503	£. 724,317
1786	122,709	97,899	85,179	202,023	35,535	6,972	749,833
1787	108,388	137,194	153,603	323,107	38,046	7,289	646,798
1788	119,449	99,028	152,587	335,392	59,208	6,598	489,192
1789	80,184	273,104	100,435	354,717	107,995	7,769	787,078
1790	75,141	191,944	120,525	431,385	105,707	4,081	532,705
1791	86,680	124,889	108,560	486,993	99,448	4,000	422,098
Total -	1,179,342	1,561,841	1,255,259	2,842,904	537,107	52,782	4,352,021

Memorandum.—The Season 1791 is upon Estimate.

The

The decreaſe in the export of bullion would have been much more rapid, if it had not been thought expedient to ſend £. 500,000 laſt ſeaſon to India in conſequence of the war; otherwiſe the treaſury in China was ſo abundant as to have rendered the export of the bullion for commercial purpoſes during the laſt ſeaſon totally unneceſſary. When the Commutation Act was paſſed very extraordinary exertions became neceſſary, not only to enable the ſupra cargoes to make their purchaſes at the moment, but to impreſs the Chineſe with a confidence in the ſtability of the Company, and their capacity to fulfil commercial engagements of ſuch magnitude. Thoſe exertions have produced the happieſt effect. It is needleſs to point out how rapidly the neceſſity for the export of bullion declines; and your Committee do not heſitate to declare their opinion, that there is a great probability the period is not very diſtant, when the whole of the Company's inveſtment from China may be purchaſed with a very trifling export of ſilver from Europe.

A reduction in the export of ſilver greatly depends on the increaſed exports of other metals and manufactures, which your Committee obſerve to be in a ſteady regular gradation; and they truſt that the moſt ſanguine expectations of an augmented export in the manufactures and produce of Great Britain, as reſulting from the beneficial influence of the Commutation Act, have been completely gratified.

For the purpoſe of complying with the requiſition of the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council reſpecting China, it might have been ſufficient for your Committee thus to have ſtated the progreſſive and flouriſhing ſituation of the trade to that country.

But your Committee's attentive inveſtigation of this important object, has forcibly impreſſed on them the danger of innovation in the preſent mode of conducting that trade. They cannot avoid expreſſing their firm conviction, that even ruin to the Company might be hazarded by ſuch experiment.

They will further venture to aſſert, that any reduction in the Company's export trade to China muſt be an irrecoverable loſs to the public, as individuals cannot ſupply the chaſm by any means in their power, and there is no remedy for the evil if it ſhall once have happened.

Your Committee will therefore preſume to treſpaſs further on the patience of the Court, by repreſenting the conſequences which in their opinion will infallibly ariſe from innovating the preſent ſyſtem.

Your Committee do not conſider the various attempts to communicate with the Court of Pekin, and to form eſtabliſhments towards the north of China, as ſubjects for inveſtigation in this

Report

Report—thoſe are more properly referable to the general ſtate of the Company's trade with China—their preſent object is to ſhew the probable reſult of a general competition, when compared with the plan now purſued.

The articles of exportation are ſo few in number that diſtinct remarks upon each may not be deemed unneceſſary.

Quickſilver, as has been already obſerved, was formerly a conſiderable article in private trade; at preſent China not only produces ſufficient for her own conſumption, but alſo for the ſupply of India.

Ginſeng deſerves particular notice. At a former period it gained an enormous profit, and the commanders and officers could not carry out a ſufficient quantity. Since the independance of America (of which country ginſeng is the produce) ſo much has been ſent, that the Chineſe pretend to have diſcovered that it has no virtue, and it is actually become unſaleable. This circumſtance goes ſo far in proof of the principles which your Committee entertain in favour of an excluſive trade to China, that they will take the liberty of reſuming the ſubject hereafter. The demand for furs and ſkins in China has increaſed to a very great degree, owing to the intercourſe between that country and Ruſſia being ſtopped. But furs and ſkins being chiefly foreign product, and therefore it being of leſs national importance to preſerve a ſteady uniform trade therein, the Company have reſigned theſe articles to their commanders and officers, who would otherwiſe be diſtreſſed for the means of making a private inveſtment. For jewellery, toys, and watches, the demand is conſiderably leſſened; indeed jewellery, when ſent to China, ſeldom if ever anſwered the purpoſes of fair trade, but chiefly thoſe of extortion and fraud by the mandarines.

Nor can the demand for watches (which is the moſt likely to become permanent) increaſe, unleſs, by a more free communication with opulent natives, the article ſhould become more in requeſt.

Hardware and cutlery not appearing even to deſerve much the attention of the commanders, form part of the ſmall inveſtments of the inferior officers. The ſhops in Canton are ſufficiently ſupplied for the demand, and theſe goods are ſeldom if ever ſold there at higher prices than in the ſhops in London. Beſides, the Chineſe can imitate every article of this ſort with great exactneſs, and at a much cheaper rate.

Glaſs, and glaſſes of every deſcription, being left entirely to the private trade, it is difficult to form an opinion with regard to the probability of an increaſe.

But notwithſtanding the officers of the Company's ſhips have long had free permiſſion to carry out glaſs, other goods have been

been preferred for their private inveſtment. It is therefore preſumed, that the export cannot be much increaſed through the medium of the Company, and ſtill leſs by means of individuals, more particularly as common glaſs is manufactured very cheap in China.

With regard to the exportation of thoſe articles which the Company reſerve excluſively to themſelves, your Committee truſt they have a pleaſing proſpect to preſent. If it be true that the chief conſumption for woollens is in the capital of China, or further northward, it ſhould be obſerved, that the diſtance between Pekin and Canton is at leaſt 1,200 miles.—It has been already ſtated, that few, if any, Chineſe merchants are acquainted with what is paſſing beyond their own province; therefore it is impoſſible to carry on, much leſs to extend, the ſale of woollens, except the moſt implicit confidence with regard to us ſubſiſt in the minds of the Chineſe. The French having procured Engliſh packages, and made up their bales in a manner exactly conformable to thoſe of the Company, impoſed a conſiderable quantity of their cloths upon the Chineſe for a ſeaſon; but the fraud was ſoon diſcovered, and they could not afterwards ſell an entire bale, nay ſcarcely a ſingle piece, without the moſt ſcrupulous examination. The Company's woollens meet with a very different reception: The Chineſe merchants at Canton will take them according to their invoice; and your Committee are firmly perſuaded, that the bales under the Company's mark, after being tranſported to an immenſe diſtance, and probably going through a great number of hands, are received every where with the moſt perfect confidence, and are never opened until they reach the ſhop of the perſon who ſells for actual uſe.

The ſupra cargoes had indeed great difficulty and prejudices to encounter in diſpoſing of the tin on its firſt arrival; and your Committee have been informed that lead, caſed with tin, had been ſent to China by Europeans, and ſold for tin; the reliance, however, on the Company's mark ſurmounted all obſtacles; but your Committee are ſatisfied that if ſuch reliance had not previouſly exiſted, the prejudice of the Chineſe againſt European tin would have been difficult to conquer, and a great length of time would have been required to remove it.

The ſubject now under diſcuſſion, if conſidered with mature attention, affords a ſtrong ground for hope that the internal commerce of China has undergone ſome very material change ſince the Commutation Act, with regard to the exports. Your Committee have endeavoured to aſcertain the cauſe why the merchants of Canton are now become as ſolicitous to receive the manufactures and produce of Great Britain, as they were reluctant heretofore. But after the moſt aſſiduous enquiry on this important

important point, your Committee are perſuaded that the means of correct information are not to be acquired from any perſons in this country, or from the Europeans ſettled in China. Something may be attributed to circumſtances mentioned in the courſe of this report; but very probably the change alluded to may have ariſen from the mandarines perceiving that the importunities and vexations they formerly experienced from the Engliſh have not been revived in any one inſtance ſince the Commutation Act. The caſe of the gunner of the ſhip Lady Hughes was not a matter of commerce, and will be noticed hereafter.

The uniform object of the repreſentations made to the Court of Pekin, has been relief from the exactions and oppreſſion of the mandarines and officers at Canton, under whom the European commerce was placed. Thoſe repreſentations not only proved fruitleſs, but (as it might be naturally ſuppoſed) muſt have excited reſentment in the perſons againſt whom the complaints were made. In proof of this, it may be remembered, that formerly when we were in the habit of attempting innovations, and making remonſtrances, the exports from China laboured under numerous diſadvantages, and Britiſh manufactures and produce were ſold in ſmall quantities, and with extreme difficulty. At preſent the Company meet with no obſtructions in their exports from China, and there appears a general and cordial concurrence of the natives to promote the ſale of woollens, &c. by every means in their power.

Under theſe circumſtances, your Committee fear the moſt dangerous and fatal conſequences might ariſe from an attempt to check the flow of the tide, which carries with it the moſt ſolid and ſubſtantial means of adding to the wealth and proſperity of Great Britain.

And theſe advantages may be deemed infallible, if we cultivate the preſent good diſpoſition of the Chineſe towards us.—A contrary conduct might not only deſtroy the progreſs made by the Company ſince the Commutation Act, but operate to a reduction of the very confined trade the Company enjoyed previous thereto.

The article of lead requires little explanation, as it is evident, from the loſs which has ariſen thereon, that it affords no proſpect of the exportation being increaſed by any means whatſoever.

In addition to the very ſucceſsful exertions made by the Company for the diſpoſal of Britiſh manufactures in China, your Committee have to obſerve on the meaſures taken at home for rendering thoſe exertions ſo effectual. The purchaſes here are made gradually, and in ſome inſtances weekly, ſo long as the ſeaſon is favourable for drying of woollens, the quality of

which is the beſt that can be procured. The tradeſman are paid punctually; in ſhort, the ſyſtem is regular and uniform. By theſe means, whilſt the public have the advantages reſulting from the trade conveyed to them in the moſt beneficial manner, the Company ſecure the continuation, and even increaſe of the trade, which would be hazarded under the conduct of a capricious or negligent individual.

It is generally admitted that no market varies more than that of China, the prejudices of the natives operating moſt powerfully upon their conduct. Of this, the article of ginſeng is a ſtriking proof. The moment it was offered in quantities larger than uſual, and by perſons from whom the Chineſe were not accuſtomed to purchaſe, it became unſaleable; and your Committee are confident that American ginſeng will never be conſumed in China as heretofore.

Your Committee firmly believe, that Engliſh woollens could not be ſold to any great extent, unleſs by the ſupra cargoes, and under the Company's mark. So long as the Company ſhall continue to ſupply the demand, all competition will be in vain, unleſs for very trifling quantities; and thoſe muſt undergo a ſcrupulous examination.

The fear of puniſhment entertained by the mandarines, upon ſome occaſions, is exceſſive: And indeed the Court of Pekin are diſpoſed to think there can be no broil or diſturbance, without the fault of the mandarine or officer, who is ſometimes doomed to baniſhment, or death, for very trivial cauſes. Upon the ſlighteſt occaſion, the European commerce is ſtopped, as the mandarines well know that it is the only means by which they can command obedience from Europeans.

In the year 1784, by the accidental diſcharge of a gun on board the Lady Hughes country ſhip, a Chineſe was killed. Every European was deemed reſponſible for this accident; all trade was ſtopped, and the foreign factories ſettled at Canton, uniting with the Engliſh, thought it neceſſary to prepare for defence. The gunner, who had concealed himſelf, was at laſt found, and delivered up, under ſome indirect aſſurances of perſonal ſafety; notwithſtanding which, he was immediately put to death. It is probable that the ſupra cargoes and the gunner were deceived, under the expectation of being able to commute his puniſhment for a ſum of money; but a different conduct may prevail hereafter. The Chineſe government is not only abſolute in the extreme, but inflexible; it may therefore be proper to take a view of the conſequences to be apprehended from a ſtoppage of the Company's trade, to which they are liable from the ſuppoſed guilt, or the miſadventure of any Britiſh ſubject, and from which the Company have already ſuſtained material injury.

injury. Your Committee, however, in expreſſing their apprehenſions, do not allude to the crews of ſhips employed in the Company's ſervice; whoſe owners are reſpectable and reſponſible, and whoſe officers have ſo much knowledge and experience, that no fears can exiſt with reſpect to their conduct.

If any injury ſhall be done the natives, the Company can eaſily ſupport the expence, and command obedience from their ſervants; but the caſe is totally different with regard to individuals.

It will be to repreſent the conſequences of ſuch a misfortune in a very limited degree, if the amount of property at the mercy of the Chineſe for a ſingle ſeaſon is ſtated. As that is ſo large, it may be deemed unneceſſary to extend the enquiry much further on this head, or it is preſumed the eſtimate might be nearly doubled.

The balance of the Company's caſh at the end of the ſeaſon has exceeded £. 500,000, ſuppoſe only — — — £.	400,000
The Company's inveſtment (although it has been much larger) may be eſtimated at —	1,400,000
The Company's ſhips from Europe at leaſt —	400,000
At the mercy of the Chineſe, for a ſingle ſeaſon £.	2,200,000

Excluſive of country ſhips, and conſequences which your Committe conceive it is unneceſſary to detail.

With ſuch an immenſe property at ſtake, it may be eaſily imagined that the apprehenſions of the Company with regard to their China commerce is extreme; and indeed they have been ſeverely injured by private traders, who are under no effectual controul.

When licences were granted to Mr. Etches, for ſhips employed in the fur-trade, it was thought every precaution had been taken which legal knowledge could ſuggeſt. But, contrary to engagements, when the captains arrived abroad they fitted out other ſhips in China, and proceeded on adventure without licence, declaring a determination to reſiſt by force not only the Spaniſh power but the Engliſh laws.

It may appear extraordinary, but is no leſs true, that the Company have ſuſtained great injury from individuals having become the creditors of the Chineſe.

Some years ago a large ſum, the exact amount of which your Committee cannot diſcover, was lent to the Chineſe by Britiſh ſubjects. On one occaſion the amount is ſtated at a Million Sterling; on another it is called 3,808,075 Dollars; and on the third occaſion it is ſaid to be £. 2,025,863.

The Chineſe debtors having failed, repreſentation was made to the Emperor. He obſerved, that probably Europeans might not be informed of the laws of the empire, which forbid foreigners to make any loans to his ſubjects; and although he cautions them in the ſtrongeſt manner to avoid ſuch practices in future, he directs enquiry to be made. In conſequence of this a ſmall part of the debt was diſcharged by inſtalments at 10 per %, but the funds for the payment of theſe inſtalments was derived not from the pockets of the Chineſe, but from a tax levied on the European trade with China. At the ſame time by far the greater part of the debts became a total loſs to the parties concerned.

But it appears the Company have not been deterred by difficulties, and ſtill leſs by loſſes, from every poſſible exertion to promote the ſale of Britiſh manufactures and produce, which the public have a right to expect.

As a proof of the ill effects of competition, it may be obſerved, that when the Company formerly ſent each ſhip under ſeparate management, the price of European articles continued to fall, and thoſe of China to advance. Your Committee therefore ſubmit, that it be communicated to the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade, as their decided opinion, that no individual whatſoever can engage in a competition with the Company; and therefore if private adventurers ſhall be encouraged, it becomes neceſſary to limit and perhaps to reſtrain altogether the export of Britiſh manufacture and produce by the Company.

As the dangerous conſequences which may ariſe from the ſlighteſt innovation with reſpect to the Company's excluſive trade, have been fully explained in the former Report, a repetition in this place becomes unneceſſary. Your Committee, however, think it their duty to remind the Court, that the Portugueſe, who were the firſt conquerors of India, and who firſt ſettled there, were deprived of their power, and their commerce almoſt annihilated (about the middle and towards the cloſe of the laſt century) by the privileged or excluſive companies of other European Nations; for it was found that the Portugueſe could not withſtand the animated and ſtrenuous efforts of men, who, added to a ſtrong perſonal intereſt in their undertaking, united under an excluſive company every power neceſſary to obtain ſucceſs, both in a political and commercial line.

Whilſt monopoly exiſts in any ſhape, it is eaſy to propoſe plans which are plauſible and even profitable, for limited and detached objects. The deſire which every man has to diſtinguiſh himſelf and attract the public attention, leads to an attack upon monopolies, againſt which the ableſt authors have written. Seduced by theſe examples, the ignorant and half-informed

endeavour

endeavour to diſplay their abilities, and to promote their private intereſt, by attempts againſt parts of the Eaſt India Company's excluſive commerce, without conſidering that this monopoly depends upon principles entirely different from that of any other that ever exiſted. But let it be remembered, that a fabric which is the wonder of the preſent, as it muſt be of every future age, will be ſhaken, if not annihilated, in caſe projects ſuggeſted by adventurers ſhall be adopted upon the dangerous principle of experiment.

Eaſt India Houſe
29th December, 1791.

J. SMITH BURGES.
F. BARING.
J. MANSHIP.
JO. HUNTER.
W. ELPHINSTONE.
HUGH INGLIS.

CALCULATE

CALCULATE of the PROFIT or LOSS on SALES of EUROPE GOODS at *CANTON*, 1781–2 and 1782–3.

1781–2.	Quantity sold.	First Cost.	Charges in Engla. at Half per Cent.	Intereſt of Money, 2 Yrs. at 4 per Ct. per Ann.	Inſurance, at 3 per Ct.	Freight, at 10l. per Ton in Time of Peace.	Total Amount.	Sale at Canton, at 6s. 8d. per Tale.	Charges of the Wareh.	Profit.	Loſs.	Gain or Loſs per Cent.
WOOLLENS.	Bales.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
Broad Cloth - -	407	22,061	110 3/8	1,764 3/4	661 1/4	508 3/4	25,106 1/8	22,973	11	—	2,144 3/8	9 11-16
Long Ells - -	687	28,778	143 7/8	2,302 1/4	863 1/4	1,145	33,252 3/8	31,082	20	—	2,170 3/8	5 9-16
Camblets - -	9	1,014	5	81 1/8	30 3/8	45	1,175 1/2	1,422	1	245 1/2	—	— 15-16
Total Woollens -	— £.	51,853	259 1/4	4,148 1/8	1,555 3/8	1,698 3/4	59,514 1/2	55,477	32	245 1/2	4,315	
					Nett Loſs on Woollens, £. 4,069 1/2, or 7 7/8 per Cent. on Firſt Coſt.							
METALS.	Tons. Ct. Qrs.											
Lead - -	428 3 2	5,538	27 1/8	443	166 1/8	4,281 1/2	10,456 1/4	10,790	94	239 3/4	—	4 1/3
Grand Total -	— £.	57,391	286 7/8	4,591 1/8	1,721 1/2	5,980 1/4	69,970 3/4	66,267	126	485 1/4	4,315	
					Total Nett Loſs, £. 3,829 3/4, or 6 2/3 per Cent. on Firſt Coſt.							
1782–3.												

CALCULATE of the PROFIT or LOSS on SALES of EUROPE GOODS at *CANTON*, 1783–4.

			Charges in Engla.	Intereſt of Money,		Freight, at		Sale at				

CALCULATE of the PROFIT or LOSS on SALES of EUROPE GOODS at *CANTON*, 1783-4.

	Quantity sold.	First Cost.	Charges in Engla at Half per Cent.	Intereſt of Money, 2 Yrs. at 4 per Ct. per Ann.	Inſurance at 3 per Ct.	Freight, at 10l. per Ton in Time of Peace.	Total Amount.	Sale at Canton, at 6s. 8d. per Tale.	Charges of the Wareh.	Profit.	Loſs.	Gain or Loſs per Cent.
WOOLLENS.		£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	
	Bales.											
Broad Cloth - -	1,363	77,706	388½	6,216½	2,331⅛	1,703¾	88,345⅞	78,050	64	—	10,359⅞	13⅓
Long Ells - - -	2,888	126,450	632¼	10,116	3,793½	4,813	145,804¾	143,131	115	—	2,788¾	2 1-8
Camblets - -	63	9,585	47⅞	766¼	287½	315	11,002⅛	15,028	13	4,012⅞	—	41⅞
Total Woollens -	— £.	213,741	1,068⅛	17,099¼	6,412⅛	6,831¼	245,152¾	236,209	192	4,012⅞	13,148⅛	
						Nett Loſs on Woollens, £. 9,135¼, or 4¼ per Cent. on Firſt Coſt.						
METALS.												
	Tons. Ct.											
Lead - - -	902 11	15,874	79⅜	1,270	476⅛	9,025½	26,725	20,217	170	—	6,678	42 1-16
Grand Total -	— £.	229,615	1,148	18,369¼	6,888¼	15,857¼	271,877¼	256,426	362	4,012⅞	19,826⅛	
						Total Nett Loſs, £. 15,813¾, or 6⅞ per Cent on Firſt Coſt.						

CALCULATE of the PROFIT or LOSS on SALES of EUROPE GOODS at *CANTON*, 1784-5.

	Quantity sold.	First Cost.	Charges in Engla. at Half per Cent.	Interest of Money, 2 Yrs. at 4 per Ct. per Ann.	Insurance, at 3 per Cent.	Freight, at 10l. per Ton in Time of Peace.	Total Amount.	Sale at Canton, at 6s. 8d. per Tale.	Charges of the Wareh.	Profit.	Loss.	Gain or Loss per Cent.
WOOLLENS.		£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	
Broad Cloth - -	Bales. 1,244	72,402	362	5,792 1/8	2,172	1,555	82,283 1/8	75,648	39	—	6,674 1/8	9 1/4
Long Ells - -	2,211	100,025	500 1/4	8,002	3,000 3/4	3,685	115,213	110,234	68	—	5,047	5
Camblets - -	78	12,502	62 1/2	1,000 1/8	375	390	14,329 1/8	18,632	4	4,298 3/8	—	34 1/2
Flannels - - -	2	184	— 7/8	14 3/4	5 1/2	10	215 1/8	203	—	—	12 1/8	6 1/2
Total Woollens -	— £.	185,113	925 1/8	14,809	5,553 1/4	5,640	212,040 7/8	204,717	111	4,298 3/8	11,733 1/4	
						Nett Loss on Woollens, £. 7,434 7/8, or 4 per Cent on First Cost.						
METALS.												
Lead - - -	Tons. Ct. Qrs. 581 3 3	10,392	52	831 3/8	311 3/4	5,811	17,398 1/8	13,019	114	—	4,493 1/8	43 1/4
Grand Total -	— £.	195,505	977 1/8	15,640 3/8	5,865	11,451	229,439	217,736	225	4,298 3/8	16,266 3/8	
						Total Nett Loss, £. 11,928 1/4, or 6 3-32 per Cent. on First Cost.						

CALCULATE of the PROFIT or LOSS on SALES of EUROPE GOODS at *CANTON*, 1785-6.

CALCULATE of the PROFIT or LOSS on SALES of EUROPE GOODS at *CANTON*, 1785–6.

	Quantity sold.	First Cost.	Charges in Engla. at Half per Cent.	Interest of Money, 2 Yrs. at 4 per Ct. per Ann.	Insurance, at 3 per Ct.	Freight, at 10l. per Ton in Time of Peace.	Total Amount.	Sale at Canton, at 6s. 8d. per Tale.	Charges of the Wareh.	Profit.	Loss.	Gain or Loss per Cent.
WOOLLENS.	Bales.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	
Broad Cloth - -	1,224	69,535	347¾	5,562¾	2,086	1,530	79,061½	75,410	41	—	3,692½	5 1-6
Long Ells - -	2,088	92,051	460	7,364	2,761½	3,480	106,116½	103,930	56	—	2,242½	2½
Camblets - - -	54	9,212	46	736¾	276½	270	10,541¼	13,116	7	2,567¾	—	27⅞
Total Woollens -	— £.	170,798	853¾	13,663½	5,124	5,280	195,719¼	192,456	104	2,567¾	5,935	

Nett Loss on Woollens, £. 3,367¼, or 1 15-16 per Ct on First Cost.

METALS.	Tons. Ct. Qrs.											
Lead - - -	1,257 2 2	24,503	122¼	1,960½	735	12,571	39,891¼	28,160	204	—	11,935	48 11-16
Grand Total -	— £.	195,301	976	15,624	5,859	17,851	235,611	220,616	308	2,567¾	17,870½	

Total Nett Loss, £. 15,303, or 7⅞ per Cent. on First Cost.

CALCULATE of the PROFIT or LOSS on SALES of EUROPE GOODS at *CANTON*, 1786-7.

	Quantity sold.	First Cost.	Charges in Engla. at Half per Cent.	Interest of Money, 2 Yrs. at 4 per Ct. per Ann.	Insurance at 3 per Ct.	Freight, at 10l. per Ton in Time of Peace.	Total Amount.	Sale at Canton, at 6s. 8d. per Tale.	Charges of the Wareh.	Profit.	Loss.	Gain or Loss per Cent.
WOOLLENS.		£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	
	Bales.											
Broad Cloth - -	1,510	87,297	436½	6,983¾	2,618⅞	1,887½	99,223⅛	24,112	50	—	5,161⅛	5 15-16
Long Ells - - -	2,999	135,096	675½	10,807⅜	4,052⅝	5,000	155,631¼	149,202	80	—	6,509¼	4 4-5
Camblets - -	17	2,880	14⅜	230⅜	86⅜	85	3,296⅛	4,056	2	757⅞	—	26⅓
Total Woollens -	— £.	225,273	1,126⅜	18,021½	6,758⅛	6,972½	258,151½	247,370	132	757⅞	11,671⅜	

Nett Loss on Woollens, £. 10,913½, or 4 5-6 per Ct. on First Cost.

METALS.												
	Tons. Ct.											
Lead - - -	2,121 9	39,500	197½	3,160	1,185	21,214½	65,257	45,144	381	—	20,494	51 15-16
Grand Total -	— £.	264,773	1,323⅞	21,181½	7,943⅛	28,187	323,408½	292,514	513	757⅞	32,165⅜	

Total Nett Loss, £. 31,407½, or 11 15-16 per Cent. on First Cost.

	Quantity sold.	First Cost.	Charges in Engla. at Half per Cent.	Interest of Money, 2 Yrs. at 4 per Ct. per Ann.	Insurance, at 3 per Ct.	Freight, at 10l. per Ton in Time of	Total Amount.	Sale at Canton, at 6s. 8d. per	Charges of the	Profit.	Loss.	Gain or Loss per

B. 17

	Quantity sold.	First Cost.	Charges in Engla. at Half per Cent.	Interest of Money, 2 Yrs. at 4 per Ct. per Ann.	Insurance, at 3 per Ct.	Freight, at 10l. per Ton in Time of Peace.	Total Amount.	Sale at Canton, at 6s. 8d. per Tale.	Charges of the Wareh.	Profit.	Loss.	Gain or Loss per Cent.
WOOLLENS.	Bales.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
Broad Cloth	1,065	60,898	304½	4,871¾	1,827	1,331¼	69,232½	67,291	39	—	1,980½	3¼
Long Ells	2,650	121,820	609	9,745½	3,654½	4,417	140,246	137,245	80	—	3,081	2½
Camblets	5	878	4⅜	70¼	26¼	25	1,003⅞	1,200	1	195⅛	—	22 3-16
Cameroons	2	563	2⅞	45	16¾	10	637⅛	623	—	—	14⅛	2½
Total Woollens	— £.	184,159	920¾	14,732½	5,524½	5,783¾	211,120	206,359	120	195⅛	5,076⅛	

Nett Loss on Woollens, £. 4,881, or 2⅛ per Cent. on First Cost.

METALS.	Tons. Ct. Qrs. lb.											
Copper	21 10 - 14	1,903	9½	152¼	57	215	2,336¼	2,406	9	60¼	—	3⅛
Lead	1,810 2 - —	33,514	167½	2,681	1,005½	18,101	55,469	38,519	303	—	17,253	51½
Total Metals	— £.	35,417	177	2,833¼	1,062½	18,316	57,805¾	40,925	312	60¼	17,253	

Nett Loss on Metals, £. 17,192¾, or 48½ per Cent. on First Cost.

Grand Total	— £.	219,576	1,097¼	17,565¼	6,587	24,099¼	268,925¼	247,284	432	255⅛	22,329⅛	

Total Nett Loss, £. 22,073¼, or 10 1-20 per Cent. on First Cost.

CALCULATE of the PROFIT or LOSS on SALES of EUROPE GOODS at *CANTON*, 1788–9.

	Quantity sold.	First Cost.	Charges in Engla. at Half per Cent.	Interest of Money, 2 Yrs. at 4 per Ct. per Ann.	Insurance, at 3 per Cent.	Freight, at 10l. per Ton in Time of Peace.	Total Amount.	Sale at Canton, at 6s. 8d. per Tale.	Charges of the Wareh.	Profit.	Loss.	Gain or Loss per Cent.
WOOLLENS.	Bales.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	
Broad Cloth	1,666	92,129	460¾	7,370¼	2,763¾	2,082½	104,806¼	97,473	44	—	7,377¼	8
Long Ells	5,352	241,605	1,208	19,328¼	7,248¼	8,920	278,309½	266,982	142	—	11,469½	4¾
Camblets	20	3,103	15¼	248	93	100	3,559¾	4,686	—	1,126¼	—	36¼
Total Woollens — £.		336,837	1,684½	26,946½	10,105	11,102½	386,675½	369,141	186	1,126¼	18,846¼	
						Nett Loss on Woollens, £. 17,720½, or 5¼ per Ct. on First Cost.						
METALS.	Tons. Ct.											
Copper	23 1	1,814	9	145	54	230	2,252	2,632	9	371	—	20
Lead	1,755 3	36,744	183¼	2,939½	1,102	17,551	58,519¼	39,316	314	—	19,517¼	53⅛
Total Metals — £.		38,558	192¼	3,084½	1,156	17,781	60,771¼	41,948	323	371	19,517¾	
						Nett Loss on Metals, £. 19,146¾, or 49⅛ per Cent.						
Grand Total — £.		375,395	1,876¾	30,031	11,261	28,883½	447,447¼	411,089	509	1,497¼	38,364½	

Grand Total -	—	£.	375,395	1,876¼	30,031	11,261	28,883½	447,447¾	411,089	509	1,497¼	38,364½	

	Quantity sold.		First Cost.	Charges in Engla. at Half per Cent.	Interest of Money, 2 Yrs. at 4 per Ct. per Ann.	Insurance at 3 per Cent.	Freight, at 10l. per Ton in Time of Peace.	Total Amount.	Sale at Canton, at 6s. 8d. per Tale.	Charges of the Wareh.	Profit.	Loss.	Gain or Loss per Cent.
WOOLLENS.			£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	
	Bales												
Broad Cloth - - -	1,203		72,359	361¾	5,788¾	2,170¾	1,503¾	82,184	78,264	31	—	3,951	5 7-16
Long Ells - - - -	4,682		215,394	1,077	17,231½	6,461¼	7,804	247,968¼	233,697	131	—	14,402¼	6 11-16
Camblets - - - -	33		4,697	23½	375¼	141	165	5,402¼	7,816	2	2,411¼	—	51⅓
Tabinets - -	Cases 7		1,231	6	98½	37	35	1,407½	1,355	1	—	53½	4⅓
Total Woollens -	—	£.	293,681	1,468¼	23,494½	8,810½	9,507¾	336,962	321,132	165	2,411¼	18,406¾	

Nett Loss on Woollens, £. 15,995, or 5 7-16 per Cent. on First Cost.

METALS.													
	Tons. Ct. Qrs. lb.												
Copper - - - -	179 17 1	—	15,748	78¾	1,259¾	472¼	1,798	19,356¾	18,131	46	—	1,271¾	8 1-14
Lead - - - - -	1,469 10 -	—	36,102	180½	2,888	1,083	14,695	54,948½	32,917	275	—	22,306½	61 13-16
Tin - - - - - -	55 — 2 17		4,080	20½	326¼	122¼	550	5,099	4,777	18	—	340	8⅓
Total Metals -	—	£.	55,930	279¾	4,474	1,677½	17,043	79,404¼	55,825	339	—	23,918¾	42¾
Grand Total -	—	£.	349,611	1,748	27,968½	10,488	26,550¾	416,366¼	376,957	504	2,411¼	42,325	

Total Nett Loss, £. 39,913¾, or 11 7-16 per Cent. on First Cost.

CALCULATE of the PROFIT or LOSS on SALES of EUROPE GOODS at *CANTON*, 1789-90-91.

	Quantity sold.	First Cost.	Charges in Engla. at Half per Cent.	Interest of Money, 2 Yrs. at 4 per Ct. per Ann.	Insurance, at 3 per Cent.	Freight, at 10l. per Ton in Time of Peace.	Total Amount.	Sale at Canton, at 6s. 8d. per Tale.	Charges of the Wareh.	Profit.	Loss.	Gain or Loss per Cent.
WOOLLENS.	Bales.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	
Broad Cloth	1,536	92,406	462	7,392½	2,772¼	1,920	104,952¾	100,362	50	—	4,640¾	5
Long Ells	5,450	243,582	1,217¾	19,486½	7,307½	9,083	280,676¼	271,959	135	—	8,852¼	3⅛
Superior Long Ells	175	9,553	47¾	764¼	286½	145½	10,797	10,485	5	—	317	3½
Superfine Ditto	1	67	—½	5¼	2	—	74¾	87	—	12¼	—	17 15-16
Camblets	60	8,420	42	673¼	252½	300	9,688¼	14,468	7	4,772¾	—	56⅝
Denims	2	289	1½	23	8½	10	332	333	—	1	—	3-10
Royal Ribbs	2	268	1	21¼	8	10	308¼	333	—	24¾	—	8 15-16
Total Woollens	— £.	354,585	1,772½	28,366½	10,637¼	11,468½	406,829¾	398,027	197	4,810¾	13,810½	
						Nett Loss on Woollens, £. 8,999¾, or 2 9-16 per Ct. on First Cost.						
METALS.	Tons. Ct. Qrs.											
Copper	249 12 2	21,294	106¾	1,703½	638¾	2,496	26,239	25,174	54	—	1,119	5¼
Lead	1,587 6 —	32,690	163¾	2,615¼	980½	15,873	52,322¼	44,446	288	—	8,164¼	24 15-16
Tin	782 12 —	53,749	268¼	4,299¾	1,612½	7,826	67,755½	72,692	163	4,773¼	—	8⅞
Total Metals	— £.	107,733	538½	8,618½	3,231¼	26,195	146,316¾	142,312	505	4,773¼	9,283¼	
						Nett Loss on Metals, £. 4,509¾, or 4⅛ per Cent. on First Cost.						
Grand Total	— £.	462,318	2,311	36,985	13,869	37,663½	553,146½	540,339	702	9,584¾	23,093¾	

THIRD

THIRD REPORT

OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE (APPOINTED BY THE COURT OF DIRECTORS TO TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION THE EXPORT TRADE FROM GREAT BRITAIN TO THE EAST INDIES, RELATIVE TO THE EXPORT TRADE TO JAPAN AND PERSIA, LAID BEFORE THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORDS OF THE COMMITTEE OF PRIVY COUNCIL APPOINTED FOR ALL MATTERS RELATING TO TRADE AND FOREIGN PLANTATIONS; WITH AN APPENDIX; DATED THE 11th AND 18th JANUARY, 1792.

THE Lords of the Committee of Privy Council appointed for all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations have been pleaſed to call for a Report relative to the export trade with Japan and Perſia.

It is well known that the Company have had no commerce whatſoever with the iſland of Japan ſince the beginning of the laſt century; and that the demand for European goods conveyed to Perſia, through India, &c. is almoſt annihilated. Your Committee muſt therefore preſume, that their Lordſhips motives for the enquiry ariſe from what indeed has been ſuggeſted in converſation with your Committee, a doubt whether the Company's diligence and exertions, in diſcovering new channels of trade to the eaſtward of the Cape of Good Hope, and of extending their trade to places already known, have been ſuch as the public have a right to expect.

The two kingdoms of Japan and Perſia, although different in every reſpect, are yet well-choſen objects for ſuch inveſtigation. Your Committee feel a great diſadvantage from the want of materials; but they feel ſtill more from an embarraſſment they had to encounter in their former Reports, as well as on the preſent occaſion; they mean the premature obligation of defending the Company before any charge is made. They flatter themſelves, however, that in a material degree they ſhall be able to anſwer their Lordſhips enquiry.

Your Committee truſt they ſhall prove, that the Company have never been deterred by the want of a ſpirit for enterprize, and ſtill leſs by a falſe principle of œconomy, from uſing every endeavour

endeavour to extend the trade, and to cultivate knowledge and ſcience in every way that might prove beneficial to the Britiſh empire.

The Company have long granted Mr. Orme an annuity, due to his merits as an hiſtorian. Major Rennel receives an annual allowance from the Company, in return for ſome of the ableſt publications in geography which have appeared in any country; a purſuit which he continues to follow with equal zeal and ability. Mr. Dalrymple has been conſtantly employed by the Company, to examine the ſhips journals, in the purſuit of nautical objects, and for the general improvement of navigation; and in conſequence of that gentleman's unremitting attention, and voluminous publications of ſea charts, &c. the navigation of the Indian and Chineſe ſeas are almoſt as well known to the Company's officers as that of the Britiſh Channel.

As the only permanent mode of eſtabliſhing a conſiderable commerce between diſtant countries conſiſts in the mutual exchange of the commodities which each produces, the expectation of being paid in gold and ſilver for the manufactures of Great Britain, in places where thoſe metals are not produced, is chimerical. The Company have directed their particular attention (and at a conſiderable expence) to the eſtabliſhment of botanical gardens in Calcutta, Madras, and St. Helena. They have increaſed the culture of ſilk and indigo to a very great extent. They have made experiments with almoſt every article which India affords, or which could be procured from the more eaſtern countries; and they truſt that their recent attempts with regard to ſugar will finally be crowned with ſucceſs. The literary ſociety, eſtabliſhed at Calcutta, under the protection of Sir William Jones, and carried on with great ability and ſpirit, not only embraces the literature and ſcience of the ancient and modern inhabitants of the Eaſt, but likewiſe their arts, manufactures and commerce. Indeed, with regard to commerce, every commander of a Company's ſhip conſiders himſelf to be ſo far upon an exploring voyage, as to exert himſelf in contributing towards that large portion of nautical and commercial knowledge compiled and publiſhed by Mr. Dalrymple.

The great expence ariſing from the purſuit of theſe objects is not confined to regular and eſtabliſhed diſburſements, but is increaſed by accidental loſſes.

Your Committee reſtrain themſelves from a more ample detail of the liberal and comprehenſive plan purſued by the Company. They truſt that the ſpecimen already given will evince that ſpirit of perſeverance which diſtinguiſhes the ſyſtem of an excluſive Company, and which has ever been directed by the Eaſt India Company to the proſperity and welfare of Great Britain.

Their

Their Lordſhips may perhaps require a liſt of thoſe places which the Company have explored, or to which attempts have been made to trade; ſuch a liſt would comprehend almoſt every part or place to the eaſtward of the Cape of Good Hope, hitherto diſcovered, and where it was preſumed commerce was practicable: For your Committee can aſſure the Court, that no part or place in thoſe ſeas can be named, which has not upon ſome occaſion attracted the attention of the Company, and where attempts have not been made in conſequence, to eſtabliſh a beneficial intercourſe.

To ſettle factories and to ſend ſhips to every inſignificant port or place is unneceſſary and impoſſible. Whoever trades to London has a communication with all parts of Great Britain; and it is remarkable, that foreigners frequently proceed upon the ſame principles in India, by giving a preference to the Company's ſettlements.

Having ſaid thus much with regard to the general principles upon which the Company have conducted themſelves, your Committee will proceed to the immediate objects of their Lordſhips enquiry.

The firſt document which can be found reſpecting Japan, is a grant of privileges from the emperor to the Company for the eighth voyage, and which has alluſion to ſome proceedings in the year 1613, but it is ſuppoſed that the earlieſt attempt by the Company to trade with Japan was in that year. Your Committee do not attempt to reconcile the contradiction, it being very immaterial: letters dated in 1615 have been preſerved, which conſiderably elucidate the nature of the trade, and the principal object of the Company. Further materials are preſerved belonging to 1616, 1620, down to 1623, when it was determined to abandon the trade altogether.

Among theſe documents there appears another grant from the Emperor to the Engliſh Company, in 1616, containing priviledges for a general trade.

The reſult of theſe papers is, 1ſt, That the articles proper for ſale in Japan conſiſted of India and China manufactures, ſilks, and raw ſilks, ſpices, drugs, ſandall wood, hides, &c. with ſome ſmall proportion of European articles.

2dly, That one great object of the Company was, to introduce themſelves to a connection with the Chineſe through Japan, and to carry on a general trade between India, China, and Japan.

3dly, That finding themſelves diſappointed in their endeavours to form connections with China, and ſuſtaining heavy loſſes in conſequence of their trade with Japan, they determined to abandon their eſtabliſhment in that iſland.

Although Japan is mentioned upon ſeveral occaſions, ſubſequent to the year 1623, yet it does not appear, that any attempt was made to revive the trade with that country direct, until the year 1673. A very full account of that attempt ſtands upon the Company's records; but it proved unſucceſsful. The objection made by the Emperor was, that the King of England had married a daughter of Portugal, who was his bitter enemy.

Whether the true reaſon was given, or that it aroſe from the intrigues of the Dutch, or from ſuperſtition, in conſequence of an old prophecy which is alluded to in the papers of thoſe times, is now immaterial. It was, however, the laſt attempt made by the Company for a ſettlement on the Iſland of Japan.

It appears, that about this period, when the Dutch were eſtabliſhed at Tywan, they made it their ſtorehouſe for the Japan trade, as it was centrical alſo for China, and deſirable for other purpoſes. The Engliſh Company, in the year 1670, obtained a grant from the King of Tywan, and eſtabliſhed a factory there; but after ſtruggling with great difficulties, ſuſtaining heavy loſſes, and being totally diſappointed in their expectations of communicating with Japan, &c. in the year 1682 the Company gave orders to withdraw the factory. Nevertheleſs, it does not appear that Tywan was abandoned on the conqueſt of that place by the Tartars in the year 1683.

It has been mentioned before, that one great object the Company had in view by ſettling in Japan, was to open a trade with China. At a ſubſequent period, the Company having eſtabliſhed a regular communication with China, your Committee find inſtructions to the Supra Cargoes (in the year 1699) to uſe every endeavour in their power to promote an intercourſe with Japan, for the purpoſe of introducing woollens, &c. into that Iſland; but there is no appearance of ſucceſs.—This is the whole your Committee can collect on the ſubject. They think it neceſſary, however, to add the uncontradicted aſſertion of a former Court of Directors, *viz.* that the attempts to promote a trade with Japan have coſt the Company near £. 50,000.

Other papers having occurred in the courſe of your Committee's reſearches, which tend to throw lights upon the trade with Japan, they will beg leave to intrude ſome further obſervations on the ſubject.

From a curious and authentic paper, dated in the year 1664, when the trade of Japan, and particularly with the Dutch, was the moſt flouriſhing, the particulars of the cargoes of 29 ſhips, from different parts of India and China, are correctly ſtated, and will be found in the Appendix, No. 4. If the particulars of

of the Dutch imports into Japan could have been added, the information would have been compleat.

The ſame paper contains a correct account of the cargo of a Dutch ſhip from Japan, *viz.*

460,000	Catties of Japan copper bars.
9,504½	Ditto camphire.
101	Pieces ſeveral wax works.
2,332	Pieces of ſilk ſtuffs.
190	Silk gowns.
3,543	China diſhes for Holland.
41,500	China ditto of different ſorts.
6,396	China ditto for the apothecaries ſhops at Batavia.
2,720½	Catties of tea.
50	Bales of Fingoſa rice.
347	Singee plants.

There is alſo an imperfect account of the cargoes of 4 more Dutch ſhips; the amount is ſaid to be Florins 1,193,654, of which in gold 72,765. There is likewiſe ſilver, but the amount is not mentioned, nor is there a detail of the remaining part of theſe cargoes.

The reaſon which induces your Committee to mention theſe circumſtances, is, that in the year 1782 a propoſal was made to the Company for reviving their trade to Japan, by a perſon who appeared to have been well acquainted with the nature of the trade. He delivered a plan for that purpoſe, accompanied with particulars neceſſary for a cargo outward, and the articles which might probably be received from Japan in return; of which the following is an exact copy:

A good new ſhip, or one in thorough repair, of about 800 tons, 200 of which will be ſufficient to ſtow the following merchandizes from Europe, the price wherein I eſtimate at about £. 7,000 ſterling.

Inunu cornu marinum.
Broad Cloth, long and of different colours.
Mumia.
Serge, and half cloths of different colours
Lead and pewter.
Tortoiſe ſhells, if any of the proper quality can be had here.
Quickſilver.
Saffron.
£. 1,0000 Sterling ſhould alſo be allowed for all kind of European curioſities to make preſents of.

The goods to be ſhipped from our ſettlements in India muſt be as follows:

Bengal ſilks.	Guineſſe.
Pepper.	Salempores.
Camphire.	Elephants teeth.
Armozeens of all colours.	Catyon.
Toffenyes of inferior quality.	Portyock.
Taffachelas.	Rattans.
Ginghams.	Powder ſugar.

Which cargo from Europe and India will together amount to about £. 26,000 ſterling. The Company will receive in return from Japan, to be delivered at Bengal or the Coaſt of Coromandel, the following articles: In copper refined. 7,500 Picols, at 133⅓ per Picol, Engliſh weight. In camphire, 700 Picols.

This clear of all expences for loading and unloading, living in the country, &c.

If to theſe articles are added ſandall wood, hides, ſpices, drugs, and China ſilks, which are not properly articles of the Engliſh Company's trade, the aſſortment for cargoes for Japan will appear to be not much unlike thoſe of the year 1664. He added, that a regular eſtabliſhment was neceſſary, and that the ſucceſs of the enterprize depended altogether on a chief, who was well acquainted with the cuſtoms and manners of Japan.

Although a perſonal communication with the author of the plan was attempted, it never could be accompliſhed; nor can your Committee vouch for the authority upon which the propoſal above mentioned was made. But if allowance is made for the alterations conſequent to the great diſtance of time from the year 1664, and from the difference between the Dutch and Engliſh trade, there will be found a ſtriking ſimilarity between the returns actually made from Japan at a former period, and thoſe expected by the plan of 1782.

If theſe premiſes are well founded (and your Committee have no other upon which they can form a conjecture) it is obvious, that the trade with Japan never can become an object of attention for the manufactures and produce of Great Britain. Among the few European articles which are enumerated, quickſilver is produced much cheaper and in greater abundance in China. Suppoſing, however, that woollens, lead, and curioſities for ſuch a cargo, could be made to amount to £. 8,000, what is to be received in payment? About £. 30,000 or £. 32,000 value in copper, an article which is alſo the produce of Great Britain, and which muſt be diſpoſed of in India to the prejudice of our mines. Thus Great Britain on the one hand would gain

£. 8,000,

£. 8,000, while ſhe loſt on the other £. 32,000.—Conſidering the imperfect materials to which your Committee are confined, and the great length of time which has elapſed ſince any communication has been had with the iſland of Japan, every indulgence is due to opinions which they have ventured to ſuggeſt. But after adverting to ſuch circumſtances as have occurred ſubſequent to the decline of the Dutch trade, and to certain advantages over other European nations poſſeſſed by the Dutch, in conſequence of the excluſive products of their iſlands, and their long reſidence in Japan, your Committee are inclined to think the trade with that iſland is more calculated for the commerce *de l' Inde en Inde*, than for the promoting the ſale of Britiſh manufactures and produce,

PERSIA.

Your Committee will, in the next place, offer ſuch information and obſervations as relate to Perſia, in compliance with their lordſhips requeſt.

That Empire is moſt happily ſituated for trade, almoſt ſurrounded by Arabia, Turkey, the Tartars, and countries whoſe commerce is imperfectly known to the North and North Eaſt, and alſo by India; it has moreover a very conſiderable tract of ſea coaſt, and communicates at the ſame time with Aleppo and Conſtantinople, through Buſſora and Bagdat, and with Ruſſia by means of the Caſpian ſea. If to theſe circumſtances are added its former ſtate of proſperity, affluence, and ſplendour, with the fertility of ſoil, and its numerous natural productions, it is reaſonable to form great expectations from ſuch a combination of circumſtances. Perſia, however, adds another melancholy inſtance of thoſe found in the annals of hiſtory, that every bleſſing which nature can beſtow is of no avail, unleſs accompanied by that peace and tranquillity which alone reſults from a ſteady well-regulated government.

During the time of Nadir Shaw's uſurpation, the Company found themſelves expoſed to repeated inſtances of oppreſſion; notwithſtanding the Shaw directed that the loſs which Mr. Jonas Hanway ſuſtained by the ſeizure of his woollens ſhould be made good to him. From the aſſaſſination of Nadir Shaw until the eſtabliſhment of Kerim Khan, the empire was plunged into the deepeſt confuſion and diſtreſs. The reſult of this (as ſtated in the Firſt Report) was, that the Company could place no reliance whatever, nor obtain any ſolid protection from a Perſian phirmaund. Under the laſt-mentioned prince, commerce had begun to revive, and very conſiderable progreſs had been made at his death, which happened early in the year 1779. The confuſion occaſioned

occaſioned by that event did not ſubſide until Jaffer Khan (the nephew of Kerim) aſſumed the government of the ſouthern provinces, Schyras and its dependencies, in the year 1784: His conduct with regard to trade was ſimilar to that of Kerim Khan; and at the time he was aſſaſſinated in the year 1789 a conſiderable degree of confidence had appeared in the ſtability and equity of his government.

The preſent ruler of Schyras, Lutf Ally Khan, has already manifeſted the ſame diſpoſition to protect and encourage foreigners in their trade.

If, in addition to the political convulſions before mentioned, we conſider the havock made by maladies, which in ſome places, and upon ſome occaſions, on the confines of Turkey, are ſtated to have deſtroyed one third of the inhabitants; the emigrations which have enſued; the few in number now left to enjoy eaſe and affluence, whence trade derives its beſt ſupport; the compariſon between the paſt and preſent ſtate of Perſia, in every reſpect, will be found truly deplorable.

The trade of Ormus has been long ſince loſt. It is the ſame with regard to Gombroon, whence the Company withdrew their eſtabliſhment, in conſequence of the heavy expence; but it ought to have been abandoned long before, upon a principle of humanity. Further up the Gulph is Buſhire, where a Reſident is now fixed. Beyond that is Bundanck, formerly a place of ſome note, where the Dutch had an eſtabliſhment, upon the Iſland of Carrack, but which was abandoned when they withdrew from the Iſland. At the head of the Gulf, and about 70 miles from the ſea, is Buſſora; which, although ſituated in in Arabia Deſerta, on the banks of the Arab river, formed by a junction of the Tigris and Euphrates, yet as it forms more or leſs the centre of the Company's commercial concerns in thoſe parts, it becomes abſolutely neceſſary to be introduced in the preſent report.

At one period the Company had abandoned Ormus, Gombroon, Buſhire, and Bunderick; but, at the requeſt of Kerim Khan, an eſtabliſhment was made at Buſhire, which has remained ever ſince.

The reſult of the annual ſales, both at Buſſora and Buſhire, have been already compriſed in the Firſt Report, under the Preſidency of Bombay; but for the purpoſe of complying in the fulleſt manner with the requeſt of their Lordſhips, your Committee now ſtate them ſeparately.

The particulars of the ſales of woollens at Buſſora will be found in the Appendix, No. 2.

The particulars of the ſales of woollens at Buſhire will be found in the Appendix, No. 3.

In

In this account of the ſales at Buſhire, no duty nor expence paid towards the government of the country is charged.

And your Committe will have occaſion to offer their obſervations relative to the very conſiderable expence which attends thoſe eſtabliſhments hereafter.

When patterns of the Norwich and Mancheſter manufactures were ſent to Buſſora and Buſhire, in 1788, ſome of the qualities and colours were well adapted to the taſte of the Perſians; but the invoice price was ſo high that the loſs muſt have been very conſiderable, and therefore they were returned. The manner in which Perſia has been drained of its gold and ſilver for a long period of years, has compelled the natives to eſtabliſh manufactures of coarſe cotton, and other articles, for common wear; and with which the ſouthern parts of Perſia are at preſent ſupplied.

Yet your Committee entertain no doubt but that the European articles, and woollens in particular, may be ſold, and readily conſumed, in Perſia.

There are, however, other points neceſſary for conſideration:

1ſt, The profit and loſs reſulting therefrom.

2dly, The means which Perſia poſſeſſes of paying for thoſe ſales.

3dly, The competition to be expected from European foreigners.

Enough has been already ſaid with regard to the firſt; and it is preſumed, that a diſcuſſion of the ſecond and third will aſcertain how far individuals, the ſubjects of Great Britain, have a proſpect of extending the ſale of her manufactures and produce into Perſia, beyond what the Company have done, independent of the heavy loſs which they muſt ſuſtain in the firſt inſtance from the ſale.

Before your Committee proceed to the inveſtigation of thoſe points, it becomes neceſſary to conſider the expence ariſing to the Company from their eſtabliſhments at Buſſora and Buſhire. For no trade can be carried on with thoſe places from the ſea without a regular eſtabliſhment of perſons conſtantly reſiding there, to cultivate the protection of thoſe fluctuating arbitrary governments, by making preſents, at times, to a conſiderable amount, whenever a revolution may take place in the country.

The

The average amount of ſales at Buſſora is - - - - - -	£. 5,047	
And the average annual loſs is -	—	£. 1,130
Beſides which, the expence of the factory at Buſſora amounts annually to - - - - -	—	4,276
Total loſs ariſing from the ſale of woollens, and from the eſtabliſhment - - - - - -	—	£. 5,406

The duties to the Turkiſh government are included in the eſtimate of profit and loſs on the ſale of woollens; but the preſents which the factory have been obliged to make, from time to time (the average annual amount of which is £. 630) are included under the expence of the factory at Buſſora, and muſt be paid by thoſe who carry on the trade.

The Company have no other emolument or trade whatſoever reſulting from their eſtabliſhment at Buſſora, by which any part of the expence of £. 4,276 per annum can be recovered; and they incur a further annual expence at that place of £. 2,311, for ſupplies furniſhed to the Bombay cruizers, and for the charge of receiving and forwarding packets to and from Europe.

The average annual amount of ſales at Buſhire is - - - -	£. 2,608	
The annual loſs reſulting therefrom is - - - - - -	—	£. 123
Beſides which, the expence of the factory at Buſhire amounts annually to - - - - -	—	1,375
Total loſs - - - - -	—	£. 1,498

ariſing from the ſale of woollens, and from the eſtabliſhment.

There are no preſents to the government of Buſhire, nor to the ſuperior government at Schyras, for reaſons already mentioned; but ſhould the trade with Perſia improve, thoſe preſents will be expected hereafter, and muſt be made.

The advances to the Bombay cruizers, at this reſidency, amount to about £. 340 per annum.

Although it is impoſſible that a complete cargo of Europe goods could be formed capable of being ſold in all or in any parts of the Gulf, yet, as your Committee have made their calculation upon a freight of £. 10 per ton, they do not charge additionally for the freight from Bombay to Buſhire and Buſſora,

ſora, nor do they include ſome other charges, which would fall very heavy upon individuals.

They muſt obſerve, however, that the Bombay cruizers are a very great expence to the Company, but abſolutely neceſſary to protect the intercourſe with the Gulph of Perſia from the depredations of pirates; and conſequently ſome part of that expence muſt be commercial.

If it ſhall be aſked, Why the Company ſupport eſtabliſhments at ſuch a heavy and certain expence? the anſwer will amount to a complete juſtification of the liberal principles of the Company, and refute the opinions their Lordſhips have been pleaſed to ſuggeſt. The Company are deprived of the means of an eſtabliſhment on the borders of the Red Sea, from the want of protection, and in conſequence of expence which would ariſe much beyond the preſent object; they are ſatisfied with ſettlements at Buſſora and at Buſhire, notwithſtanding the great loſs they have ſuſtained for many years, and which may probably continue for many more. And to this the Company ſubmit, on the mere poſſibility that Arabia, the interior parts of Turkey, or Perſia, may at length fall under a well regulated government; and becauſe Buſſora and Buſhire are well ſituated for obtaining information, as well as for improving every favourable circumſtance which eventually may ariſe.

If the Company's eſtabliſhments ſhould be withdrawn, and individuals be diſpoſed to attempt the trade with Perſia, there muſt be perſons reſident on the ſpot, and a conſiderable expence will neceſſarily accrue.

But this is not the whole inconvenience. In a country where the exchange is nominal, (which is the caſe with Turkey as well as Perſia) the proceeds of goods ſold muſt be inveſted in the produce of the country.

The uſual prices, at which ſuch produce will ſell at the place of their deſtination, is always below (and ſometimes conſiderably below) the nominal courſe of exchange, unleſs in the caſe of accidents and conſequent ſpeculations. If individuals ſhall prefer to receive gold or ſilver in ſuch countries as Turkey or Perſia, inſtead of produce, there is an additional, and ſometimes a conſiderable, loſs ariſing therefrom.

As it is evident therefore that returns cannot be made in bills, and that gold and ſilver will augment the loſs, it becomes neceſſary to take a ſhort review of what Perſia affords, in order to aſcertain whether any other means exiſt of making returns for the ſale of European articles.

The manufactures and produce of Perſia are ſilks, brocades, carpets, manufactures of ſteel, ſword blades, ſpear heads, gun barrels, glaſs, roſe water, attar of roſes, cotton cloths, ſome

ſhawls, ſheep ſkins dreſſed in a very ſuperior manner, raw ſilks, ſome indigo and tobacco, rhubarb, irak, drugs of different ſorts, dried fruits, cotton, mines of iron and copper, wool of the Kerman ſheep, in ſmall quantities, wines, marble, and ſome trifling articles; to which muſt be added Perſian and Turkiſh coins, Venetian chequins, German crowns, and gold and ſilver in bars.

As thoſe individuals who carry on the whole of the trade with Perſia, except in woollens, are not actuated by the ſame liberal principles as the Company, it muſt be enquired what are the articles which Perſia regularly demands, and which muſt be paid for at their full value. For until thoſe demands are ſatisfied, the proprietor of Britiſh woollens, &c. cannot expect payment for his goods without a further addition to the heavy loſs which has been ſtated.

The imports into Buſſora and Buſhire from the ſea conſiſt of Bengal piece goods, chintz from the coaſt, long cloth, Porto Novo blue cloth, Malabar, Surat, and Guzarat piece goods, Cuttanees, Cambay, Chanders, Broach and Sundy cotton, cotton yarn, ſhawls, bamboos, China ware, ſugar, ſugar candy, pepper, ginger, cardamums, cloves, nutmegs, cinnamon, caſſia flowers, muſk, lack, camphire, turmerick, indigo, tootenague, red lead, coffee, tobacco, Britiſh woollens, iron, lead, ſteel, tin, and a variety of drugs.

A conſiderable part of the importations into Buſſora is no doubt for Turkey, and probably for Arabia, as well as Perſia; but as moſt of thoſe articles are alſo imported into Buſhire (the Indian manufactures however, in ſmall quantities, but the others in a much larger proportion) it muſt be admitted, that ſome of thoſe neceſſary for the ſupply of the empire of Perſia (under ſuch a climate) muſt be of conſiderable value, and naturally entitled to a preference over woollens, or other European articles; whilſt, on the other hand, the products of Perſia are not ſuitable for the Indian markets.

It has been found indeed by experience, that notwithſtanding the loſs, India is a conſtant drain upon Perſia for its gold and ſilver. This loſs is made good to the Indian merchant by a proportioned advance upon the price of the goods which he ſells; but that loſs, ſo far from being compenſated to the European merchant, would become an addition to a burthen which is already too great. When your Committee ſtate, that the products of Perſia are not ſuitable to the Indian markets, they beg to be underſtood in a comparative ſenſe only. The exact proportion cannot be aſcertained, although great pains have been beſtowed for the purpoſe; but there is reaſon to believe, that not one fifth part can be returned to India in the produce of Perſia.

The

The remainder, or balance, muſt therefore be paid in the precious metals; for the rich and moſt valuable products of ſilks is in no demand.

In addition to this conſtant drain upon the country muſt be mentioned the pilgrimages made by the Perſians to Kuballey and Mecca, to which at leaſt 10,000 annually reſort; and it will be found, that if merchants require payment in gold or ſilver for articles which conſtitute, in the moſt favourable point of view, a *forced trade*, ſuch payment muſt produce an enormous loſs, or deduction, from the current courſe of exchange.

Having thus ſtated the difficulties which occur relative to the very ſlender means which Perſia poſſeſſes of paying for her imports from India, and which apply ſtill more forcibly to Great Britain, your Committee will proceed to the 3d point, *viz.* the competition to be expected from European foreigners.

In the year 1681, the Turkey merchants remonſtrated againſt the Eaſt India Company in particular for interfering with them in the ſale of woollens in the northern parts of Perſia. At that period ſilks, carpets, &c. were in England, by which means returns could be ſecured. But the conteſt on the part of the Company, even at that time, was not for a beneficial market, being compelled by their charters to export manufactures and produce to a certain amount; and which, as they could not ſell in India, they were compelled to ſend woollens to Perſia, for the purpoſe of avoiding a total loſs. If the Turkey merchants could procure returns, and ſell the ſilks in the ſame proportions as formerly, they would be equally capable of extending their exports of woollens, &c. for the expence of carriage acroſs the deſerts, including the inſurance from riſk, and the duties paid to the wandering tribes, &c. is very moderate.

Unfortunately the ſilk manufacture has never been deemed an object worthy the protection of government in this country. The heavy duty paid on the importation of the raw material will always prevent the manufacturers from contending upon equal ground with thoſe of foreign nations; whilſt the produce of India and China, with a ſmall quantity from Italy, precludes the neceſſity of importing any from Perſia, and very little from Turkey, as heretofore, for our domeſtic conſumption, and for the little proportion of the export trade which we enjoy.

France has purſued a different courſe; and the manufacture at Lyons, which owes its eſtabliſhment to one of the ableſt miniſters that country ever boaſted, employs ſilk of every country and of every deſcription. The Perſian and Turkey ſilks are purchaſed from the merchant of Marſeilles, who receives them in return for the woollens and manufactures of France, which he had previouſly exported.

In the north, Ruſſia is making rapid ſtrides towards commercial pre-eminence; and at Moſcow, Perſian ſilk is ſold in large quantities, whilſt it is ſeldom, if ever, ſeen in London.

It is in vain to contend againſt ſuch competitors; and therefore, under all the circumſtances ſtated, your Committee are decidedly of opinion, that the export of Britiſh manufactures and produce to Perſia by ſea cannot be increaſed, either by the Company or by individuals, until that empire, or the countries which ſurround it, ſhall obtain the bleſſings of a regular and eſtabliſhed government.

And even if that event ſhould ever happen, doubts muſt ſtill remain whether Ruſſia, but more particularly France, will not always be enabled to ſupply Perſia with European goods upon better terms than Britiſh ſubjects, for reaſons which have been fully ſtated in the preſent Report.

J. SMITH BURGES,
F. BARING,
JOHN MANSHIP,
JOHN HUNTER,
W. ELPHINSTONE,
HUGH INGLIS.

Eaſt India Houſe,
11th January 1792.

POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE the above Report was ſigned, information has been communicated to your Committee of the particulars of the cargoes of two Dutch ſhips bound to Japan, in the years 1770 and 1775. Your Committee beg to add a copy of this information in the Appendix, No. 4.

J. SMITH BURGES,
F. BARING,
JOHN MANSHIP,
JOHN HUNTER,
HUGH INGLIS,
W. ELPHINSTONE.

Eaſt India Houſe,
18th January, 1792.

APPENDIX,

APPENDIX, No. 1.

EXTRACT of a Paper reſpecting the Cargoes of Twenty-nine DUTCH SHIPS.

AFTER the departure of the laſt ſhips from Batavia, ſeveral tonckes from China, Tonkeene, Teywan, were departed, and this ſeaſon 29 of them are arrived in Japan; *viz.*

3	From Syam.
3	From Cambodia.
4	From Queenam.
1	From Luborne.
3	From Tywan, by Anna.
11	From Antray.
1	From Amew.
2	From Outſeaw.
1	From Nankeen.
29	

The firſt ſhip from Syam the laſt year, and ſet out by the Moore Opera Cinneratt, and wintered in Queenam; and the ſeaſon arrived in Japan the 11th July laſt, laden with the following goods:

150,000	Cattees of Japan wood.
533	Bundles of baſt, for brooms.
2,896	Buffalo horns.
1,000	Ca. cittaw.
150	Ca. caſſia linga.
650	Ca. boree borree.
2,456	Pieces of ſalempores.
185	Pots of nammarak.
72	Hart ſkins.
100	Ca. of red earth.
17,000	Ca. of black ſugar.
600	Cattees of pepper.
100	Pieces of alegirs condrick.
9	Pl. of cuſhion cloths.
3	Pl. of ſennanges.
5	Pieces of camblets.
2	Ca. of vermillion.
50	Hare ſkins.
130	Pl. hockins.
6	Pl. pepetuanoes.
111	Packs with clappas ſheels.
550	Cattees of medicinal drugs.

The other two ſhips from Syam arrived in Japan the 2d and 6th of September, with the following goods:

54,600	Cattees old pinnang.
6,720	Ca. namarack.
4,215	Pl. jamama.
1,972	Pl. of cheman.
250	Buck ſkins.
14,700	Ca. tin.
40,900	Ca. pepper.
680	Ca. clappas oil.
43	Pl. of aleateeles.
59	Ps. of ſaffaran.
976	Ca. of drugs.
5,400	Hare ſkins.
15,836	

15,836 Fiſh ſkins.
2,203 Buffalo horns.
660 Cow hides.
11,200 Ca. canes.
13,070 Ca. cupock.
20,700 Ca. red earth.
570 Pieces of ſandell wood.
4,860 of ivory.
38 Ca. of rhinoſery.
200 Ca. of agel wood.
78 Pl. of girlitts.
12 Pl. of gazeens.
16 Ps. of red panices.
3 Pl. of ſenangees.
16 Ps. of maddap hunts.
74 Aligia condracks.
142,000 Ca. of white ſugar.
28,400 Ca. of black ſugar.
9,360 Pieces of harts ſkins.
140 Pieces of cobbittors.
650 Ca. of bark of trees.
300 Ca. of burnt allum.
100 Ca. of drugs.
150 Ca. of gilligoom.
100 Ca. of waſh.
20 Ca. of cloves.
2 Cheſts of ſmall wares.

The three ſhips that came from Cambodia, and arrived in Japan the 5th, 18th, and 25th of Auguſt; the firſt was the toncke of the rich forſaken Chineſe Coquan, who, under pretence of being ſick, hath obtained leave to remain yet a year in Japan: the lading of theſe three toncks were as followeth:

92,710 Hart ſkins.
2,607 Cow hides.
33 Tiger ſkins.
522 Hare ſkins.
1,520 Fiſh ſkins.
3,600 Buck ſkins.
2,745 Buffalo horns.
33 Cattees of renoſſer horns
700 Ca. and 2 pieces of elephants teeth.
800 Ca. of hart ſkins.
35,000 Ca. of cambodia nuts.
71,400 Ca. of black ſugar.
13,300 Ca. of white ſugar.
2,200 Ca. of ſugar candy.
20,000 Ca. of ſappan wood.
5,300 Ca. of waſh.
300 Ca. of pepper.
63 Ca. of cloves.
210 Ca. of caſſambay.
35 Ca. of callamback.
60,000 Ca. of nammorack.
120 Ca. of caſſia lingua.
20 Ca. of burneſa camphire.
350 Ca. of ſpelter.
500 Ca. of vermillion.
200 Ca. of radix china.
20 Ca. of ſerpent wood.
5 Ca. of nephene.
2,000 Ca. of drugs.
330 Ca. of wrt. ſilk.
50 Ca. of ſittaw.
12 Ca. of ſewing ſilk.
7,593 Pieces of ſilk ſtuffs.
65 Pl. of camblets.
325 Pl. coarſe cloth.
100 Ca. of gold thread.
100 Ca. of cupock.
20 Cheſts of ſmall wares.

The four jonckes of Queenam arrived in Japan 19th, 22d, and 31ſt Auguſt, with theſe goods:

1,010 Ca. of callumback.
1,100 Ca. of ſerpent wood.
373 Pieces of ebony.
21,700 Ca. of nammerack.
31,080 Ca. of pepper.
1,500 Ca. of ſpelter.
22,044 Fiſh ſkins.
784 Hare ſkins.

2,722

2,722 Cow hides.
8 Elephant teeth.
9,427 Buffaloes horns.
30,260 Ca. of white ſugar.
122,000 Ca. of black ſugar.
150 Ca. of ſugar candy.
7,890 Ca. of cotton wool, in 14 bags.
800 Ca. of radix china.
16,200 Ca. of cambodia nuts.
61,801 Ca. of bark of trees.
200 Ca. of yellow ſilk.
16,290 Ca. of drugs.
13,520 Ca. of ſellaw.
1,387 Pieces of ſilk ſtuffs.

The joncke from Luborne arrived at Japan 22d Auguſt, with

111 Pieces of ſilk ſtuffs.
150 Ca. of radix china.
600 Ca. of nammarack.
42,000 Ca. of white ſugar.
23,000 Ca. of black ſugar.
900 Ca. of ſugar candy.
4,000 Ca. of ſpelter.
150 Ca. of tea.
2 Cheſts with ſmall ware.
230 Ca. of drugs.

The three jonckes from Tywan, which arrived at Japan 23d, 24th, and 26th July, bringing as followeth:

51,200 Hart ſkins, whereof 7,760 were of
500,800 Ca. of white ſugar, therein 10,800 of Formoſa.
37,000 Ca. of black ſugar.
1,700 Ca. of ſugar candy.
3,032 Fiſh ſkins.
5,100 Ca. of nammarack.
48,400 Ca. of ſappan wood.
125 Hare ſkins.
2,000 Ca. of ſpelter.
51 Ca. of vermillion.
10 Ca. of ſerpent wood.
11 Ca. of niſſen roots.
20,400 Ca. of drugs.
1,350 Ca. of radix china.
150 Ca. of gold thread.
27 Cheſts of ſmall wares.
200 Ca. of white ſilks.
294 Pieces of ſilk ſtuffs.
2,091 Pieces of hempen cloth.
1,014 Ps. of callicoes and ſmall things.

The remaining 15, which came from China, and arrived at Japan, brought

45,701 Cas. wrt. ſilk.
450 Ca. of tonken ſilk.
2,930 Ca. of ſewing ſilk.
10,385 Pelings.
43 Queenam pelings.
10,840 Geelems.
30,955 Pancies.
5,039 Scowells.
2,394 Sattins.
347 Velvets.
57 Embredors.
256 Damaſks.
246 Gayſon.
213 Striped ſilk ſtuffs.
887 Cuſhion cloths.
35 Cloths of gold.
60 Pl. ſallampores.
1,869 Ps. cotton linen.
16,502 Ps. of hempen cloths.
1,265 Ps. of camblets.
40 Thread ſeſtentines.
4 Ps. of Chineſe ſerge.
24 Senangees.
4 Fabbettaes.
4,500 Cattees of cotton.
15 Ells of black cloth.

8 Ca. of watton.
791,160 Ca. of white ſugar.
160,010 Ca. of black ſugar.
42,070 Ca. of ſtick ſugar.
18,080 Ca. of ſappan wood.
36,650 Ca. of ſpelter.
3,540 In 6 pots of namarack.
9,150 Ca. of waſh.
2,225 Ca. of China roots.
71 Ca. of nuce roots.
273 Ca. of fine cloves.
93 Ca. of muſk.
300 Ca. of allum.
50 Ca. of burnt allum.
88 Ca. of vermillion.
500 Ca. of ſittaw.
250 Ca. of China dye.
530 Ca. of tea.
100 Ca. of boreaux.
1,000 Ca. of bark of trees.
7 Ca. of dye ſtuff.
160 Ca. of 12 cheſts, and 230 bundles of gold thread.
100 Ca. of ſerpent wood.
100 Ca. of callambacca.
75,280 Ca. of drugs.
2,700 Spectacles.
84 Tea pots.
2 Cheſts with books.
670 Bundles with China paper.
74,260 Hart ſkins.
905 Fiſh ſkins.
3,375 Jammamies.
3,173 Cobbettoes.
70 Cow hides.
150 Buck ſkins.
20 Cheſts china.
150 Chiman.
5 Hare ſkins.
5,450 Ca. pepper.
1,178 Buffalo horns.
1,440 Ca. of elephant teeth.
400 Ca. caſſia lingua.
192 Cheſts of ſmall wares.

CALCULATE of the PROFIT or LOSS on SALES of WOOLLENS at *BUSSORA*, from 1780–81 to 1785–6.

	Quantity sold.	First Cost.	Charges in Engla. at Half per Cent.	Interest of Money, 2 Yrs. at 4 per Ct. per Ann.	Insurance, at 3 per Ct.	Freight, at 10l. per Ton in Time of Peace.	Turkish Customs on Importation	Total.	Sale at Bussora, at 2s. 9d. the Rupee.	Bombay Wareh. Char. at 2 per Ct.	Profit.	Loss.	Gain or Loss per Cent. on First Cost.
1780–81.	Bales. Ps.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	
Broad Cloth	29 3½	1,919	9½	153½	57½	36⅞	59	2,235⅜	1,347½	27	—	914⅞	47⅝
1781–2.													
Broad Cloth	122 —	5,847⅜	29¼	467¾	175⅛	152½	129¾	6,802	6,199½	124	—	726½	12 7-16
Long Ells	113 —	2,581	12⅞	206½	77⅜	94¼	45¼	3,017¼	2,740¼	54⅞	—	331⅛	12 13-16
Total	— £.	8,428⅜	42⅛	674¼	252¼	246¾	175	9,819¼	8,939¾	178⅞	—	1,058⅜	12½
1782–3. None sold.													
1783–4.													
Broad Cloth	145 —	6,537¼	32⅝	522⅞	196⅛	181¼	136	7,606⅛	6,652¼	133	—	1,086⅞	16¼
1784–5.													
Broad Cloth	165 —	7,642¼	38¼	611⅜	229¼	205	275	9,001⅛	7,732½	154⅝	—	1,423⅝	11⅝
Long Ells	155 —	3,559	17¾	284¾	106¾	129⅛	62	4,159⅜	3,793⅜	75⅞	—	441⅛	12⅜
Total	— £.	11,201¼	56	896⅛	336	334⅛	337	13,160½	11,525¾	230½	—	1,865¼	16⅛
1785–6.													
Broad Cloth	78 —	4,113	20½	329	123⅜	97½	*	4,683⅜	3,583	71⅞	—	1,172¼	28½

* Charged last Year, when the Cloth was imported.

APPENDIX, No. 2, *continued.*

CALCULATE of the PROFIT or LOSS on SALES of WOOLLENS at *BUSSORA*, from 1786–7 to 1789–90.

	Quantity sold.	First Cost.	Charges in Engla. at Half per Cent.	Interest of Money, 2 Years, 4 per Ct. per Ann.	Insurance, at 3 per Cent.	Freight, at 10l. per Ton in Time of Peace.	Turkish Customs on Importation	Total.	Sale at Bussora, at 2s. 3d. the Rupee.	Bombay Wareh. Char. at 2 per Ct.	Profit.	Loss.	Gain or Loss per Cent. on First Cost.
	Bales. Ps.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	
1786–7. None sold.													
1787–8.													
Broad Cloth	141 —	6,550 7/8	32 3/4	524	196 1/2	176 1/4	145 1/4	7,625 1/8	6,759	135 1/8	—	1,001 1/8	15 9-32
Long Ells	72 —	1,619	8	129 1/2	48 1/2	60	26 3/8	1,891 1/8	1,464	29 1/4	—	456 1/8	28 1-6
Total	— £.	8,169 7/8	40 3/4	653 1/2	245	236 1/4	171 1/8	9,517	8,223	164 3/8	—	1,458 3/8	17 27-32
1788–9.													
Broad Cloth	6 —	534 1/2	2 1/8	42 3/4	16	7 1/2	12 1/8	616	650 3/4	13	21 1/4	—	3 15-16
Long Ells	196 —	4,751 7/8	23 3/4	380	142 1/2	163 1/4	71 1/4	5,533 1/8	3,877 7/8	77 1/2	—	1,732 3/4	36 7-16
Total	— £.	5,286 3/8	26 3/8	422 3/4	158 1/2	170 3/4	84 3/8	6,149 1/8	4,528 1/8	90 1/2	21 1/4	1,732 1/4	
									Nett Loss, £. 1,711, or 32 1/8 per Cent.				
1789–90.													
Broad Cloth	65 —	4,019	20	321 1/2	120 7/8	90	81 1/4	4,652 1/4	3,677 3/4	72 1/2	—	1,047	26 1-20
Long Ells	104 —	2,530	12 1/8	202 3/8	75 5/8	86 3/4	38	2,945 3/8	1,994	39 3/8	—	991 1/2	39 1-6
Total	— £.	6,549	32 1/8	523 7/8	196 3/8	176 3/4	119 1/4	7,597 7/8	5,671 1/4	112 3/8	—	2,038 1/2	31 1/8
Total in 10 Years	—	52,204 1/8	260 1/2	4,175 7/8	1,565 3/8	1,480 1/4	1,082 1/4	60,768 3/8	50,471 5/8	1,008 1/2	21 1/4	11,327 1/4	

Total Nett Loss, £. 11,305 1/4, or 21 11-16 per Cent. on First Cost.

CALCULATE of the PROFIT or LOSS on SALES of WOOLLENS at *BUSHIRE*, from 1780–81 to 1783–4.

Total in 10 Years -	—	52,204⅛	260½	4,175⅞	1,565⅝	1,480¼	1,082¼	60,768⅛	50,471⅝	1,008½	21¾	11,327¼	

Total Nett Loss, £. 11,30[illegible], or 21 11-16 per Cent. on First Cost.

CALCULATE of the PROFIT or LOSS on SALES of WOOLLENS at *BUSHIRE*, from 1780–81 to 1783–4.

	Quantity sold.		First Cost.	Charges in Engla. at Half per Cent.	Interest of Money, 2 Yrs. at 4 per Ct. per Ann.	Insurance, at 3 per Ct.	Freight, at 10l. per Ton in Time of Peace.	Total.	Sale at Bushire, at 2s. 3d. the Rupee.	Warch. Charges at 2 per Cent.	Profit.	Loss.	Gain or Loss per Cent. on First Cost.
1780–81.	Bales.	Pc.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
Broad Cloth - -	81	—	4,245⅞	21¼	339⅛	127⅜	101¼	4,835⅜	4,478½	89½	—	446⅜	10½
Long Ells - - -	107	2	2,395½	11⅞	191⅛	71¼	89½	2,760¼	2,434⅛	48⅝	—	374¼	15 11-16
Shalloons - - - -	2	—	297¼	1½	23¾	8⅞	10	341⅛	311⅞	6¼	—	35¼	11 13-16
Total - - -	—	£.	6,938⅛	34⅛	555	208	200¾	7,937	7,224½	144⅜	—	856⅞	12⅓
1781–2.													
Broad Cloth - - -	38	—	1,908	9½	152⅛	57¼	47½	2,174⅞	2,111¾	42¼	—	105⅜	5½
Long Ells - - -	58	6	1,291	6½	103¼	38¾	48¾	1,488¼	1,429¾	28½	—	87	6¼
Total - - -	—	£.	3,199	16	255⅞	96	96¼	3,663⅜	3,541½	70¾	—	192⅜	6
1782–3.													
Broad Cloth - - -	23	3	1,271	6⅜	101⅛	38⅛	29⅜	1,446½	1,354⅛	27	—	119⅜	9⅜
Long Ells - - - -	14	—	401⅛	2	32	12	11⅛	459½	623¾	12⅜	151⅞	—	37⅛
Total - - -	—	£.	1,672⅞	8⅜	133⅛	50⅛	41	1,906	1,977⅞	39⅜	151⅞	119⅜	

Nett Profit, £. 32½, or 2 per Cent. nearly.

1783–4. None sold.

R 2

APPENDIX, No. 3, *continued.*

CALCULATE of the PROFIT or LOSS on SALES of WOOLLENS at *BUSHIRE*, from 1784-5 to 1789-90.

	Quantity sold.	First Cost.	Charges in Engla. at Half per Cent.	Interest of Money, 2 Yrs. at 4 per Ct. per Ann.	Insurance, at 3 per Cent.	Freight, at 10l. per Ton in Time of Peace.	Total.	Sale at Bushire, at 2s. 3d. the Rupee.	Wareh. Charges at 2 per Cent.	Profit.	Loss.	Gain or Loss per Cent. on First Cost.
1784-5.	Bales. Pt.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	
Broad Cloth - - -	70 —	3,625 3/8	18 1/8	290	108 3/4	87 1/2	4,129 3/4	4,200 1/8	84	—	13 1/8	— 1/8
Long Ells - - -	115 —	2,542 1/8	12 3/4	203 3/8	76 1/4	95 1/4	2,930 1/4	2,821 1/4	56 3/8	—	165 3/8	6 1/2
Total - - -	— £.	6,168	30 7/8	493 3/8	185	183 1/4	7,060 1/2	7,022 3/8	140 3/8	—	178 1/2	2 7/8
1785-6. None	sold.											
1786-7.												
Broad Cloth - - -	44 —	2,027 1/4	10 1/8	162 1/8	60 3/4	55	2,315 1/4	2,404	48	40 3/4	—	2
Long Ells - - -	30 —	710 3/4	3 1/2	56 3/4	21 1/4	25	817 1/4	973 3/4	19 1/2	137	—	19 5-16
Total - - -	— £.	2,738	13 5/8	218 7/8	82	80	3,132 1/2	3,377 3/4	67 1/2	177 3/4	—	6 1/2
1787-8.												
Broad Cloth - - -	1 —	77 3/8	— 3/8	6 1/8	2 1/4	1 1/4	87 3/8	93 3/8	1 7/8	4 1/8	—	5 1-5
1788-9.												
Broad Cloth - - -	18 —	1,106 3/8	5 1/2	88 1/2	33 1/8	22 1/2	1,256	1,199 1/16	24	—	80 7/16	7 1/4
Long Ells - - -	67 —	1,520 1/4	7 5/8	121 1/8	45 5/8	55 1/4	1,750 7/8	1,645 1/8	32 7/8	—	138 1/8	9 1-13
Total - - -	— £.	2,226 1/8	13 1/8	210 1/8	78 1/4	78 1/4	3,006 7/8	2,844 1/2	56 7/8	—	219 1/4	8 1/3
1789-90. None	sold.											
Total in 10 Years -	— £.	23,420 1/2	117	1,873	702 1/2	680 1/4	26,793 3/8	26,081 7/16	521 1/8	333 1/4	1,566 1/8	

APPENDIX, No. 4.

CARGO of a DUTCH SHIP bound to JAPAN in the Year 1770.

Lead Tin, Quantity not ſpecified.		
Powder Sugar	5,326	*Peculs.*
Sapan Wood	206	
Rattans	362	
Flints	50	
Pepper	20	
Putchuck	11	
Cloves	2½	
Tortoiſe Shell	15	
Cotton Yarn	11	
Fiſh Skins	3	
Mother of Pearl Shells	4	
Cloth	8	*Pieces.*
Looking Glaſſes	59	

CARGO of a DUTCH SHIP to JAPAN in the Year 1775.

Silver	23	*Cheſts.*
Birds Neſt	17	*Peculs.*
Pepper	4,230	
Blue	1	
Cloves	32	
Tin	2,494	
Camblets	7	*Pieces.*

MR.

MR. DUNDAS's LETTER

TO

MR. BARING,

ON THE

EAST-INDIA TRADE.

THIS DOCUMENT, SO GENERALLY INTERESTING, WILL GIVE OUR READERS THE CLEAREST STATEMENT OF THE IDEAS OF MINISTERS UPON THE EXCLUSIVE TRADE OF OUR COMPANY TO INDIA.

A VARIETY of neceſſary avocations have prevented me from returning an earlier anſwer to your Letter of the 17th of January, incloſing "Hints for the purpoſe of forming "an Arrangement for the Renewal of the Company's excluſive "Trade." I ſhall now ſtate to you a few obſervations on the objects of that Paper; and, I truſt, by doing ſo explicitly, it may enable the Court of Directors to take the ſubject under their conſideration more in detail than has hitherto been done. As I mean in the obſervations I am now to offer, to ſubmit my general ideas on the ſubject, without concert (it not being yet matured for ſuch concert) with the reſt of his Majeſty's Confidential Servants, I muſt reſerve the privilege of reconſidering any of the points on which I may have occaſion to give an opinion, if upon farther reflection I ſhall ſee cauſe to alter it in any reſpect.

The Hints tranſmitted to me are claſſed under three ſeparate heads, and I ſhall obſerve upon them in the ſame order.

With regard to the firſt, *viz.* "The Government of India "with the Conduct and Management of the Territorial Reve-"nues," I find it unneceſſary to trouble you with any detail in the

the preſent ſtage of the buſineſs. If the mode at preſent adopted for the Government of India is to be examined on any principles of general theory, it may be liable to many criticiſms; but it has been proved, by experience, to anſwer the purpoſe of a ſucceſsful and proſperous adminiſtration of our India affairs; and under theſe circumſtances it ſeems much wiſer to found on the baſis of eſtabliſhed ſyſtems, than to ſubſtitute in their room the moſt plauſible untried theories. It may perhaps be thought right to make ſome variations on the preſent form of the Board of Commiſſioners for India affairs; but as theſe will not vary any of the general principles by which the buſineſs is at preſent conducted, through a Board of Commiſſion and the Court of Directors, it is unneceſſary in the preſent general ſketch of the ſubject, to enter more minutely into that detail.

The ſecond head is a conſideration of great importance, and upon which there is undoubtedly great difference of opinion; but meaning frankly to throw out the opinion I at preſent entertain, I am free to ſay, that, under all circumſtances, the advantages of continuing trade under an excluſive charter do, in my judgment, greatly outweigh the force of any objections which have reached me on the ſubject of the Indian monopoly; and I am ſanguine enough in my opinion to believe, that when the ſubject is canvaſſed to the bottom, the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain and Ireland, who are ſuppoſed to be the moſt intereſted in the deciſion of this queſtion, will concur with me in that opinion. But in delivering this opinion, I deſire to be underſtood as ſpeaking of a *regulated monopoly*; by which expreſſion I mean, that the monopoly muſt be ſo regulated as to enſure to the merchants and manufacturers the certain and ample means of exporting to India, to the full extent of the demand of that country for the manufactures of this, and likewiſe a certainty that in ſo far as the produce of India affords raw materials for the manufactures of Great Britain or Ireland, that produce ſhall be brought home at a rate as reaſonable as the circumſtances of the two countries will admit of.

In ſtating this obſervation, I am not bringing forward any jealouſy that I perſonally entertain on the ſubject; for the knowledge I have derived of your affairs, by the experience I have had in the Government of India, has enabled me to witneſs the great exertions and improvements you have made in the conduct of your commerce, with a view to the very objects in queſtion; but the fact is notorious, that a clandeſtine trade to a conſiderable extent is certainly carried on between Europe and India, on a capital provided by Britiſh ſubjects, both in Britain and India. And ſo long as that trade continues the public will not be ſatisfied that every thing has been done by the Eaſt India Company

Company that can be done; and, of courſe, will not be ſatisfied with the continuance of a monopoly, unleſs they are experimentally convinced, by ſome mode or other, that the two objects, both of export and import, to which I have referred, are ſecured by arrangements ſufficiently adequate to the purpoſe. I certainly will not take upon me finally to form an opinion on this ſubject, without a full conference with you and the Committee of the Court of Directors. But my preſent ſentiment is, that the eſſential objects to which I have referred, can only be accompliſhed by the Eaſt India Company; affording an additional tonnage adequate to the exports from Britain and Ireland, and to the imports from India; and this muſt be done at a rate of freight ſo reaſonable as to ſatisfy the merchants and manufacturers of this country, that the effect of the monopoly of the Eaſt India Company is not calculated to bring an unneceſſary, and, of courſe, an unjuſt burthen on the manufacturing intereſt of Great Britain and Ireland. And I have the leſs difficulty in holding out this idea, becauſe it is obvious, that if the trade of the Eaſt India Company is conducted on true commercial principles, they can afford to be the carriers both of European and Indian goods cheaper than any individual merchant or trader can on his own private capital.

In this view of the queſtion, the propoſition ſeems reaſonable on both ſides; for if the exporter of Britiſh goods, and the importer of Indian raw materials, can accompliſh both objects at an expence more moderate than he himſelf can afford to do it, he can have no reaſon to complain of the Company's monopoly; and, on the other hand, if the Eaſt India Company do not contribute their aid in thoſe eſſential ſubjects, by furniſhing freight at a cheaper rate than any individual can do upon his own bottom, it is a proof that the allegation of the Company's trade not being conducted upon the true principles of commercial economy, is better founded than I am at preſent diſpoſed to believe it to be. I am aware that there may be difficulties in the execution of this propoſition, even admitting the principle to be a juſt one: but theſe are more properly the ſubject of future conference. I am ſatisfied the difficulties are not inſurmountable; and I am ſure it is the duty, as it muſt be the inclination of the Eaſt India Company, to ſmooth, to the utmoſt of their power, every difficulty that may occur in this eſſential part of any future arrangement.

Under the *third* head, you refer to *ſuch regulations and details as attach to* India *and to* Europe.

In ſo far as relates to general regulations for the good government of India, or the proſperity of its inhabitants, it would be foreign to the object of this letter to enter upon them, as my view,

view, at preſent, is merely to refer to thoſe points in which the East India Company, as a commercial body, are concerned; and therefore, I proceed to notice the points particularly ſpecified by you. I muſt, however, conſider them jointly, for they are inſeparably connected together.

With this view, I refer you to the preſent ſtate of your affairs, as they appear on the face of your own accounts; and the concluſion reſulting from the whole is, that after diſcharging annually at leaſt £. 500,000 of your Indian debt, and after paying charges of merchandize, dividends upon ſtock, and every other burthen at home, there remains a ſurplus of above £. 700,000. When I ſtate this as the ſurplus, I am viewing your trade in its moſt unfavourable light, and without taking into my account the improvement of your trade, the diminution of your expences, or any other of the many circumſtances, which ſatisfy me that I am conſiderably under the mark, when I do not ſtate the full ſurplus at more than £. 1,200,000.

Taking it, however, at that ſum, the queſtion is, how it is to be diſpoſed of? And I have no heſitation in giving it as my opinion, that the Proprietors ought to have a dividend of ten, in place of eight, per Cent. on their capital. I am induced to be of this opinion, becauſe I obſerve, on a retroſpective view of their affairs, that eight per Cent. was rather leſs than their commercial dividend, upon an average, before they obtained the poſſeſſion of the territorial revenues; and conſidering the many ſtruggles in which the Company have been engaged, and the many riſques their poſſeſſions, their trade, and of courſe their capital, have undergone, it would be unjuſt if they were not to reap the advantage of the additional dividend, which the ſituation of their affairs certainly admits of.

I am aware that the payment of the creditors of the Company is the firſt object of attention; but it will be obſerved, that theſe objects do not interfere with each other; for at the ſame time that this additional dividend is paid to the proprietors, the debts abroad will be reduced to the ſum of three millions, as rapidly, and perhaps more ſo, than the creditors would wiſh for: and I have no doubt in ſtating, that it is in many views eligible and convenient, that there ſhould be a debt in India to the amount of three millions, and therefore it ſhould not be reduced below that ſum.

With regard to the debt at home, you will obſerve, that in the view I am now taking of the ſubject, I exclude from my conſideration, firſt, a ſum equal in amount to the debt due by Government to the Company, leaving that to be ſet off againſt the annuity due, or that may be ſold by the Company. Secondly, I leave out the capital due to the proprietors of India Stock,

amounting to £.5,000,000, and ſuch floating debts as occur in the common courſe of your buſineſs, amounting by laſt ſtatement to £.2,454,579, becauſe a full equivalent for both of theſe will be found in the aſſets of the Company at home, afloat, and abroad, amounting by the laſt ſtatement, to £.12,913,854, excluſive of the debts owing to the Company in India.

With theſe deductions, the debt of the Company at home, including the debt transferred from India, will not exceed four millions.

I take it for granted, the Company will never think of reducing this debt lower than £.1,500,000, which they will circulate in bonds; and therefore the whole of the debt, for which proviſion is to be made, is £.2,500,000. Two methods ſuggeſt themſelves for the diſcharge of this ſum.—Firſt, by increaſing the capital of the Company one million, by which two millions may be raiſed for the extinction of the debt; and in that caſe the ſubſcribers to this additional capital, whether it be the preſent Proprietors, or a new ſet of ſubſcribers, will receive the ſame dividend as I propoſe that the Proprietors ſhould receive on the old capital. The other method is by funding this debt, and paying it off by inſtalments, which would be completed in a few years. I certainly, for many reaſons, prefer the firſt of theſe methods; but one or other of them muſt be adopted—for it would be improper, in the preſent moment, to leave ſo large a quantity of bonded debt floating in the market.

I muſt now proceed to bring under your view the claim of the public, for a participation in the free ſurplus which I have ſtated to exiſt on an accurate balance of your affairs; and having admitted the juſt claims of the creditors of the Company to a preference, and given a due attention to the fair expectations of the Proprietors, to an increaſe of Dividend, I have no heſitation in ſtating, that the public has an irreſiſtible claim to an ample ſhare of the remaining ſurplus.

With this view you will recollect, that the public has always maintained, and the ableſt lawyers have recognized, its right to the territorial revenues which have been obtained in India, either by ceſſion or conqueſt, and the adminiſtration of thoſe revenues has been permitted to remain in the hands of the Company without any ſurrender of that claim on the part of the public. In truth, the public never can ſurrender it; and if ever the preſent ſyſtem of Indian Government ſhould be changed, and a new mode of remittance adopted, other than through the medium of the Eaſt India Company, it would render it neceſſary to enter into a very complicated inveſtigation and adjuſtment of the claims of the public, limited by many fair pretenſions on the part of the Eaſt India Company.

I have

I have beſtowed much conſideration on the mode and nature of ſuch an adjuſtment; but I have no heſitation in declaring, that the various difficulties which would attend ſuch an arrangement are among many of the forcible reaſons which operate on my mind, for being of opinion, that the preſent mode of Indian Government, and the preſent mode of Indian remittance, by means of an excluſive Company, acting on a large and well-eſtabliſhed capital, is far preferable to any new ſyſtem that could be ſuggeſted. This, however, does not render it leſs neceſſary to give a liberal attention to the intereſt the public has in the territorial revenues, which, as you well know, form an eſſential part of the preſent commercial capital of the Eaſt India Company.

What I have juſt ſtated refers, in a great meaſure, though not wholly, to the Indian part of your trade; but the concluſion I have drawn, applies with equal force to the China branch of it, for you cannot omit to take under your conſideration how much the value of that trade has been augmented by the Commutation Act; but in order to ſecure that object, it was neceſſary for the public to burden itſelf with the other duties, to the annual amount of £. 500,000 ſterling.

Under theſe circumſtances, I think the public is juſtly warranted to expect a ſum of participation, not leſs than £. 500,000, if that ſum ſhall remain, after anſwering the other claims to which I have allowed a preference.

It may appear premature to enter into a diſcuſſion, what further appropriation may be proper, after thoſe purpoſes are anſwered to which I have already referred; but I am perfectly convinced, that the ſurplus both in India and Europe is taken at too low a ſum; and, at any rate will, in a very ſhort time, be clearly above what it is now ſtated, ſo ſoon as the revenues of India, and the ſurplus at home, are relieved of the burden with which they are encumbered at the early ſtage of the arrangement under conſideration. I therefore, even in the preſent moment, have no heſitation in bringing forward my opinion, as applicable to an ulterior period; and my opinion is, that any further ſurplus ſhould be appropriated in ſuch a manner, as to operate as a guarantee for the capital ſtock of the Eaſt-India Company; if, from any accidents or unforeſeen calamities, either the capital itſelf ſhall be deteriorated, or there ſhould not be the means of keeping up a dividend on the capital, equal to what is now propoſed. I ſhall be ready to detail, in any future conference I may hold with you, my ideas more at large on this part of the ſubject; but it is impoſſible to doubt, that if ſuch a collateral ſecurity can be carried into practical execution, it

would tend, in the higheſt degree, to preſerve the credit of the Company's ſtock, and to protect the Proprietors from the danger which the uninformed, and unwary among them, muſt always be expoſed to, when the ſtock is liable to ſudden and unexplained fluctuations.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient humble ſervant,

HENRY DUNDAS.

Whitehall, Feb. 16, 1793.

A CONCISE

A CONCISE STATEMENT OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY's INCOME; WITH THE HEADS OF THE AGREEMENT FOR THEIR *NEW CHARTER.*

STATEMENT.

	£.	£.
THE net annual income in rents and profits of trade, taken in the moſt unfavourable light to the Company, and ſuppoſed to be conſiderably under the mark, is rated at - - - - -	—	2,329,164
At preſent, ſubject only to the payments following; *viz.*		
Intereſt of £. 3,200,000 on bond, at 4 per Cent. - - - - - - - -	128,000	
Ditto of £. 6,669,082, due in India, at various rates, making on the medium about 8¼ per Cent. - - - - -	561,923	
Dividend of 8 per Cent. on preſent capital of five millions - - - - - -	400,000	
		1,089,923
Leaving a net annual ſurplus of -	—	1,239,241

HEADS

HEADS FOR THE AGREEMENT,

As far as it has yet proceeded.

I.

THE trade to and from India is to be ſo far laid open as to admit of a free exportation, by private perſons on their own account, of any goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, and of a free importation of ſuch ſorts of the raw materials of the Eaſt Indies as are uſed in our own manufactures, according to a liſt or tariff thereof to be inſerted in the act of parliament; or in the alternative, the Company are to give bills payable in London for the produce of the goods exported.

II.

The Eaſt India Company ſhall be obliged to provide ſhipping for the carriage of the private trade, at as low a freight as it could be furniſhed by private merchants; and to licenſe a proper number of agents to reſide at the Company's ſettlements, under their protection, for the management of the private trade.

III.

If under Lord Macartney's embaſſy to China any new ſettlements ſhall be obtained in the Eaſtern Iſlands, whereby new channels of trade may be advantageouſly opened for a further export of Britiſh and Iriſh goods, Parliament in that caſe reſerves full power to open the trade to China, to ſuch an extent as in its wiſdom ſhall be thought proper.

IV.

Subject to the above preliminaries, the Company's term in the excluſive trade is to be enlarged for twenty years, commencing from the 31ſt of March, 1794, making in the whole, from this time, twenty-one years.

V.

The Eaſt India Company ſhall forthwith add, by new ſubſcriptions, one million to their capital ſtock, for augmenting it to ſix millions ſterling, and apply the produce thereof, with a ſufficient part of the caſh in their treaſury, in the immediate diſcharge

charge of a debt of £. 600,000, due from them to the Bank; and in reducing their bond debt to one million and a half, beyond which it is not again to be raiſed.

VI.

Inſtead of the preſent dividend at eight per cent. on the capital of five millions, the Company ſhall for the future have a priority of payment of a dividend of ten per cent. on the increaſed capital of ſix millions.

VII.

That £. 500,000 a year ſhall be converted into a ſinking fund, for the gradual diſcharge of the India debt to three millions; below which, it is not thought prudent to reduce it.

VIII.

That £. 500,000 a year ſhall be paid into the Exchequer, by quarterly payment, for the uſe of the public, to commence and be accounted due from Midſummer next.

IX.

Laſtly, The further reſulting ſurplus is to be appropriated for the benefit of the public and of the Company, in ſuch manner as Parliament ſhall think fit, but ſo that whatever ſhare of it ſhall be paid to the Exchequer, the public ſhall have the uſe of it without intereſt; but nevertheleſs to be deemed liable to the calls of the Company upon any preſſing emergency, and held alſo as a collateral ſecurity for the payment of their dividends.

N. B. It has not yet been adjuſted with Government, what proportion of the remaining ſurplus ſhall be paid into the Exchequer, or if any part of it ſhall be retained as a further dividend to the Proprietors. By the rapid extinction of the India debt, carrying ſo large a rate of intereſt as 8¼ per Cent. and by the intended ſavings of freight, and other plans of economy, the remaining ſurplus muſt ſoon become very large. The ſinking fund for the India debt will itſelf become part of it in the ſpace of ſix years, if that debt ſhould not be again increaſed. It is therefore to be preſumed, that the Company will find no difficulty in prevailing in the juſt and reaſonable expectations they have formed, of a ſtill further contingent dividend on their capital out of the increaſing ſurplus, whereof, even as it ſtands at preſent, there will be left £. 107,241, unappropriated either to the public or the Company.

Net

	£.	£.
Net income as above - - -	—	2,329,164
Whereout,		
Intereſt of the debt in India - - -	561,923	
Intereſt of bond debt reduced to £. 1,500,000 - - - -	60,000	
Dividend of £. 10 per Cent. on the capital of ſix millions - - -	600,000	
		2,221,923
Sinking fund for the India debt - - -	500,000	
To be paid to the public - - -	500,000	
The preſent unappropriated annual ſurplus is - - - - - - - - -	—	107,941

This ſurplus muſt, by the decreaſe of intereſt paid in India alone, on the gradual liquidation of that debt, accumulate rapidly and progreſſively, without reckoning on any increaſe of revenue, or ſavings at home or abroad in the management of the trade (the probability of which is known to be very conſiderable in amount). The following was ſtated to the Houſe of Commons as the progreſſive unappropriated annual ſurplus, from the preſent time to the year 1802; *viz.*

	£.
In 1794 - - - - - -	147,241
In 1795 - - - - -	187,241
In 1796 - - - - - -	227,241
In 1797 - - - - -	267,241
In 1798 - - - - -	307,241
In 1799 - - - - - -	347,241
In 1800 - - - - -	387,241
In 1801 - - - - - -	487,241
And, In 1802, when the payment of the India debt will have ceaſed - -	987,241



JORDAN'S
PARLIAMENTARY JOURNAL,
&c. &c. &c.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1793.

MR. FOX to make his promiſed motions on the war with France, of which he had given notice ſome days before, but which had been put off by a ſufficient number of Members not attending to make a Houſe.

He ſaid that he had delivered his ſentiments ſo frequently on the ſeveral points included in his intended motion, that the Houſe could not expect him to add much that was new. Having been reminded in the laſt debate with repeating the ſame things over and over, he ſhould now content himſelf with referring to the opinions he had formerly delivered; and hoped that he ſhould not again be reproached, in the ſame breath that reminded him of repetition, with failing to repeat any one of thoſe opinions to whatever part of the ſubject it might be thought to relate. The preſent criſis was awful. He had done every thing in his power to avert the calamity of war; and he intended to have made one more attempt, if he had not been moſt unaccountably prevented by the failure of public buſineſs for a whole week. That opportunity was unfortunately loſt. We were now actually engaged in war; and being ſo engaged, there could be no difference of opinion on the neceſſity of ſupporting it with vigour. No want of diſpoſition to ſupport it could be imputed to him; for in the debate on his Majeſty's Meſſage, announcing that we were at war, he had moved an amendment to the Addreſs, as much pledging the Houſe to a vigorous ſupport of it, as the Addreſs propoſed by his Majeſty's Miniſters, and better calculated to enſure unanimity. But the more he felt himſelf bound to ſupport

the war, the more he felt himſelf bound to object to the meaſures which, as far as yet appeared, had unneceſſarily led to it.

The neceſſity of the war might be defended on two principles: Firſt, the *malus animus*, or general bad diſpoſition of the French towards this country; the crimes they have committed among themſelves; the ſyſtems they have endeavoured to eſtabliſh, if ſyſtems they might be called; in ſhort, the internal government of their country. On this principle, there were few indeed that would venture to defend it; and this being diſavowed as the cauſe of war by his Majeſty's Miniſters, it was unneceſſary for him to dwell upon it.—Second, that various things have been done by the French, manifeſtly extending beyond their own country, and affecting the intereſts of us and our allies; for which, unleſs ſatisfaction were given, we muſt enforce ſatisfaction by arms. This he conſidered as the only principle on which the neceſſity of the war could be truly defended, and in this he was ſure the great majority of the Houſe and of the country were of the ſame opinion. His object was to record this in an addreſs; and whatever objection there might be as to time or circumſtances, could he obtain the ſenſe of the Houſe purely upon the principle, he ſhould be very ſanguine in his hopes of ſucceſs. Such a record would be a guide to their conduct in the war, and a land-mark on which to fix their attention for the attainment of peace. In examining the alleged caſes of provocation, he had maintained that they were all objects of negociation, and ſuch as, till ſatisfaction was explicitly demanded and refuſed, did not juſtify reſorting to the laſt extremity. He had perhaps alſo ſaid, that Miniſters did not appear to have purſued the courſe which was naturally to be expected from their profeſſions. He did not mean to charge them with adopting one principle for debate and another for action; but he thought they had ſuffered themſelves to be impoſed upon, and miſled by thoſe who wiſhed to go to war with France on account of her internal government, and therefore took all occaſions of repreſenting the French as utterly and irreconcileably hoſtile to this country. It was always fair to compare the conduct of men in any particular inſtance with their conduct on other occaſions. If the rights of neutral nations were now loudly extolled; if the danger to be apprehended from the aggrandizement of any power was magnified as the juſt cauſes of the preſent war; and if, on looking to another quarter, we ſaw the rights of Poland, of a neutral and independent nation, openly trampled upon; it is territory invaded to the manifeſt aggrandizement of other powers and no war declared or menaced, not even a remonſtrance interpoſed, for if any had been interpoſed, it was yet a ſecret—could we be blamed for ſuſpecting that the pretended was not the real object of the preſent

ſent war—that what were not told was in fact the object, and what were told only the colour and pretext?

The war, however, be the real cauſe what it might, would be much leſs calamitous to this country, if, in the proſecution of it, we could do without allying ourſelves with thoſe who had made war on France, for the avowed purpoſe of interfering in her internal government; if we could avoid entering into engagements that might fetter us in our negociations for peace. Since negociation muſt be the iſſue of every war that was not a war of abſolute conqueſt, if we ſhould ſhun the diſgrace of becoming parties with thoſe who in firſt attempting to invade France, and ſome of them ſince invading Poland, had violated all the rights of nations, all the principles of juſtice and of honour.

On the firſt principle he had already ſtated, as one of two on which it might be attempted to juſtify the neceſſity of the preſent war, being moſt ſtudiouſly diſclaimed by Miniſters, and all but a very few Members of that Houſe, it was unneceſſary for him to ſay any thing. On the ſecond he had ſaid, that the alleged cauſes of complaint were not cauſes of war previous to negociation; his opinions were neither new, as they had formerly been called, but ſuch as he had always entertained, from the firſt moment of his forming opinions upon ſuch ſubjects. Neither were they ſingular: he had ſince looked into the writers on the laws of nations, and by all the moſt approved it was laid down as an axiom, that injuries, be they what they may, are not the juſt cauſe of war, till reparation and ſatisfaction has been fairly and openly demanded and evaded, or refuſed. Some of them even go ſo far as to ſay, that reparation and ſatisfaction ought to be demanded, both previous and ſubſequent to the declaration of war, in order to make that war juſt.

Our cauſes of complaint againſt France were, firſt, the attempt to open the navigation of the Scheldt; ſecond, the decree of the 19th of November, ſuppoſed to be directed againſt the peace of other nations; third, their extenſion of their territory by conqueſt. The firſt of theſe was obviouſly and confeſſedly an object of negociation. The ſecond was alſo to be accommodated by negociation: becauſe an explanation that they did not mean what we underſtood by it, and a ſtipulation that it ſhould not be acted upon in the ſenſe in which we underſtood it, was all that could be obtained even by war. The third was more difficult, for it involved in it the evacuation of the countries conquered, and ſecurity that they ſhould in no ſenſe be annexed to France; and no ſuch ſecurity could perhaps at preſent be deviſed. But if we were aware of this; if we ſaw that during the war in which the French are engaged with other powers, they had no ſuch ſecurity to offer; if we knew that we were aſking what could not

be given, the whole of our pretended negociation, ſuch as it had been, was a farce and a deluſion—not an honeſt endeavour to preſerve the bleſſings of peace, but a fraudulent expedient to throw duſt in the eyes of the people of this country, in order that they might be hurried blindly into war. The more he attended to the printed papers of correſpondence, the oftener he read Lord Grenville's letter to M. Chauvelin, ſo often alluded to, the more convinced he was how extremely deficient we had been in communicating the terms on which we thought peace might be maintained. We told them they muſt keep within their own territory; but how were they to do this when attacked by two armies, that retired out of their territory only to repair the loſſes of their firſt miſcarriage, and prepare for a freſh irruption? When to this ſtudied concealment of terms were added the haughty language of all our communications, and the difficulties thrown in the way of all negociation; we muſt ſurely admit, that it was not eaſy for the French to know with what we would be ſatisfied, nor to diſcover on what terms our amity (not our alliance, for that he had never ſuggeſted, though the imputation had been boldly made) could be conciliated. When to all theſe he added the language held in that Houſe by Miniſters, although he by no means admitted that ſpeeches in that Houſe were to be ſifted for cauſes of war by foreign powers, any more than ſpeeches in the French Convention by us; and laſt of all, the paper tranſmitted by Lord Auckland, at the Hague, to the States General—a paper which, for contempt and ridicule of the French, ſtood unparalleled in diplomatic hiſtory—a paper, in which the whole of them, without diſtinction, who had been in the exerciſe of power ſince the commencement of the Revolution, were ſtyled *a ſet of wretches inveſting themſelves with the title of philoſophers, and preſuming in the dream of their vanity to think themſelves capable of eſtabliſhing a new order of ſociety*, &c. &c.—How could he hope the French to expect that any thing would be conſidered as ſatisfactory, or any pledge a ſufficient ſecurity? Compare Lord Auckland's language at the Hague with the pacific conduct of Miniſters at home, as repreſented by themſelves. While they were trying every means to conciliate, while with moderation to an exceſs, which they could not help thinking culpable, they were publicly ordering M. Chauvelin to quit the kingdom within eight days, but privately telling him, that he might ſtay and negociate, while they were waiting for propoſitions from M. Maret, which M. Maret did not make. While they were ſending inſtructions to Lord Auckland to negociate with General Dumourier, Lord Auckland was writing that ſilly and inſulting paper by their inſtructions; for if he did it without, he was very unfit for his ſituation, and muſt

have

have been inſtantly recalled. Thus, while they were publicly courting peace, they were uſing every clandeſtine manœuvre to provoke war.

For theſe reaſons, he ſhould move, that Miniſters had not employed proper means for preſerving peace, without ſacrificing the honour or the ſafety of this country.

He came next to conſider their conduct with reſpect to Poland. He had formerly ſaid that he wiſhed not to ſpeak harſhly of ſovereign Princes in that houſe, although the period was not long ſince paſſed, when it was thought perfectly allowable to talk of the Empreſs of Ruſſia as a Princeſs of inſatiable ambition, and of the late Emperor, as a Prince too faithleſs to be relied upon. But when he ſpoke of the King of Pruſſia, he deſired to be underſtood as ſpeaking of the cabinet of the Court of Berlin, whoſe conduct he was as free to criticiſe, as other gentlemen the conduct of the Executive Council of France. In May 1791, a revolution took place in Poland on the ſuggeſtion, certainly with the concurrence of the King of Pruſſia; and, as was pretty generally imagined, although not authentically known, with the concurrence of the Court of London. By a diſpatch to his Miniſter at Warſaw, the King of Pruſſia expreſſed the lively intereſt which he had always taken in the happineſs of Poland, and the confirmation of her new conſtitution, and his approbation of the choice of the Elector of Saxony and his deſcendants to fill the throne of Poland, made hereditary by the new order of things, after the death of the reigning King. In 1792, the Empreſs of Ruſſia, without the leaſt plauſible pretext, but this change in the internal government of the country, invaded Poland. Poland called upon the King of Pruſſia, with whoſe expreſs approbation this change had been effected, for the ſtipulated ſuccours of an exiſting treaty of alliance. He replied that the ſtate of things being entirely changed ſince that alliance, and the preſent conjuncture brought on by the revolution of May 1791, poſterior to his treaty, it did not become him to give Poland any aſſiſtance, unleſs indeed ſhe choſe to retrace all the ſteps of that revolution, and then he would interpoſe his good offices both with Ruſſia and the Emperor to reconcile the *different intereſts*. The different intereſts of foreign powers in the internal government of a free and independent nation! It was ſingular that Miniſters ſhould be ſo keen to mark and ſtigmatize all the inconſiſtencies of the French with their former declarations, which had been too great and too many, and yet could ſee without emotion ſuch inconſiſtency, not to ſay perfidy, as this. He was not the defender of the groſs departures from their own principles of the

French;

French; but if we thought it unſafe to treat with them, becauſe of their perfidy, we had little inducement to unite with the King of Pruſſia, who had violated not only principles, but an expreſs treaty, in a more particular and pointed manner, than they had yet had an opportunity of doing. Among the powers at war, or likely to be at war with France, there was no great option of good faith. But the French, it was ſaid, violated their principles, for the ſake of robbery and rapine, to ſeize on territory, and plunder property. Let us look again to the King of Pruſſia. In 1792, he limited the cauſe of war againſt Poland by Ruſſia to the new conſtitution, which he himſelf had approved, and promiſed to defend. This obnoxious conſtitution completely ſubverted, and that excellent old Republic—for theſe crowned heads were great republicans when it ſuited their convenience—which had for ages made the happineſs of Poland, re-eſtabliſhed on its ancient baſis, he would interpoſe his good offices to conciliate the different intereſts and reſtore peace. What then prevented? Was not the new conſtitution completely ſubverted? Did not the Ruſſian troops ſucceed in overrunning Poland? Were they not in poſſeſſion of the whole country? And was not the Empreſs of Ruſſia able to reſtore the excellent old Republic, and convinced of her own ſucceſs? Not ſo with the King of Pruſſia. He was a critic in principles. When he approved of their revolution, the principles of the Poles were unexceptionable; when they were attempting a brave but unſucceſsful reſiſtance to a more powerful adverſary, their principles were not dangerous; but when they were overpowered by ſuperior force, when they had laid down their arms, and ſubmitted to their conqueror, when their whole country was poſſeſſed by a foreign army; then he diſcovered that they had got French principles among them, ſubverſive of all government, and deſtructive of all ſociety. And how did he cure them of theſe abominable principles?—O!—by an admirable remedy!—invading their country, and taking poſſeſſion of their towns. Are they tainted with Jacobiniſm? hew down the gates of Thorn, and march in the Pruſſian troops. Do they deny that they entertain ſuch principles? ſeize upon Dantzick and annex it to the dominions of Pruſſia. Now did not this ſeizure and ſpoil of Poland tend to the aggrandizement of the powers by whom it was perpetrated? was it not a greater and more contemptuous violation of the law of nations than the French had yet been guilty of? Moſt undoubtedly it was. Had we oppoſed it? Had we remonſtrated againſt it? If Miniſters had any ſuch remonſtrances to ſhew, they would produce them in due time, and the Houſe would judge of them; but while none were produced, or even

mentioned, he muſt preſume that none had been made. The invaſion of Poland had this material aggravation, that the powers who invaded were not themſelves attacked at the time. They had not the excuſe of the French to plead, that they did it in a paroxiſm of fear and danger, circumſtances that prompt nations, as well as individuals, to many acts of impolicy and injuſtice. The King of Pruſſia firſt connives at, or conſents to the invaſion of Poland, which he was bound by treaty to defend—Next he attempts an unprovoked invaſion of France, and is foiled—how does he revenge the diſgrace of his repulſe? By increaſing his army on the Rhine, by concentrating his forces for a freſh attack? No—he more gallantly turns round on defenceleſs Poland, and indemnifies his loſſes by ſeizing on towns where he can meet with no reſiſtance. It was not, therefore, on any general ſyſtem of attention to the balance of Europe that Miniſters were acting, ſince, while they pretended to conſider it as of the utmoſt importance in one caſe, they had ſuffered it to be moſt flagrantly infringed upon in another.

He concluded with reading the following reſolutions, and moving the firſt:

1ſt.—"That it is not for the honour and intereſt of Great Britain to make war upon France, on account of the internal circumſtances of that country, for the purpoſe of either ſuppreſſing or puniſhing any opinions and principles, however pernicious in their tendency, which may prevail there, or of eſtabliſhing among the French people any particular form of government."

2d.—"That the particular complaints which have been ſtated againſt the conduct of the French government, are not of a nature to juſtify a war, in the firſt inſtance, without having attempted to obtain redreſs by negociation."

3d.—"That it appears to this Houſe in the late negociations between his Majeſty's Miniſters and the Agents of the French government, the ſaid Miniſters did not take ſuch meaſures as were likely to procure redreſs, without a rupture, for the grievances of which they complained, and particularly, that they never ſtated diſtinctly to the French government any terms and conditions, the acceſſion to which on the part of France would induce his Majeſty to perſevere in a ſyſtem of neutrality."

4th.—"That it does not appear that the ſecurity of Europe, and the rights of independent nations, which have been ſtated as grounds of war againſt France, have been attended to by his Majeſty's Miniſters in the caſe of Poland, in the invaſion of which unhappy country, both in the laſt year, and more recently, the moſt open contempt of the law of nations, and the moſt unjuſtifiable ſpirit of aggrandizement have been manifeſted, without having

having produced, as far as appears to this Houſe, any remonſtrance from his Majeſty's Miniſters."

5th.—"That it is the duty of his Majeſty's Miniſters, in the preſent criſis, to adviſe his Majeſty againſt entering into engagements which may prevent Great Britain from making a ſeparate peace, whenever the intereſt of his Majeſty, and his people, may render ſuch a meaſure adviſable, or which may countenance an opinion in Europe, that his Majeſty is acting in concert with other powers for the unjuſtifiable purpoſe of compelling the people of France to ſubmit to a form of government not approved by that nation."

[The previous Queſtion was put to the four laſt.]

Mr. BURKE obſerved, that the Right Honourable Gentleman had not had the ſmalleſt occaſion for apologizing for his habit of repetition; for whatever he ſaid was always ſo good, that it could not fail to pleaſe on repetition; it was of that kind of which the poet ſaid *decies repetita placebit*. The Right Honourable Gentleman in repeating his own arguments, copied only from himſelf, and even the copy of a great maſter muſt give pleaſure, and extort admiration. He wiſhed however, that the Right Honourable Gentleman would reſolve never to copy but from himſelf; it gave him pain, that ſo great and able a man ſhould copy from a foreign *dauber*, and yet it happened, that every argument urged that night by the Right Honourable Gentleman, had been retailed before by a Member of the National Convention (M. Briſſot). He did not mean abſolutely to ſay, that one had borrowed them from the other, for both might have derived them from the ſame ſource; but he muſt ſay it was rather a ſingular circumſtance, that two men in two different countries, ſpeaking on the ſame ſubject, ſhould have uſed preciſely the ſame arguments. The taſk which the Right Honourable Gentleman had undertaken was undoubtedly worthy of his great talents; it was no leſs than to induce that Houſe to condemn all the grounds of the very war which it had pledged itſelf to enable the King to ſupport; and it was not a little remarkable that the Right Honourable Gentleman himſelf, who called for this cenſure, was nevertheleſs for proſecuting with vigour a war, though he reprobated the grounds on which it was to be carried on. Mr. Burke ſaid, that in making a reply to what had fallen from the Right Honourable Gentleman, it was not his intention to take up much of the time of the Houſe, becauſe a great part of the ſubject had been already very fully and very ably diſcuſſed. The Right Honourable Gentleman had ſtated two different grounds on which Members might have voted for the war, and had ſtated them correctly; but he ſhould had he argued to the purpoſe, ſhew that they were in their na-

tur

ture ſo oppoſite, as that thoſe who maintained the one, muſt have oppoſed the other. For his part he conſidered them as perfectly reconcileable. In ſpeaking on this ſubject, he was happy that he was in a ſituation in which what fell from him could be conſidered only as the ſentiment or opinion of an individual, and not of the Government of the country. As an individual therefore he would ſay, that the internal ſtate of France was a ground for a war, as well as its external aggreſſions, becauſe there was not in that country any power, any authority, any body, or any perſons, who could give Great Britain the ſmalleſt ſecurity for the continuance of peace, or for the performance of any engagement or agreement, which might be formed in conſequence of a negociation. The principles on which the preſent ſort of government prevailing in France was formed, were ſubverſive of all order, and ſtruck directly at the ſtability and even exiſtence of ſociety; and conſequently, while ſuch principles were the rule of government in that country, it would be in vain for any neighbouring State to enter into any treaty or negociation whatever with it. He applied this to France in the actual ſituation of her affairs; if that ſhould undergo a change, he would change his opinion with it, and regulate his conduct by the then circumſtances of that country. It was not impoſſible but order might ſpring out of confuſion, a phœnix might ariſe from the aſhes of the Convention, ſoundneſs might ſucceed rottenneſs, and, as Virgil ſaid, bees might creep out of the putrified carcaſe of an ox, collect into a ſwarm, and form a Republic. In caſe of ſuch an event in France, as ſoon as he ſhould ſee a government that promiſed ſtability, and on which he could rely for the performance of ſtipulations, he for one would conſent immediately to treat with it: it was only whilſt the preſent anarchy continued that he would not treat, becauſe to treat under the preſent circumſtances would be to no purpoſe: there was not at this moment in France one man who could anſwer for another, or any body that could be ſaid to be veſted with ſufficient power to give effect to a treaty, or deriving ſufficient weight from perſonal virtues and character, to perſuade the people to ratify any act with a foreign nation, and cauſe it to be enforced for twenty-four hours. He had carefully conſidered every deſcription of men at preſent in power in France; and he could not find ſo much as one with whom he thought it would be of the ſmalleſt uſe to negociate. M. Roland, who was called the virtuous Roland, and of whoſe character he had long ſince formed a decided opinion, was no longer in office; but he had left behind him a legacy, a deſcription of Paris, ſuch as he believed would not hold out any very great inducement to any man to go over to that city with the character of Ambaſſador

from England; he was ſure the Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr Fox) had too much humanity, too great a regard for his own feelings, to conſent to aſſume that character, though, ſtateſman like, he was very deſirous to beſtow it upon ſome other perſon. Le Brun, the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, had no natural weight in the country from birth, fortune, abilities, virtue, or character; bred in an obſcure town near the Netherlands, he had raiſed himſelf to notice merely as a news writer, and was totally deſtitute of any of thoſe qualities which give weight and inſure influence; to treat therefore with ſuch a perſon would be to no purpoſe. Other perſons indeed had been mentioned as men of character and abilities; Condorcet was one, and Briſſot was another; he had ſtudied both well, and of the former he could ſay that he was the moſt humane of murderers; of the latter, that he was a moſt honeſt pickpocket. Briſſot was well known in France; he had by his conduct given birth to a new word to enrich the French language, for from his name the word Briſſotes was adopted, and was now generally uſed to expreſs the act of ſwindling. With ſuch men no doubt it would be of great uſe to treat. But not to deſcend into ſo minute a detail, he would ſay that there was not in all France any man or body of men duly authorized to treat with foreign powers, and enter into permanent agreements and ſtipulations; for the Executive Council was merely proviſional; the Convention itſelf was merely proviſional; he had examined the powers given to the Members by their conſtituents, and in them he had not been able to find one ſingle word about empowering them to make peace or war, or treat with the neighbouring nations: they were authorized ſolely to pull down the old Conſtitution, to murder the King, and frame a plan of a new Conſtitution, to preſent it to the 48000 Republics called Municipalities, and then immediately ſink into a private ſtation. The Convention not having any power to treat, would Gentlemen propoſe that we ſhould ſend an Ambaſſador to the 48000 Republics, who were veſted with the exerciſe of the ſovereignty of France? He believed that was a meaſure which no one would recommend. Upon the whole then, he would maintain that *rebus ſic ſtantibus*, France was not a negociable country, nor the French a communicable people. But, as he had ſaid before, a change of circumſtances there would work a change in his opinion; he was not for a war *ad internecionem*; ſuch a war was fit only for thoſe who were in hoſtility with the principles on which a ſociety was founded, and who warred with every government, and who, not ſatisfied with attacking the principles of other States, trampled even their own under foot. England would be juſtified by the law of retaliation, if on no other ground, to go to war with France; for

the latter had ventured to interfere with the internal government of this country. She had ſaid that ſcaffolds would be erected in England, for the execution, not only of Miniſters, but of a Perſonage whom our love, reſpect, and duty, forbid us to name on ſuch an occaſion. Mr. Burke truſted the day would never come when this country would be ſo profligate as to commit the moſt ſacrilegious of all murders; but if ſhe was even diſpoſed ſo to do, what right had France to tell her that ſhe ought to do it? The truth was, that univerſal dominion was the object of the French; in framing a Conſtitution for themſelves, they diſclaimed all idea of *locality*; they did not ſay that the nature of France required ſuch or ſuch a form of government, becauſe it was ſuited to her genius, or her geographical ſituation in Europe, but that the Conſtitution which they had choſen was fit for all mankind; and that every government which was not conformable to the declaration of the Rights of Man, was an uſurpation. This was nothing leſs than a declaration of war againſt every Government in Europe. Miniſters were charged with not having ſhewn a ſufficient diſpoſition to peace, becauſe they had not negociated in the way in which ſome gentlemen had pointed out: for his part he was of opinion that they had not the ſmalleſt foundation; and he believed that a ſtronger proof of their diſpoſition to peace could not be given than their having conſented to treat at all with ſuch a man as M. Chauvelin; he had not a doubt, but that in ſo conſenting they had made the greateſt ſacrifice to peace. It was allowed on all hands, that a King has a right to refuſe to receive any man as an Ambaſſador, to whom he has a perſonal objection. Againſt Chauvelin might have been objected the blackeſt ingratitude, and the foulеſt perfidy. The anecdote which he was going to ſtate, would ſhew that the King of France had a moſt tender and humane heart: the father of Chauvelin had died ſuddenly; the ſon was then only about five years old; the amiable monarch, in compaſſion to the infant, and to repair as far as he was able the loſs which the orphan had ſuſtained, ſpontaneouſly and unſolicited beſtowed upon the ſon a place which the father had enjoyed; the return which he made for this humane act was to abandon his Royal Maſter, and accept of the character of Miniſter Plenipotentiary from thoſe who had dethroned and impriſoned him. This ſame Chauvelin had given paſſports to emigrants who wiſhed to return to France, in order, if poſſible, to prevent the confiſcation of their property; but by a letter to the ruling men in that country, he privately and baſely defeated the purpoſe of theſe paſſports, thus contributing to the ruin of men whoſe only crime was their loyal attachment to a Monarch who was his benefactor, had been a father whenin his infancy, and a protec-

tor when he grew up. Nothing, ſurely, but the moſt ardent love of peace could have induced his Majeſty's Miniſters to think of treating in any ſhape or form with ſuch a man. This was not the only caſe that ſhewed what kind of perſons England might have to treat with, if the preſent French ſyſtem was to be continued: a common grenadier might be ſent to our King, as well as to the King of Naples; to the latter Prince a grenadier was diſpatched, who, in a haughty and authoritative ſtyle, calling him, "Roi de Naples," commanded him to diſavow his Ambaſſador at Conſtantinople, and no longer to oppoſe the reception at the Porte, in the character of Ambaſſador from France, one Semonville, who had been driven by the King of Sardinia out of his dominions, becauſe he had been endeavouring to create ſedition, and make the people riſe upon their lawful government. He was ſure that if a grenadier had not been ſent to us, it was becauſe we were ſtill too powerful to be inſulted with impunity: if the caſe had been otherwiſe, our Sovereign would have experienced the ſame inſolent treatment to which the King of Sardinia had been ſubjected; for it was part of the French plan to inſult and to degrade all kings. He was at a loſs to gueſs who would conſent, under ſuch circumſtances, to go to France with the character of Ambaſſador from England. Were we to follow the example of the French, and ſend over a Britiſh grenadier, the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs would throw down to him the bleeding head of a murdered King, the beſt man that France had ever ſeen upon her throne, and it would be ſhewn to him as a gauntlet thrown to his own King; as an incitement to go home and follow the ſacrilegious example. But he was convinced that horror and indignation would on ſuch an occaſion be the ſentiments felt by our grenadiers, every one of whom would willingly hazard his life, nay ſhed the laſt drop of his blood, in the defence of a ſovereign in every poſſible point of view dear to his people.

Having dwelt for ſome time on this topic, and ſeverely laſhed Philip Egalite, alias Orleans, alias Duke of Orleans, whom he conſidered as the center of every thing that was dark and wicked, Mr. Burke adverted to what Mr. Fox had ſaid about the balance of power. He declared that every principle which had been laid down on that ſubject by the Right Honourable Gentleman was, not to uſe any worſe term, at leaſt new to him; for he had always been taught that the ſyſtem of policy in this country was calculated to ſhew that the aggrandizement of France was more dangerous to England than the aggrandizement of any other State in Europe: he was ready to admit that the aggrandizement of any of the great Continential Powers was a ſubject of ſerious conſideration; but that any increaſe of power to France

in particular, more intimately concerned England, the reaſon was obvious: France was nearer to us; and man was always more affected by the nearer pain or pleaſure than by the more diſtant one. The geographical ſituation of countries could not be altered; France was at our door, and therefore an increaſe of territory in that quarter muſt neceſſarily affect us more than the acquiſition of power in Poland by ſtates which lay at a greater diſtance from us. The grand alliance in Queen Anne's reign, ſhewed that our attention, though extended to all Europe, ought to be particularly directed to France. Poland was no doubt of great conſequence in the ſcale of Europe; but ſtill it had ſo happened that great Revolutions had taken place there at various times, without producing any interference on the part of England. Charles XII. dethroned Auguſtus, and placed Staniſlaus in his ſtead; the Czar Peter dethroned Staniſlaus, and reſtored Auguſtus: in our own days, three great powers had made a partition of Poland; and yet England did not go to war on any of theſe occaſions; and when the laſt event took place, even the Right Honourable Gentleman had not called upon his country to maintain the balance of power, by making the three Potentates reſtore the Provinces they had torn from Poland. Mr. Burke ſpoke of the Revolution of that country in 1791, in terms of the higheſt praiſe, and of the preſent King of it in the terms of panegyric, not only as a Monarch, but as a man, whoſe virtues were an ornament to ſociety: he hoped that our Miniſters had interfered in the buſineſs of the Poliſh nation, and that the King of Pruſſia would not be able to become maſter of Thorn and Dantzick; but ſtill he did not think that the Revolution of Poland was a ſubject which called upon us to go to war. He could not help thinking that the Right Honourable Gentleman went upon rather bad grounds when he was of opinion that he might make as free with the King of Pruſſia as others did with the characters of the French rulers. But there was this ſmall difference: that with the latter we were at war; that the former was our friend and our ally. He allowed he had a right to ſpeak irreverently of his Pruſſian Majeſty's Counſels or Miniſters, but there was ſuch a thing as prudence or diſcretion, which would prevent a ſtateſman from exerciſing ſuch a right. Returning back to the caſe of France he ſaid, that we had an uncommon cauſe for alarm on account of her preſent aggrandizement; by the poſſeſſion of Mentz, ſhe was miſtreſs of the navigation of the Rhine; by the poſſeſſion of Bale and her influence in Geneva, ſhe held the keys of Swiſſerland; and by the conqueſt of the Netherlands, Holland muſt be at her devotion. In a word, if ſhe was not driven back to her old limits, Great Britain would be

undone.

undone. He declared it to be his firm and deliberate opinion, that if we ſhould make a peace with the ſubſiſting Government of France, we ſhould thereby ſeal the death warrant of our King, of Monarchy, the Conſtitution, of the Houſe of Lords, the Houſe of Commons, and of every Corporation in the Kingdom; and have ſome ſtrange kind of government ſpring up from primary aſſemblies. The new light of French principles would break in upon the people, not the light of heaven, not the light which God giveth to every man coming into this world, but a light like that which proceeds from rotten wood, and ſtinking fiſh, the offspring of putrefaction, and ſerves only to ſhew corruption. Having played a good while upon this idea, which brought upon his mind an epigram written on a neceſſary, the point of which was, "and as it ſhines it ſtinks," he concluded by declaring, that he would give his decided and unequivocal ſupport to the Miniſters in the proſecution of the war.

Mr. GREY ſaid, he would leave a great part of what had fallen from the Honourable Gentleman who had juſt ſat down to be anſwered by his new allies, with whom he ſeemed, in many points, to be at equal variance as with him and his friends:—He could not however ſit ſtill, and think he had diſcharged his duty, without anſwering ſome of the Honourable Gentleman's arguments and allegations, though in doing this he was ſenſible that, on a ſubject already ſo often and ſo fully diſcuſſed, it was impoſſible to avoid much repetition. Mr. Grey adverted to what Mr. Burke had dwelt on a good deal, that the arguments and propoſitions of himſelf and his friends had appeared in foreign papers;—this ſurely neither could nor ought to have any effect in preventing them from bringing forward their ſentiments on an occaſion ſo momentous to this country. There was a time when the Honourable Gentleman himſelf was of the ſame opinion during the diſcuſſions in that Houſe with reſpect to the American war. That his Honourable Friend, Mr. Fox, whoſe reaſoning was always ſo clear and copious, ſhould be ſo frequently miſunderſtood, was no doubt wonderfully ſurpriſing. Never was he ſo much ſurpriſed as to find his Honourable Friend ſo much miſunderſtood and miſrepreſented in what he had ſaid to-night, as to ſuppoſe that he was ſeeking for another object of war;—his argument, indeed, had been ſo extremely clear and perſpicuous, that it could hardly be otherwiſe than wilfully miſunderſtood. It was preciſely this—that as Miniſters ſeem now ſo ſolicitous to preſerve the equal balance of Europe, it would have become them to have been no leſs ſo formerly when the general ſyſtem was equally attacked. The argument of danger from the aggrandizement of France could not thus operate, for ſhe had then ſhewn no views of aggrandizement,

ment, and was beſides threatened by a moſt formidable and infamous combination; and theſe combined powers allowed the Empreſs of Ruſſia to poſſeſs herſelf of Poland, which we too ſaw with indifference. When his Hon. Friend was urging this argument with ſuch irreſiſtible force, how could it be ſaid that he was ſeeking for a new war?—But the Hon. Gentleman would not admit that the aggrandizement of Ruſſia, by the acquiſition of Poland, was of equal importance to this country with the aggrandizement of France.—On this point it was ſurely ſingular, that the total deſtruction of the balance of Europe ſhould have been endangered by Ruſſia's poſſeſſion of Ockzakow, while her acquiſition of Poland ſeemed to excite no emotion whatever. For his part, he charged Miniſters with the neglect which had brought on the country this calamitous criſis. As to the King of Pruſſia's invaſion of Poland, hiſtory afforded no inſtance of a more unprincipled, a more perfidious act. In proof of this Mr. Grey read the Declaration of the King of Pruſſia, in May 1791, upon occaſion of the acceptance of the New Conſtitution of Poland, in which he highly applauded that Conſtitution, and contraſted it with what he ſays now, upon entering Poland with an army, when he approves the conduct of Ruſſia in overturning it.—We had heard much of the faith of treaties on the buſineſs of the Scheldt, and this carried ſo far, as if we were bound to act as principals, even though not called upon as federates. But, on the ſame principle of the faith of treaties, is Pruſſia bound to guarantee the city of Dantzick.—It is ſaid to be a new thing that thoſe who ſupport a war ſhould condemn it; has the Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Burke) never done ſo? did he not do ſo in the caſe of the American war? I know too well the die is now caſt, and that (in his own phraſe) we have paſſed the Rubicon: now that the country is actually engaged in war, they muſt give their ſupport in carrying it on; but are they therefore to deſiſt from watching narrowly the conduct of Miniſters? They are accuſed of holding and ſupporting French opinions; and Gentlemen may ſay what they pleaſe, rather than ſacrifice principle, and the true intereſt of their country, he would, with his Honourable Friend (Mr. Fox), ſubmit to incur a temporary odium: They were bound to enquire whether the war be juſtifiable even if they ſhould be alleged to join what had been ſaid in France. Mr. Burke, from his principles and doctrines, may agree with Miniſters, but can Miniſters agree with him? This is a war of extermination;—if, ſays he, we treat with France, we muſt ſeal the death-warrant of the King, and the deſtruction of the Britiſh Conſtitution.—Did Miniſters, while carrying on their late negociations, ſuppoſe they would have done ſo had they treated?—No. Burke complains

plains that we abuſe foreign Powers, and talk diſreſpectfully of deſpots. For his part, with reſpect to that infamous combination of deſpots, he moſt ſincerely joined his Honourable Friend, Mr. Fox, in praying to aſſuage their malice, and confound all their devices. The opprobrious terms of reproach made uſe of by Mr. Burke, without proof of any kind, might be equally well repeated by a parrot; it could pronounce the word "Monſters," it could alſo ſay, "Briſſot the moſt virtuous of pickpockets."—He would now ſhortly go over the conduct of Miniſters in the negociation which has now ended in involving this country in a ruinous war. The Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Pitt) has vindicated himſelf by alleging, that to the laſt moment he ſhewed a diſpoſition to an amicable negociation, while the French indicated no ſerious intention of the kind. But let us put ourſelves in the ſituation of the French: they had offered explanations, and agreed they ſhould be offered in an inofficial way; had we been as ſerious as they, we ſhould ſurely have ſtated preciſely with what we would have been ſatisfied. What ſhould we have thought had we been treated in the ſame manner that France has been? Are the French leſs lively in feeling becauſe they have changed their government? For his part, he had always thought that we had never made a ſufficient allowance for their new and peculiar ſituation. He agreed entirely with his Right Honourable Friend, Mr. Fox, that before the entering upon war can be conſidered in any way juſt, ſomething muſt be demanded on the one ſide, and refuſed on the other, except only in the caſe of an actual attack.—Was the negociation betwixt this country and France in ſuch a ſtate as to be juſtifiably broke up? This is an important queſtion. It is ſaid, that the laſt paper delivered was in the ſhape of an ultimatum; but we have been in the uſe of ſeeing many repeated ultimatums, and if the French did not ſhew a determined reſolution not to accede to any conciliatory terms, we could not be juſtified in breaking up the negociation.—As to what had been ſo much talked of reſpecting the conduct of France in declaring war at the very ſame time that M. Dumourier was applying for a conference with Lord Auckland, it was ſurely neceſſary, in this matter, that all the circumſtances ſhould be taken together.—On the 17th of December, by the Miniſter's own account, they treated France as an enemy: a direct act of aggreſſion then took place, in direct breach of the Commercial Treaty, and yet we complain that France is the aggreſſor.—It is ſaid, that ſhe has no government with which we can treat, but ſurely Mr. Burke did not always think it improper to treat with a proviſional government. During the American war it had been aſked if we could treat with a vagrant Congreſs?—He ſaid, that as the moſt likely mode

mode of bringing about pacific meaſures he had wiſhed an Ambaſſador to be ſent to France, and he ſtated ſeveral other grounds which induced him to impute to Miniſters the rupture with France. He approved of the motion of his Honourable Friend (Mr. Fox) becauſe it expreſſed diſapprobation of meaſures which he highly diſapproved of; and he concluded with giving notice, that to-morrow he would bring before the Houſe ſome more detailed motions on the ſubject, not with the view of introducing any freſh debate, but in order that his ſentiments might appear fully and diſtinctly on the Journals of the Houſe, and to ſerve as a ſort of proteſt on his part againſt meaſures which appeared to him to be fraught with conſequences ſo ruinous and calamitous to this country.

Mr. JENKINSON conceived that the preſent period was ſuch, that the deareſt intereſts of the country were at ſtake. His Majeſty's Miniſters had been called upon to ſtate the cauſes of the war with France. There exiſted three, each in itſelf ſufficient for a juſtification of that meaſure, but collectively, they muſt operate in ſo forcible a manner as to call forth every voice in approving, and every hand in executing it. The cauſes were, the opening of the Scheldt, the decree of the nineteenth of November, and the ſyſtem of ambition and aggrandizement which France had adopted. With reſpect to the firſt, he would maintain that on the concluſive right of the navigation of that river, not only the commercial intereſts, but the political importance of Holland abſolutely depended. At a very early period in the hiſtory of that country, in the year 1402, when that point was in diſpute, it was determined that the ſafety and independence of Zealand reſted on the free navigation of the Scheldt. The Decree of the 19th of November had not merely been paſſed and unexplained, but conferences had been held with the ſeditious of this country to overturn its government. If Miniſtry were to be blamed, it was not for having diſmiſſed M. Chauvelin, but if they were ſo, it was for ſuffering him to remain here ſo long. We ſhould have interfered, it was ſaid, to ſtop the progreſs of the Combined Armies of Auſtria and Pruſſia; for the Balance of Power was, from their junction, in danger of being deſtroyed! What! were we to interfere in favour of our ancient enemy, and to incur the enmity of thoſe powers with whom this country had a natural alliance? [A cry of hear! hear!]—Mr. Jenkinſon then entered into a juſtification of the Duke of Brunſwick's conduct, which he aſſerted was not to regulate the interior government of France, but merely to ſet the King free, and to arreſt the progreſs of pernicious opinions:—France, indeed, had received a ſufficient provocation for hoſtilities by the treaty of Pilnitz. But the Emperor had done away that by

receiving an Ambaſſador from France after the King had accepted the Conſtitution. A ſyſtem of amity had afterwards taken place, which France had thought proper to deſtroy by a groſs violation of the rights of the Germanic Body. Miniſters have been accuſed, he continued, for not adopting certain means to prevent the murder of the King; in other words, becauſe they had not employed, upon that occaſion, the means of corruption. Why had they not? Not becauſe the National Convention was not corruptible (for he believed them to be abundantly ſo), but the difficulty lay in ſelecting proper Members for that purpoſe. In France, where every thing was fluctuating and precarious, the plan of effecting that end was not ſo certain in its execution as under a fixed government. He contended, that it was beneath the dignity of this government to treat with an Aſſembly, whoſe councils were governed ſometimes by the overweening influence of one band of aſſaſſins, and ſometimes of another. Whether Petion aſſaſſinated Roberſpierre, or Roberſpierre Petion, it was equally degrading for us to treat with either.

Mr. ADAM ſaid, that the queſtion was very plain, and the Motion appeared to him to be in every reſpect ſuch as the Houſe ought to adopt as a firſt and proper criterion by which the public ſhould judge of the preſent war and of the conſequences that were likely to follow. He wiſhed to draw the attention of the Houſe very ſhortly to the ſtate of the ſubject, but before he did ſo it was impoſſible for him not to take notice of the ſpeech of the Honourable Gentleman who ſpoke in the courſe of the debate, in which he ſtated the condition in which we ſhould be involved if we had ſent a Miniſter to France at the time when his Right Honourable Friend adviſed it. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had ſaid on a former occaſion, that directions were given to Lord Auckland, on the part of this country, to treat with General Dumourier, at the very time when it was ſtated that it was improper to ſend a Miniſter to France; was this, he would aſk, for the purpoſe of impoſing upon the people of this country, that the Miniſter ſhould pretend to ſay, that the negociation ſhould be had at the time that he gave theſe directions, the conſequence would have been, that an authorized Ambaſſador would have come from that country? The queſtion now was, whether the Houſe ought or ought not to come to a reſolution, that this country ought not to interfere with the internal government of France. He obſerved, that in the courſe of arguing the ſubject, gentlemen on the other ſide gave the point up, and chiefly relied on the three grounds inſiſted upon in former debates as reaſons for the preſent war, the Decree of the 19th of November, the plan of France for its aggrandizement, and their attack on our allies. Theſe were the

Miniſters avowed reaſons for the war; but they were at variance with their own declarations, for they ſaid one thing, and they meant another upon this ſubject; and their views were to draw us into a war, the event of which it was impoſſible for any man to foreſee. Mr. Adam here alluded to the conduct of Miniſters towards M. Chauvelin, and made ſeveral obſervations on it, as alſo on the manner of their giving inſtructions to Lord Auckland to treat with General Dumourier at the time they affected to ſay they would not treat with any agent of the French Republic. What were the public to infer from this? Why certainly that there was no ſincerity in the profeſſions of his Majeſty's Miniſters, that they ſaid one thing and meant another. He maintained alſo that the conduct of Miniſters, from the beginning to the end, diſcovered a temper and diſpoſition to be at enmity with France; indeed they had almoſt avowed as much.—He wiſhed the Houſe to reflect on the laſt Declaration of Lord Auckland, in which the character of the French was inſulted; they were ſtated to be now, and for the laſt four years to have been, a ſet of wretches calling themſelves philoſophers, &c. and yet with the agent of theſe very wretches our Miniſters gave Lord Auckland leave to treat. This led to the concluſion, that our Miniſters avowed opinions in that Houſe, and that ſuch opinions they did not act upon; and for their conduct they aſſigned reaſons with which the people of this country ought not to be ſatisfied, at a time when they were to be engaged in a war. Mr. Adam called upon the Houſe to compare the preſent with all former wars; it was probable that the ſteps already taken, on the part of the Government of this country, would not be followed up with a declaration of war; a ceremony obſerved in all others, except, for obvious reaſons, in the laſt. It was proper that when a country like this went to war, that war ſhould be declared: it was a regular conſtitutional mode, and ought to be obſerved; becauſe when a declaration of war took place, there was always ſomething like a reaſon aſſigned for going into it. Now he wiſhed that to be the caſe here; as the people of this country would know at leaſt the avowed object of the war, and Miniſters would be then in ſome degree tied down to ſome point. This he obſerved ought to be the caſe, even where we had no doubt but that the war would be ſucceſsful; as ſucceſs was likely to render us arrogant, and from that point we ſhould become indiſcreet, and might eventually lead ourſelves to great difficulty and danger; from enthuſiaſm we might perhaps go on, and inſiſt on forming a new government for France; afterwards we might proceed to the extirpation of their principles, and follow the folly of others. Here he gave an hiſtorical ſketch of the progreſs of ambition, ariſing from ſucceſs on the onſets of

wars, which proved injurious in the concluſion of them; but if this was likely to be the caſe, if the war which we were now engaged in was to be ſucceſsful upon the avowed principles for its neceſſity, what was to be the effect of it if it ſhould be unſucceſsful! He obſerved that he ſupported the reſolution now before the Houſe, becauſe it went to the point of diſplaying the object of the war; and he was ſure if it was not defined, the people, not knowing the object of it, would be very adverſe to the burthen of freſh taxes, and that diſcontents would ſoon ariſe; and he was ſure, that if Miniſters intended to proceed upon this war with vigour, they ſhould do every thing in their power to prevail upon the people of this country to join it heart and hand, as on the loſs of that ſpirit a war would ſoon be ruinous to us. Mr. Adam then entered into obſervations upon the Balance of Power in Europe, and took notice of the manner in which the Miniſter was ſome time ſince going to equip for the Baltic againſt the Empreſs of Ruſſia, for the fortreſs of Oczakow, and of afterwards ſuffering Poland to be parcelled out by that very power: he added ſeveral other reaſons for aſſenting to the motion.

Mr. JEKYLL ſaid, that he roſe to thank the Right Honourable Gentleman for the Motion which he had brought forward with reſpect to a war which he conſidered as unjuſt and calamitous. He could not content himſelf with giving a ſilent vote on this occaſion, when he conſidered it as the duty of every Member to come forward and boldly to avow his ſentiments. He underſtood that the ſenſe of the Houſe was this night to be taken; and he was happy that he ſhould be one in a Minority, however ſmall, to whom the nation would look with a retroſpect as the ſaviours of their country. Of all Minorities, at the commencement of a war, this was the moſt conſiderable. He adverted to what had been the caſe at the commencement of the unhappy American war. He begged to ſet right an Honourable Gentleman with reſpect to what had paſſed in another houſe, when corruption had been repreſented as a ſucceſsful mode of treating with the Convention. This had been ſtated in conſequence of the Convention being deſcribed as a corrupt body. If they were not to be corrupted, the argument took a different turn. The Houſe certainly were obliged to an Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Burke), that he had not loaded ſeven hundred and forty-five Members of the Convention, individually, with the moſt ſevere invective. A great number of them had been the objects of his moſt violent cenſure. He had repreſented them as knaves and pickpockets; and had, at laſt, deſcended to Billingſgate in comparing them to ſtinking fiſh.—Miniſters he certainly regarded as the aggreſſors in the preſent war. Let us put

put the French in the ſame ſituation with ourſelves: might they not ſay that we had treated their Ambaſſador, during his reſidence in this country, with contempt; that we had diſmiſſed him with ſcorn and indignation; that we had clearly diſcovered hoſtile views by ſtopping their ſupplies of corn; and by the regulations of the Alien Bill with reſpect to natives of that country? Were none of theſe to be conſidered as aggreſſions on the part of Miniſters? Indeed, by the conduct of Miniſtry, the French had been put into a ſituation in which they could not act otherwiſe than they had done in declaring war; and this war was brought about during a period of the proſperity of this country, during the ſyſtem of economy which had been ſo frequently held out by Adminiſtration. By this war that proſperity was put to hazard, and all the advantages of that economy thrown away. He ſhould beg to call the attention of Gentlemen to the inſular policy of this country, which rendered it not neceſſary for us to embroil ourſelves in the diſputes of the continent, at the expence of our own intereſt, but allowed us to ſtand by and act the part of fair traders, and avail ourſelves of all the advantages which reſulted from our peculiar ſituation. Notwithſtanding he conſidered Miniſters as the authors of the preſent war-aggreſſion, he ſtill made a ſolemn appeal to them, if there was any poſſibility of bringing about a peace, to employ all the means for this object; and, ſhould they ſucceed, he ſhould willingly forgive what he conſidered as blameable in their conduct, and grant them an amneſty for all that was paſt. France, it had been ſaid, was not in a negociable ſtate. It would have been deſirable that the effect of a conference between Lord Auckland and General Dumourier ſhould have been tried; ſince, had the latter not been addicted to political tergiverſation, he might probably have received it from the former in the way of inoculation. It was curious to obſerve how the public had been cajoled on this occaſion. The Parliament had been ſummoned in an abrupt, not to ſay an unconſtitutional, manner: alarms, reports of ſedition, had been induſtriouſly circulated. The Attorney General had informed the Houſe that he had no leſs than two hundred informations on his table; when, lo! there had only yet appeared, in the reſult, the conviction of a ſolitary bill-ſticker! Societies had been formed to conſtitute a mock-public; and gave to the war the colour of a falſe popularity. But was the war really popular? Aſk the merchant, aſk the manufacturer, aſk the labourer? They would all ſay that it was a moſt dreadful war; that it was a war in which we had every thing to loſe, and nothing to gain. Such was the voice of the real public, in oppoſition to that mock, fictitious public, compoſed of aſſociations, whoſe declarations were attempted to be impoſed as the expreſ-

ſion

ſion of the ſentiments of the nation at large. Nay, to ſuch a length had the ſyſtem of mean artifice been carried that pamphlets, profeſſedly iſſuing from the Treaſury, had been publiſhed and circulated at the bar of that Houſe, containing all the ſtuff and nonſenſe which had occurred in the French Convention, with a view to influence the prejudices and paſſions of Members, at a moment when they were called upon for the moſt calm and deliberate reflection. Had ſuch an artifice been employed in any common trial, the bill would have been thrown out by the Jury. On theſe accounts, he was happy in the opportunity which was now offered him of entering his ſolemn proteſt againſt a war, which he conſidered as no leſs unjuſt in its origin, than calamitous in its conſequences.

Mr. DENT ſaid a few words in ſupport of the war, extolled the conduct of Miniſters in their exertions to render it ſucceſsful and glorious, and concluded with diſſenting *in toto* from the propoſed Motion.

Mr. VAUGHAN ſaid, that it was not ſufficient to ſay we are now engaged in the war, and therefore that we muſt ſupport it; as the ſame argument might be alleged by the French.

Mr. POWIS ſaid, that he rejoiced, that on this day the ſenſe of the Houſe was decidedly to be taken, that they might now no longer be in the dark who were on one ſide and who were on the other. We were now at war with France: ſhe has declared war againſt us. What, in this criſis, was the duty of every good citizen? To ſupport the meaſures of Adminiſtration, in order to enable them to carry on a war with proper vigour, and bring about a deſirable peace. Would the preſent Motion have either of theſe effects? On a former occaſion, he had ſtiled certain Gentlemen advocates of France. From what had occurred in this night's debate, the Houſe might judge whether they were or not. The preſent Motion he conſidered as one of the moſt inſidious that had ever been made, not certainly in intention, but in effect. It partly aſſumes, what that Houſe had not admitted, and partly miſtates what they had. It had been mentioned as one ground of war—the internal government of France. This was the internal government, not as affecting the French themſelves, but as affecting other powers and ourſelves. He repreſented the Motion as in this reſpect going contrary to the laſt Addreſs to his Majeſty. The blame which it contained was all retroſpective, and he left to the Houſe to determine whether it could be attended with any good effect in the preſent ſituation of affairs to adopt ſuch a Motion.

Major MAITLAND ſaid, that it was not his intention to enter at large into the preſent queſtion. Every objection had been ſo completely anſwered, and every argument of his Right Honourable

Honourable Friend ſo fully eſtabliſhed, as to render any thing which he could ſay unneceſſary. He rejoiced that, on the preſent occaſion, he ſhould be one in a minority, which, however, ſmall in number, was not to be conſidered as leſs reſpectable, as acting from a ſenſe of their duty and a regard to the intereſt of their country. There was one thing to which he had now reaſon to advert, the practice of calling him and thoſe who were of the ſame opinion, advocates for France. He was no advocate for France, neither was he an advocate for German deſpots. He equally reprobated the crimes of anarchy and of deſpotiſm; and if the Honourable Gentleman who had ſpoken laſt had called him an advocate for French anarchy, he would think himſelf entitled to call him an advocate for the bloody combination of deſpots againſt the liberties of France and of Europe. It was of no conſequence to him, whether human miſery aroſe from a Jacobin Society of Republicans at Paris, or from a Jacobin confederation of Princes at Pilnitz. If, on the one hand, were ſeen the evil conſequences of anarchy, on the other were no leſs forcibly diſplayed thoſe of deſpotiſm. Here was the difference: in the one inſtance that of anarchy, thoſe cruelties which had been perpetrated, originated from popular fear and fury, worked up to their higheſt pitch: on the other we beheld deſpotiſm ſitting down in the moment of cool deliberation to meditate a ſyſtem of the moſt ſanguinary proſcription. What was the leſſon which we were thence to derive? It was a leſſon of the neceſſity of that caution with which this country ought to take part in a war on either ſide, in which it could not engage without aſſiſting either the views of anarchy or deſpotiſm. The popularity of the war had been much talked of by Miniſters, whoſe wiſh and intereſt it was that it ſhould be popular. But was this war popular with the manufacturer, on account of which the moſt valuable part of our manufactures had declined conſiderably in value? Could this war, which had ſo greatly contributed to the fall of the ſtocks, be popular with the monied men? Or was this war popular with the labourers, the expence of which was to be defrayed from the ſweat of their brows? Or, what was the criterion of their popularity of a war, had thouſands of volunteers been found coming into our army and navy? The reverſe of the fact, he believed, was the caſe. Where was the armament for the purpoſe of a war? When Miniſters wanted an armament for the ſake of firſt bullying and then conceding, they had dragged the peaceable citizen from his home and family; they had robbed the merchant ſhips of their ſailors, and uſed every exertion for equipping an expeditious and formidable armament. Here, where they were really bent upon war, they had been no leſs remiſs than formerly they had been vigorous in their preparations,

tions, and it would be found that, at preſent, there was no armament, either by ſea or land, adequate to the object propoſed, or fit for carrying into execution meaſures of hoſtility.

Mr. LAMBTON ſaid, that he rejoiced that the ſenſe of the Houſe was to be taken, and that his name ſhould go down to the country in that minority who approved of the motion of his Right Honourable Friend. His Right Honourable Friend had been called an advocate for France: he was not an advocate for France, but for the peace of England—an object which ſurely was worthy of the moſt exalted ambition. A degree of malignity, indeed, had characterized all the attacks made upon him. It had been ſaid, that he derived all his arguments from the common ſtock of Briſſot, who was, in another breath, pronounced by the ſame Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Burke) the Prince of Pickpockets. Did he mean to ſay that his Right Honourable Friend had any connection with M. Briſſot? If this was his meaning, he aſſerted a moſt notorious falſehood.

Sir RICHARD HILL ſaid, if ever he ſhould vote for an unneceſſary war, ſenſible as he was of the miſeries and calamities with which ſuch a meaſure was always attended, he ſhould think that his tongue deſerved to be cut out; but the preſent war he conſidered as inevitable. But it had been ſaid, why not treat with the French Convention for the purpoſe of preventing a war? Treat with the French Convention! he would as ſoon treat with the palace of Pandemonium.

Sir FRANCIS BASSET ſaid, with reſpect to the fact that merchants, manufacturers, and labourers, lamented the war, he had no doubt. They muſt all feel its conſequences operate againſt their immediate intereſt. But they all, he would be bound to ſay, ſaw the neceſſity of the meaſure, and were prepared to ſupport it, as undertaken for their common defence. Much of what had been ſaid to-night appeared to him to have been obviated by what had been ſtated by a Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Pitt), that this was a war, not for the purpoſe of any interference, but for the purpoſe of procuring reparation of thoſe injuries and inſults which had been offered to this country. He had been ſurpriſed to hear it alleged, that we were the aggreſſors in this war, when the fact was notorious that, at the very moment when the French were profeſſing their deſire of being on a good underſtanding with Great Britain, the Miniſter of the Marine had written a letter to the friends of liberty and equality in the maritime towns, exciting them againſt this country, and propoſing to land on our coaſts an army with fifty thouſands caps of liberty! With reſpect to himſelf, he had always been accuſtomed to act, he truſted not inconſiſtently, with the Right Honourable Gentleman, Mr. Fox. Notwithſtanding

ſtanding this difference, however, he could not forbear to take this opportunity to expreſs his very high opinion of the talents of that Right Honourable Gentleman, and the no leſs high opinion which he entertained of his heart.

Sir GEORGE CORNWALL ſtrongly urged the neceſſity of reſiſting the progreſs of French arms and principles.

Sir HENRY HOUGHTON likewiſe ſpoke in ſupport of the war.

Mr. FOX roſe to reply. (There had been, for ſome time, a great clamour for the queſtion, which was now violently renewed.) He ſaid, as he was determined to ſtate what he had to ſay, the longer Gentlemen choſe to continue the noiſe the more of their time would be conſumed. He began with adverting to what had fallen from Mr. Powis: That Honourable Gentleman, who had lately choſen to diſtinguiſh himſelf by very particular attacks upon him, had ſtiled him an advocate for France. If he meant an advocate for what was juſt and right, ſo far he would allow himſelf to come under the deſcription. But if he meant that he entered into the partialities and intereſts of an advocate, he begged to diſclaim the character. The phraſe was ambiguous; and the Honourable Gentleman, in applying it, knew, and perhaps intended that it ſhould be taken up by the public in the moſt invidious point of view. That Honourable Gentleman had ſaid, that he rejoiced that to-night the ſenſe of the Houſe was decidedly to be taken. If any thing could deter him from taking as he propoſed the ſenſe of the Houſe, it was this mode of invitation, which was neither decent nor parliamentary. The right which had lately been inſiſted upon of a majority to know who were thoſe who oppoſed them, was inconſiſtent with the uſage and privileges of Parliament. He next adverted to what a Right Honourable Gentleman, Mr. Burke, had alleged, that, according to his mode of reaſoning, every thing which had happened in France was juſt, and every thing done in oppoſition to them otherwiſe; becauſe he had ſaid, that the French were juſtifiable in declaring war againſt the Emperor of Germany, who had diſcovered hoſtile intentions towards them, he was therefore ſuppoſed to approve of all their proceedings in Brabant. Was this a fair concluſion? That Right Honourable Gentleman had likewiſe ſtated, that he had adopted new principles of reaſoning. It was new to ſtate arguments againſt the country. The arguments which he had ſtated were directed againſt the Miniſtry. And was it to be underſtood, that whenever Miniſters were blamed, the country was cenſured? Were we, from our deteſtation of French republicaniſm, come to that pitch of triple-refined deſpotiſm, that, to arraign the conduct of

Miniſtry was to be repreſented as an attack upon the country? In that caſe, it would be better at once to ſhut the doors of that Houſe, and diſpenſe with the form of deliberating when its ſubſtance was deſtroyed. It would be better, when a war was declared, to give up at once all the free part of the Conſtitution, and to leave every thing to the abſolute and arbitrary deciſion of Miniſters. But had the Right Honourable Gentleman always acted upon the principle which he now wiſhed to eſtabliſh? Had he not, in 1778, thought proper to arraign the conduct of Miniſtry while the country was engaged in a war?—There was another point on which he wiſhed to touch: Miniſters, whom, on the preſent occaſion, the Right Honourable Gentleman thought proper to ſupport, had conceived it proper to make attempts to treat with the French. Why then ſhould they eſcape the Right Honourable Gentleman's cenſure, while he imputed as ſo great a crime to oppoſition the very wiſh to treat with that nation? Poland, it had been ſaid, was a more remote object; but what ſort of political morality was that which repreſented an object as leſs intereſting in proportion as it was more remote? Were all the charges of horror to be heaped upon the French, with a view of exciting indignation againſt them? And was the conduct of the Court of Berlin, which was ſtill worſe, to be paſſed entirely by? Were we to deal out our invectives in ſo large a proportion againſt the French, while with reſpect to the Court of Berlin we abſtained from the ſmalleſt degree of cenſure? In that caſe, political morality, which had never been rated high in the opinions of men, would ſink very low indeed. He conſidered high rank or ſituation ſo far from being an extenuation, as affording an aggravation of the offence. Much had been ſaid about treating with the preſent Executive Council of France. He would only remark, that in every country you muſt treat with thoſe who have a power, unleſs you are bent on views of extirpation. Much, likewiſe, had been ſaid of the influence of France. Was the influence of France ſo formidable, and was the influence of Auſtria and Pruſſia nothing?—an influence which had been this evening ſtated to have completely ſhut us out from the Republic of Europe, and to have deprived us of the means of ſaving Poland, however much we might have been inclined. An Honourable Gentleman had ſtated his Motion to be inſidious, and the reaſon which he had aſſigned was that it partly aſſumed what had not been admitted in that Houſe, and particularly miſſtated what had. He would inform that Honourable Gentleman that his Motion had not the ſmalleſt connection with any thing that had been ſtated in that Houſe, nor even could admit of the moſt diſtant alluſion. It had been

aſked how his Motion could have any tendency to bring about a peace? An Honourable Gentleman on the other ſide of the Houſe had, with the candour of youth, admitted that nothing could more directly lead to peace than a preciſe ground being ſtated for the war. If the nature of the reparation which we deſired was ſpecified, the object was then preciſe, and, when it was obtained, war was at an end. But if his motion was not adopted, and if Gentlemen went away with the doubt of the object which was aimed at by the war, it could not then be known to what length, or under what pretences, the war might be protracted. In the courſe of this night's diſcuſſion, one of theſe was, that the conduct of the Court of Berlin with reſpect to Poland had not been attempted to be vindicated. If Briſſot was to be the object of ſo much invective, was the Court of Berlin to be exempted from cenſure! The more elevated the ſituation from which crimes proceeded, the more were they to be reprobated, the more pernicious was their example, and the more extenſive that miſchief with which they were attended. That a high ſituation ſhould procure oblivion or impunity for crimes, was a maxim which no juſt, generous, or magnanimous mind would readily admit. He was not acquainted with M. Briſſot, whom an Honourable Gentleman had ſtiled the prince of pickpockets, but he always underſtood that any objections ſtated to his character aroſe only from his public conduct. With reſpect to M. Chauvelin, he would likewiſe ſuggeſt to that Right Hon. Gentleman to be very cautious in admitting accounts, as ground for his invective, which came from perſons heated with the moſt violent invectives and political animoſity. He had now finiſhed his taſk, *liberari animum meum*. He had done all that he could do. He had been told that the part he had taken was not popular. No man was more deſirous of popularity than he was; and no man would make leſs ſacrifices to obtain it. If the part which regard to the intereſts of the country obliged them to take was not popular, it was not their duty to be influenced by that conſideration. We had now got into a war; and how beſt to put an end to that war was the object which now demanded their attention. It was their buſineſs, treading the old conſtitutional ground, to come forward boldly with their opinions, in proportion to the importance of the criſis, and the danger of the country, and not to be deterred by the ſuggeſtions of timidity, the menace of unpopularity. It likewiſe gave him ſatisfaction that they had not ventured to come forward to give a negative to his motion, even amidſt the general exultation which prevailed among the Members of that Houſe, with reſpect to a war. He feared, he by no means wiſhed, that this exultation in its event would have a termination ſimilar to that which had been ſo emphatically deſcribed

by the Roman hiſtorian, Tacitus, "*Spe lata, tractatu dura, eventa triſtia.*"

Mr. WYNDHAM began with premiſing, that at ſo late an hour he would not attempt to detain the Houſe, though he thought himſelf called upon to ſpeak, as conſidering himſelf in ſome degree implicated in what had occurred in the courſe of the debate. He objected to the motion as ambiguouſly expreſſed. What was the interference which was here meant; and what the difference which had been alleged to ſubſiſt between miniſtry, and thoſe who ſupported them, with reſpect to interfering in the internal government of France? The phraſe interference evidently admitted of different conſtructions. By interference, as it was uſed, they muſt evidently mean that interference in the internal government of a country, the operations of which were confined to itſelf; and in this point of view it became a mere ſpeculative and abſtract queſtion, without any application to the particular ſtate of affairs. It had been a great queſtion of morality among writers, how far any country was juſtified in interfering in the internal affairs of another; and the only danger to reſult from eſtabliſhing the doctrine ſeemed to be, that it might be of dangerous conſequence, as proceedings which in one inſtance were dictated by pure benevolence, might ſerve as a cover to other interferences of a very different nature. When we talked of the internal government of France, we talked of it as it concerned ourſelves—we talked of the proceedings and principles in that country as affecting our own. When opinions were propagated by force of arms, it became neceſſary that they ſhould be oppoſed. When armies and navies were employed to diſſeminate principles, armies and navies became the proper means of reſiſting them. What then was the great difference between Miniſters and thoſe who ſupported them on this ground of internal interference? For his part he did not know that Miniſters had aſſigned all the cauſes of the war. Another difference which had been ſtated between Miniſters and thoſe who ſupported them, was, that while the former were actually attempting to treat, the latter had declared France not to be negociable: but might not, in the caſe of thoſe who concurred in one object, a difference of opinion take place with regard to the effects of a treaty? Might they not be divided in their opinion of its ſucceſs, and while one conſidered it as expedient and proper, the other regard it as uſeleſs and unavailing? As to that point which had been ſo much inſiſted upon, that we ſhould ſtate the preciſe grounds of our going to war, and the object which we wiſhed to attain, it was not contended that there were not ſufficient cauſes for going to war, but it was demanded that theſe cauſes ſhould be expreſsly

expreſsly mentioned. With reſpect to war, he would remark, that it was a matter of extreme difficulty to give definitions in the outſet; and it would certainly be extremely ridiculous, by any previous declaration, to limit yourſelves in your operations and means of acting, eſpecially when oppoſed to an enemy who ſet no ſuch bounds to themſelves. It would be equally impolitic not to avail yourſelves of any diſſenſions which might ariſe in the territories of the enemy, and it would certainly be doing a ſervice, both to the French themſelves and to the cauſe of humanity, to endeavour, if an opportunity preſented itſelf, to eſtabliſh in France a better form of government. The phraſe *bellum internecinum*, which had ſo often been alluded to, he believed he had firſt made uſe of, and by it he meant, not a war for the extirpation of the enemy, but a war in which we ourſelves have every thing at ſtake; a war in which our deareſt and moſt valuable intereſts were involved.

Mr. SHERIDAN ſaid, that he was not ſurpriſed at the clamorous demand of the queſtion at the commencement of the ſpeech of the Honourable Gentleman who had ſpoken laſt.—When his Right Honourable Friend who had moved the queſtion had availed himſelf of his privilege of reply, it was to be ſuppoſed the debate was finiſhed, and it was neither conſiſtent with the uſage, nor fair and candid in the Honourable Gentleman, to attempt to ſay any thing more. Their friends, he muſt confeſs, treated them with a ſort of French fraternity, and did them more real injury than their open enemies. The queſtion which the Honourable Gentleman had repreſented to be ſpeculative and abſtract, particularly applied to the preſent ſituation of the French.—As to the right of the country to interfere in the internal government of another, upon the principle of pure benevolence, it would be found to be a doctrine, perhaps, more ſpecious in theory than ſafe in practice. He underſtood, however, that it was admitted by the beſt writers that no ſuch right exiſted. But let us look to the conſequences of this principle of pure benevolence. From pure benevolence the Empreſs of Ruſſia interfered in the internal affairs of Poland.—From the ſame conſideration the king of Pruſſia had poſſeſſed himſelf of Dantzic and Thorn.—It was pure benevolence which induced the Spaniards to commit all thoſe cruelties which had diſgraced their eſtabliſhments in the new world. Were ſuch a right of one government to interfere in the affairs of another admitted, it would be impoſſible o draw any line, or to fix its preciſe limits; but the Hon. Gentleman, while he ſo much reprobated French principles, ſeemed to have adopted their concluſions, and was now exactly defending that line of conduct which the French had propoſed by their de-

cree

cree of the 19th of November. In juſtifying on a former occaſion the riots of Birmingham, he had adopted the reaſoning of Robeſpierre, when he vindicated the maſſacres of the 2d of September —that the perſons who had ſuffered, had indeed done no miſchief, but that had they not been cruſhed, they might have become extremely dangerous. It was not becauſe they conſidered a negociation as uſeleſs, that certain Gentlemen, who ſupported the Miniſter, had diſapproved of treating at all with France, but becauſe they conſidered France as not negociable. Miniſters, in what they had ſaid of a propoſed conference between Gen. Dumouriet and Lord Auckland, had ſtated that it was perfectly conſiſtent to treat with a general in time of war. So then we were to go to war for the ſole purpoſe of making an opening for negociation.

Mr. SMITH diſapproved of a war, whether the object was to oppoſe French arms or French principles. In both caſes he conſidered a war as tending to increaſe the danger.

Mr. BURKE explained.

At half after two in the morning the Houſe divided on Mr. Fox's firſt Reſolution.

For it	44
Againſt it	270
Majority	226

The following is a liſt of the MINORITY.

MEMBERS	SIT FOR
Right Hon. C. J. Fox,	Weſtminſter,
Charles Grey, Eſq.	Northumberland,
R. B. Sheridan, Eſq.	Stafford,
Hon. T. Erſkine,	Portſmouth,
Lord John Ruſſell,	Taviſtock,
Lord William Ruſſell,	Surry,
Earl of Wycombe,	Chipping Wycombe,
Hon. St. Andrew St. John,	Bedfordſhire,
Hon. T. Maitland,	Jedburgh, &c.
Hon. P. C. Wyndham,	Midhurſt,
W. Plumer, Eſq.	Hertfordſhire,
Rt. Hon. Rd. Fitzpatrick,	Taviſtock,
William Baker, Eſq.	Hertfordſhire,
Dudley North, Eſq.	Great Grimſby,
John Courtenay, Eſq.	Tamworth,
M. A. Taylor, Eſq.	Poole,
Henry Howard, Eſq.	Arundel,

MEMBERS

MEMBERS	SIT FOR.
S. Whitbread, jun. Esq.	Bedford,
James Ware, Esq.	Knaresborough,
W. Powlett Powlett, Esq.	Totness,
W. Hussey, Esq.	Salisbury,
B. Vaughan, Esq.	Calne,
W. Smith, Esq.	Camelford,
P. Francis, Esq.	Blechingly,
Colonel Macleod,	Invernesshire,
Joseph Jekyll, Esq.	Calne,
Rt. Hon. Lord R. Spencer,	Wareham,
T. W. Coke, Esq.	Norfolk,
Edward Coke, Esq.	Derby,
R. Wilbraham, Esq.	Bodmyn,
J. R. Burch, Esq.	Thetford,
C. C. Western, Esq.	Malden,
J. B. Church, Esq.	Wendover,
J. Harrison, Esq.	Great Grimsby,
W. Colhoun, Esq.	Bedford,
T. Whitmore, Esq.	Bridgnorth,
Hon. E. Bouverie,	Northampton,
J. C. Crespigny, Esq.	Sudbury,
Sir E. Winnington, Bt.	Droytwich,
C. Taylor, Esq.	Maidstone,
G. Sturt, Esq.	Bridport,
T. Thompson, Esq.	Evesham,
W. Lee Antonie, Esq.	Great Marlow,
D. Howel, Esq.	St. Michael's.

TELLERS.

W. Adam, Esq.	Rossshire,
W. H. Lambton, Esq.	Durham.

Mr. Fox's four last Resolutions (see the end of his first speech in this day's debate) were disposed of by the previous question.

FEBRUARY 19.

No debates.

FEBRUARY 20.

The House resolved itself into a Committee of Supply. Sir GEORGE YONGE moved, that an additional number of 2363 men should be voted for the Land Service of the year 1793, which, added to the number of men voted before, amounted to 9945.—Agreed to.

That

That the ſum of 437,837l. 1s. 11d. ſhould be voted to defray the expences of them.—Agreed to.

That the ſum of 139,000l. ſhould be voted for the maintenance of the 100 Independent Companies.

The ſum of 32,500l. for defraying the expence of the additional Staff Officers.

The ſum of 285,428l. 2s. 6d. for defraying the expences of embodying the Militia of South Britain.

The ſum of 65,000l. for defraying the contingent expences of Bread Money, &c. for the Militia.—And,

That the ſum of 15,639l. 5s. 11d. ſhould be voted for defraying the expences of the Troops in the Weſt Indies.

The Report was ordered to be received to-morrow.

Mr. POWIS ſtated that, on conſideration, he thought it would be better that the Committee, which he had formerly ſtated to the Houſe his intention to move for relative to Canal Bills, ſhould be an up-ſtairs Committee: he therefore, with leave of the Houſe, would move, that a Committee be appointed to conſider of the mode of applying the ſums raiſed by Canal Bills, in ſuch manner as ſhould be moſt for the intereſt of the parties concerned, and of the public; which, after ſome converſation, was agreed to, and a Committee appointed.

Mr. T. GRENVILLE begged leave to call the ſerious attention of the Houſe to the great inconveniencies which had lately ariſen from want of the due attendance of Members on the days fixed for ballotting for Committees on Election Petitions. He had himſelf given much conſideration to this ſubject, as connected with Mr. Grenville's Act; but it did not appear to him that it would be neceſſary or proper to make any alteration in that Act, at leaſt for the preſent. If it ſhould afterwards ſeem proper to make alteration in it, he thought it would be much better to do ſo at the beginning of a new Parliament. There were ſtill left on the table eleven Election Petitions, and an alteration in the law juſt now would make exiſting caſes be tried by a poſterior law.

If the Houſe would exert the powers with which it was inveſted for enforcing the attendance of its Members, he was perſuaded it would be no difficult matter to procure a proper attendance, ſo as to prevent the interruption of buſineſs; and as he underſtood that to-morrow was an open day, he would move, that this Houſe do to-morrow reſolve itſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe to conſider of ſuch ſteps as may be neceſſary for enforcing a due attendance of its Members on the days appointed for Ballots on Election Petitions.—Ordered.

February 21.

Mr. HOBART brought up the report of the Committee of Supply, and the reſolutions agreed to by the Committee yeſterday were read a firſt time. On the ſecond reading of the reſolution reſpecting the Staff Officers,

Mr. FOX obſerved, that it did not occur to him what ſhould render neceſſary ſo large a Staff in England, in the circumſtances of the war in which we are at preſent engaged. The war before the laſt was one carried on very extenſively, and which certainly had not been ſtarved; and yet, according to his information, there was at preſent as large a ſtaff in England alone as we had during that war, in Great Britain, Ireland, Germany, and America. In his opinion, we ought to be more particularly careful as to increaſing the army eſtabliſhment in Officers of high rank.

The SECRETARY at WAR did not think that we ought to look ſo much to any precedent, as to what might appear neceſſary for the vigorous ſupport of thoſe meaſures which the preſent exiſting circumſtances required for the ſafety of the country.

Mr. COURTENAY ſaid, that we had now about ten General Officers more than were in M. Dumourier's army, who commanded at leaſt 200,000 men; and although the Honourable Secretary at War ſeemed unable to aſſign any reaſon for his vaſt diſproportion of officers over the men, he thought he could aſſiſt him with a good one; *becauſe*, when known, he made no doubt that ſuch a circumſtance would immediately relieve the Dutch from all their apprehenſions; and he thought it would be an excellent *coup de maitre* in Miniſters, to publiſh in the Gazette a liſt of the General Officers, as a certain means of inducing M. Dumourier to raiſe the ſiege of Breda, and to give up every idea of proceeding to Amſterdam, though now within twenty miles of it.

The reſolutions were then all read a ſecond time, and agreed to.

Mr. GREY ſaid, that in moving the Addreſs to his Majeſty, which he ſhould now have the honour to propoſe to the Houſe, he would adhere ſtrictly to the promiſe he had made on a former night, not to take up their time by any previous ſpeech. He could certainly hardly entertain a hope, after what had paſſed, that his propoſition would be acceded to by the Houſe, though he wiſhed moſt ardently that it were poſſible, as it might ſtill perhaps be the means of averting the calamities of war; but whatever might be its fate, he was anxious to come forward with an explicit declaration and avowal of his ſentiments, and to court the

diſtinction of being recorded as one of thoſe who had, with every poſſible exertion, oppoſed thoſe impolitic meaſures, whereby we had been plunged into a war which was likely to be ſo ruinous and calamitous to this country. He then moved,

That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to aſſure his Majeſty that his faithful Commons, animated by a ſincere and dutiful attachment to his perſon and family, and to the excellent Conſtitution of this kingdom, as well as by an ardent zeal for the intereſt and honour of the nation, will at all times be ready to ſupport his Majeſty in any meaſures which a due obſervance of the faith of treaties, the dignity of his Crown, or the ſecurity of his dominions, may compel him to undertake.

That, feeling the moſt earneſt ſolicitude to avert from our country the calamities of war, by every means conſiſtent with honour and with ſafety, we expreſſed to his Majeſty, at the opening of the preſent ſeſſion, "our ſenſe of the temper and "prudence which had induced his Majeſty to obſerve a ſtrict "neutrality with reſpect to the war on the Continent, and "uniformly to abſtain from any interference in the internal "affairs of France;" and our hope that the ſteps his Majeſty had taken would have the happy tendency "to render a firm "and temperate conduct effectual for preſerving the bleſſings "of peace."

That, with the deepeſt concern, we now find ourſelves obliged to relinquiſh that hope, without any evidence having been produced to ſatisfy us that his Majeſty's Miniſters have made ſuch efforts as it was their duty to make, and as, by his Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech, we were taught to expect, for the preſervation of peace:—It is no leſs the reſolution than the duty of his Majeſty's faithful Commons to ſecond his efforts in the war thus fatally commenced, ſo long as it ſhall continue; but we deem it a duty equally incumbent upon us to ſolicit his Majeſty's attention to thoſe reaſons or pretexts, by which his ſervants have laboured to juſtify a conduct on their part which we cannot but conſider as having contributed, in a great meaſure, to produce the preſent rupture.

Various grounds of hoſtility againſt France have been ſtated, but none that appeared to us to have conſtituted ſuch an urgent and imperious caſe of neceſſity as left no room for accommodation, and made war unavoidable.—The government of France has been accuſed of having violated the law of nations and the ſtipulations of exiſting treaties, by an attempt to deprive the Republic of the United Provinces of the excluſive navigation of the Scheldt. No evidence, however, has been offered to convince us that this excluſive navigation was, either

in itſelf or in the eſtimation of thoſe who were alone intereſted in preſerving it, of ſuch importance as to juſtify a determination in our government to break with France on that account. If, in fact, the States General had ſhewn a diſpoſition to defend their right by force of arms, it might have been an inſtance of the trueſt friendſhip to have ſuggeſted to them, for their ſerious conſideration, how far the aſſertion of this unprofitable claim might, in the preſent circumſtances of Europe, tend to bring into hazard the moſt eſſential intereſts of the Republic.—But when, on the contrary, it has been acknowledged that no requiſition on this ſubject was made to his Majeſty on the part of the States General, we are at a loſs to comprehend on what grounds of right or propriety we take the lead in aſſerting a claim in which we are not principals, and in which the principal party has not, as far as we know, thought it prudent or neceſſary to call for our interpoſition.

We muſt further remark, that the point in diſpute ſeemed to us to have been relieved from a material part of its difficulty by the declaration of the Miniſter of Foreign Affairs in France, that the French nation gave up all pretenſions to determine the queſtion of the future navigation of the Scheldt. Whether the terms of this declaration were perfectly ſatisfactory or not, they at leaſt left the queſtion open to pacific negociation; in which the intrinſic value of the object, to any of the parties concerned in it, might have been coolly and impartially weighed againſt the conſequences to which all of them might be expoſed by attempting to maintain it by force of arms.

We have been called upon to reſiſt views of conqueſt and aggrandizement entertained by the government of France, "at "all times dangerous to the general intereſts of Europe, but" aſſerted to be "peculiarly ſo, when connected with the propa-"gation of principles which lead to the violation of the moſt "ſacred duties, and are utterly ſubverſive of the peace and "order of all civil ſociety."

We admit, that it is the intereſt and duty of every member of the Commonwealth of Europe to ſupport the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem, and diſtribution of power among the independent ſovereignties, which actually ſubſiſt, and to prevent the aggrandizement of any ſtate, eſpecially the moſt powerful, at the expence of any other; and, for the honour of his Majeſty's Councils, we do moſt earneſtly wiſh, that his Miniſters had manifeſted a juſt ſenſe of the importance of the principle to which they now appeal, in the courſe of late events, which ſeemed to us to threaten its entire deſtruction.

When Poland was beginning to recover from the long calamities of anarchy, combined with oppreſſion; after ſhe had eſtabliſhed an hereditary and limited monarchy like our

own, and was peaceably employed in ſettling her internal government, his Majeſty's Miniſters, with apparent indifference and unconcern, have ſeen her become the victim of the moſt unprovoked and unprincipled invaſion; her territory overrun, her free Conſtitution ſubverted, her national independence annihilated, and the general principles of the ſecurity of nations wounded through her ſide. With all theſe evils was France ſoon after threatened, and with the ſame appearance either of ſupine indifference, or of ſecret approbation, his Majeſty's Miniſters beheld the armies of other powers (in evident concert with the oppreſſor of Poland) advancing to the invaſion and ſubjugation of France, and the march of thoſe armies diſtinguiſhed from the ordinary hoſtilities of civilized nations by manifeſtos, which, if their principles and menaces had been carried into practice, muſt have inevitably produced the "return of that ferocity and barbariſm in war, which a "beneficent religion, and enlightened manners, and true mili-"tary honour, have for a long time baniſhed from the chriſ-"tian world."

No effort appears to have been made to check the progreſs of theſe invading armies:—His Majeſty's Miniſters, under a pretended reſpect for the rights and independence of other ſovereigns, thought fit at that time to refuſe even the interpoſition of his Majeſty's counſels and good offices to ſave ſo great and important a portion of Europe from falling under the dominion of a foreign power. But no ſooner, by an ever memorable reverſe of fortune, had France repulſed her invaders, and carried her arms into their territory, than his Majeſty's Miniſters, laying aſide that colluſive indifference which had marked their conduct during the invaſion of France, began to expreſs alarms for the general ſecurity of Europe, which, as it appears to us, they ought to have ſeriouſly felt, and might have expreſſed, with greater juſtice, on the previous ſucceſſes of her powerful adverſaries.

We will not diſſemble our opinion, that the Decree of the National Convention of France of the 19th of November 1792, was in a great meaſure liable to the objections urged againſt it; but we cannot admit that a war, upon the ſingle ground of ſuch a decree, unaccompanied by any overt acts, by which we or our Allies might be directly attacked, would be juſtified as neceſſary and unavoidable. Certainly not—unleſs, upon a regular demand made by his Majeſty's Miniſters of explanation and ſecurity in behalf of us and our Allies, the French had refuſed to give his Majeſty ſuch explanation and ſecurity. No ſuch demand was made. Explanations, it is true, have been received and rejected. But it well deſerves

to be remarked and remembered, that theſe explanations were voluntarily offered on the part of France, not previouſly demanded on ours, as undoubtedly they would have been, if it had ſuited the views of his Majeſty's Miniſters to have acted frankly and honourably towards France, and not to have reſerved their complaints for a future period, when explanations, however reaſonable, might come too late, and hoſtilities might be unavoidable.

After a review of all thoſe conſiderations, we think it neceſſary to repreſent to his Majeſty, that none of the points which were in diſpute between his Miniſters and the government of France, appear to us to have been incapable of being adjuſted by negociation, except that aggravation of French ambition, which has been ſtated to ariſe from the political opinions of the French nation. Theſe indeed, we conceive, formed neither any definable object of negociation, nor any intelligible reaſon for hoſtility. They were equally incapable of being adjuſted by treaty, or of being either refuted or confirmed by the events of war.

We need not ſtate to his Majeſty's wiſdom, that force can never cure deluſion; and we know his Majeſty's goodneſs too well to ſuppoſe, that he could ever entertain the idea of employing force to deſtroy opinions by the extirpation of thoſe who hold them.

The grounds, upon which his Majeſty's Miniſters have adviſed him to refuſe the renewal of ſome avowed public intercourſe with the exiſting government of France, appeared to us neither juſtified by the reaſon of the thing itſelf, nor by the uſage of nations, nor by any expediency ariſing from the preſent ſtate of circumſtances. In all negociations or diſcuſſions whatſoever, of which peace is the real object, the appearance of an amicable diſpoſition, and of a readineſs to offer and to accept of pacific explanations on both ſides, is as neceſſary and uſeful to enſure ſucceſs, as any arguments founded on ſtrict right. Nor can it be denied, that claims or arguments of any kind, urged in hoſtile or haughty language, however equitable or valid in themſelves, are more likely to provoke than to conciliate the oppoſite party. Deploring, as we have ever done, the melancholy event which has lately happened in France, it would yet have been ſome conſolation to us to have heard, that the powerful interpoſition of the Britiſh nation on this ſubject had at leaſt been offered, although it ſhould unfortunately have been rejected. But inſtead of receiving ſuch conſolation from the conduct of his Majeſty's Miniſters, we have ſeen them with extreme aſtoniſhment employing, as an incentive to hoſtilities, an event which they had made no

effort

effort to avert by negociation. This inaction they could only excuſe on the principle, that the internal conduct of nations (whatever may be our opinion of its morality) was no proper ground for interpoſition and remonſtrance from foreign ſtates; —a principle, from which it muſt ſtill more clearly follow, that ſuch internal conduct could never be an admiſſible, juſtifying reaſon for war.

We cannot refrain from obſerving, that ſuch frequent alluſions as have been made to an event (confeſſedly no ground of rupture) ſeemed to us to have ariſen from a ſiniſter intention to derive, from the humanity of Engliſhmen, popularity for meaſures which their deliberate judgment would have reprobated, and to influence the moſt virtuous ſenſibilities of his Majeſty's people into a blind and furious zeal for a war of vengeance.

His Majeſty's faithful Commons therefore, though always determined to ſupport his Majeſty with vigour and cordiality in the exertions neceſſary for the defence of his kingdoms, yet feel that they are equally bound by their duty to his Majeſty, and to their fellow-ſubjects, to declare, in the moſt ſolemn manner, their diſapprobation of the conduct of his Majeſty's Miniſters throughout the whole of theſe tranſactions; a conduct which, in their opinion, could lead to no other termination but that, to which it ſeems to have been ſtudiouſly directed, of plunging this country into an unneceſſary war. The calamities of ſuch a war muſt be aggravated, in the eſtimation of every rational mind, by reflecting on the peculiar advantages of that fortunate ſituation which we have ſo unwiſely abandoned, and which not only exempted us from ſharing in the diſtreſſes and afflictions of the other nations of Europe, but converted them into ſources of benefit, improvement, and proſperity to this country.

We therefore humbly implore his Majeſty's paternal goodneſs to liſten no longer to the Councils which have forced us into this unhappy war, but to embrace the earlieſt occaſion, which his wiſdom may diſcern, of reſtoring to his people the bleſſings of peace.

MAJOR MAITLAND ſeconded the motion.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER ſaid, it was obvious, that the ſubſtance of the Addreſs was nothing more than a repetition of thoſe arguments which had been already brought forward in that Houſe by gentlemen who oppoſed the meaſures of government. It was only therefore neceſſary for him to ſay, that he, as well as every gentleman who had concurred in the late proceedings of that Houſe, and in giving their ſupport in the preſent criſis to the Executive Government, muſt of neceſſity

give

give their decided negative to the motion of the Honourable Gentleman.

Mr. DRAKE ſaid, that to this voluminous, elaborate, circuitous Addreſs which had been brought forward by the Honourable Gentleman, in the way of a proteſt, the beſt anſwer which he could give, was his decided No. To the proceedings of gentlemen on the other ſide the Houſe, he had no doubt the people were nearly unanimous in uttering their *no*, while to the meaſures of Miniſters they joined in emphatically pronouncing their Aye.—The motion was negatived.

PETITION OF THE INHABITANTS OF NOTTINGHAM.

Mr. R. SMITH read a petition, ſigned by about 2500 inhabitants of the town of Nottingham, ſtating, among other things, that as the Conſtitution now ſtands, with reſpect to repreſentation in Parliament, the country is amuſed with the name of a repreſentation of the people, when the reality is gone; that the right of election had paſſed away from the people almoſt altogether; and that thereby the confidence of the people with reſpect to Parliament was weak, if not deſtroyed. The petition therefore prayed the Houſe to conſider of the proper mode to effectuate a Reform in Parliament, and ſuggeſted, as one part of a general plan of Reform, that the Right of Election ſhould be in proportion to the number of adult males in the kingdom. On the queſtion being put for bringing up the petition,

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER ſaid, that it was certainly extremely fair in the Honourable Gentleman who preſented the petition to read the preciſe words of it to the Houſe:—It was with the Houſe however to conſider whether, after having heard it read, they could poſſibly allow the petition to be brought up, conſiſtently with what they owed to the ſupport of their own dignity.—He by no means intended to ſay any thing as to the propriety of what was demanded in the prayer of this petition:—It was his decided opinion, that every claſs of the people of this country have a fair right of petitioning for the redreſs of any ſuppoſed wrong, and that ſuch petition ought to be received, whatever the Houſe might think as to the propriety of the demand made in it; but this demand ought ſurely to be made in a ſtile of reſpect to the Houſe, and of reverence to the Conſtitution.—There were ſome paſſages in this petition, which he thought he had heard read by the Honourable Gentleman, that appeared to him highly objectionable, and, on comparing what he had heard with a printed copy of the petition, which he had on coming into the Houſe, he found that he had not been miſtaken. The firſt paſſage he alluded to was that which ſtated that the Conſtitution amuſed with the name of a repreſentation of the people, when the reality was gone. The ſecond ſtated that

that the right of the people had paſſed from them into other hands, and in fact denied both the right and power of that Houſe as at preſent conſtituted. And the third declared that the confidence of the people with reſpect to Parliament was thereby weakened, if not entirely deſtroyed.

Theſe were expreſſions ſo diſreſpectful to the Houſe, and ſo irreverent to the Conſtitution, that it appeared to him impoſſible that the Houſe, conſiſtently either with dignity or propriety, could allow the petition to be brought up in its preſent form, though he would not certainly think it right to refuſe receiving any petition, whatever might be the object of its prayer, if expreſſed in proper and reſpectful terms.

Mr. FOX thought it far from uſual to canvaſs in ſo minute a manner petitions preſented to that Houſe. In his opinion, it ſhould be no part of their character to be apt to ſee and to take up every paſſage which could be conſtrued into diſreſpect. If, however, on any occaſion, they ſhould be leſs nice than another in that reſpect, it was on ſuch a caſe as the preſent, where the object of the petition was to procure a reform in that Houſe. The paſſages alluded to appeared to him to have a neceſſary connexion with the prayer: its object is to ſtate that there is, at preſent, no fair or proper repreſentation of the people. In the paſſage which, as he thought, ſaid no more than that the right of election had paſſed away improperly from the people, the petition ſeemed to be miſapprehended by gentlemen, as if it denied the right and power of the Houſe of Commons as now conſtituted. He did not ſay that he thought the prayer of the petition founded in juſt principles; he ſurely doubted much as to the idea of fixing the right of election in proportion to the number of adult males; but he would certainly give his vote for allowing the petition to be brought up. When the reaſons ſtated in a petition were connected with its prayer, they muſt be mentioned, otherwiſe the prayer could not be introduced with any propriety; and even if totally unconnected with the prayer, the objectionable paſſages ought to be extremely ſtrong before the Houſe ſhould, in his opinion, refuſe to receive. With reſpect to Addreſſes to the Crown, he knew it had been held by ſome very eminent characters in this country, that the ſubject's right in that reſpect was ſo ſacred, that if it came in the proper form of a petition, it muſt be received, whatever might be the matter it contained: he could not himſelf go the length that that doctrine had been carried in the caſe of the Middleſex election; for in that caſe the petition went ſo far as to ſtate, that the Parliament was altogether vitiated, and all its acts null; which was going a great deal further than, according to any apprehenſion of his, the preſent petition does. Wherever the impropriety, if any, was ſuch as could

be overlooked, he would be very desirous always of doing; and in this case he was clearly of opinion for allowing the petition to be brought up.

Mr. LAMBTON was for bringing up the petition, and mentioned the case of Mr. Horne Tooke's petition, which would surely be admitted to have been greatly more objectionable than this one.

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS stated that in the case of Mr. Horne Tooke this House went upon the idea that, being a petition complaining of an undue return, they were bound by the act of Parliament to receive it whatever might be its contents: though, even in that case, he was of a different opinion, and thought the House could not be bound to receive such a petition.

Mr. R. SMITH said, he thought it his duty to state to the House, that having observed some passages in this petition, which appeared to him rather strongly expressed, he mentioned to some of the most respectable subscribers his suspicion, that the House might possibly consider them as disrespectful; and it was but doing justice to them to say, that they would have wished to have taken out these passages, but they did not well see how it could be done, from the difficulty of collecting together no less than 2500 persons, for by so many was the petition signed; he was however sure that they meant nothing disrespectful to the House.

Mr. D. PARKER COKE stated reasons why, in his opinion, this petition ought to be received, and why he should take the sense of the House upon it, if the Right Honourable Gentleman who opened the debate should persist in opposing its reception. He admitted that the petition might have stated its object in better language, and so he had stated to several of the Gentlemen who signed it; they were men of honourable characters, and on reflecting on what he said to them, expressed a wish that the objectionable parts of the petition could be expunged, for that nothing was further from their intention than to offer an insult to the House of Commons, or to government; but that the vast number of persons who had signed the petition could not be again made acquainted with the alteration, without being called together by a general meeting, the inconvenience of which would be very considerable: and that was the reason why the expressions complained of were suffered to remain.—He did not believe that the language of this petition was such as to preclude it from being received. It stated a certain departure in the practical part of the representative system of this Constitution. We all knew that there were boroughs for which the Crown, and others for which certain noblemen, had the nomination; and he knew they

they were very honourable men, and good Members of that Houſe. He knew that his ſentiments upon ſuch ſubjects, as the repreſentation of that Houſe, were different from many of the Members of that Houſe, and from many of their conſtituents. He had often verbally, and in writing, held this language to his conſtituents, that he never would obey their orders as a Member of Parliament, but that he ſhould always judge for himſelf, and act for himſelf; and although he had held that language, he had not loſt the confidence of his conſtituents; and he thought that his opinion was no reflection on him as an individual. The Houſe could not conſiſtently refuſe to receive this petition, unleſs it was libellous, and if it was libellous, they ought to proſecute its authors and adviſers for a libel, and upon that point he begged leave to ſubmit a few thoughts to the Houſe.—In the firſt place he admitted that, if the petition was preſented to a court of law, the Judges might deem it to be a libel, but although formerly the mode of trying libels was to leave the fact to the Jury, and the law to the Judges, yet we all know, that this practice was now altered, and the Jury were to decide upon both law and fact; in that view, therefore, he thought it was extremely probable that a Jury would acquit any perſon charged with a libel upon this petition. What would then be the caſe? Why that the Houſe of Commons had rejected a petition that was an innocent publication.—On the other hand, if the Houſe rejected this petition as an inſult upon its dignity, it would follow, as a matter of courſe, that to preſerve that dignity, they ought to puniſh thoſe who had offered to inſult it; what then would be their ſituation? Why a Jury might acquit the perſons ſo accuſed, and then the Houſe would be ſubject to the imputation of being too tenacious of its dignity and too inattentive to the rights of its conſtituents. All theſe inconveniencies would be avoided by receiving the petition. Nor were the Journals of the Houſe without precedent upon this ſubject. He believed that in the year 1783 a petition was received much bolder and more irregular in its language than the preſent, where the Houſe was ſtated to be a corrupt body. He believed that the petition of Mr. John Horne Tooke was alſo as offenſive to the dignity of the Houſe as this, or more ſo, much more ſo in his opinion, for that he thought was an open libel on the Houſe, and the anſwer to it ought to have been that in that ſhape it could not be received; but that no injuſtice ſhould be done to the electors of the city of Weſtminiſter, fourteen days ſhould be allowed to them to preſent a petition in proper language, and yet the Houſe received that petition. The petition now before the Houſe had for its object a Parliamentary Reform; on this point he knew there was a variety of opinions: for himſelf he would ſay that he was of opinion that the Houſe of Commons, conſtituted as it was now, anſwered

ſwered all the purpoſes of a complete Repreſentation, and that an alteration in that reſpect could not enable the Houſe to ſpeak the language of the public better than they did at preſent; he was not, however, poſitively againſt any attempt at a temperate reform, but there were ideas abroad upon the word reform, to which he was no friend, but a determined enemy, and which he ſhould oppoſe as ſtrenuouſly as he could, while he ſhould continue to be a Member of Parliament. He ſaid an Aſſembly (the Friends of the People) had been formed, to which, and to the principles profeſſed by its members, he would not ſubſcribe. He thought it an aſſembly unfortunately choſen; for that it had inculcated doctrines that were dangerous to the liberty of the people of this country. He had heard nothing of it lately, and he hoped its labours were nearly at an end. He concluded with obſerving, that he truſted the majority of the Houſe would ſee the danger of appearing to contend with its conſtituents upon the right of petitioning—a dangerous conteſt; and therefore that they would receive this petition at all events. If the oppoſition to it was perſiſted in, he muſt take the ſenſe of the Houſe upon the ſubject.

Mr. RYDER oppoſed the petition upon the ground of its being in terms not ſufficiently reſpectful to the Houſe, and which he ſaid was admitted by the Honourable Gentlemen themſelves who ſupported its reception.

Mr. BURKE obſerved, that with regard to the Gentlemen who had ſigned the petition now under diſcuſſion, he did not conſider them as criminal in any great degree; for the probability was, that the maſs of them had never read it. The firſt queſtion was, Whether the Houſe ought or ought not to receive it as it was? The advocates for the receiving of the petition had deſired the Houſe to keep its temper—in this they were very right; becauſe they muſt be conſcious they had taken ſome pains to provoke the Houſe. The petition itſelf appeared to him ſuch as that Houſe could not receive conſiſtently with its own dignity, for the audacity of the language was ſuch as ſhould not be tolerated, and the ſeditious tendency of the whole of the petition was ſuch, as might become in time dangerous if the petition was ſo far honoured as to be laid on the table of that Houſe without puniſhing thoſe who had adviſed the preſenting ſuch a petition; the better way therefore would be not to receive the petition at all, and to teach thoſe who wiſhed to petition that Houſe, that they muſt do it in a reſpectful manner. This petition was only a ſmall part of the fruit of the doctrines which had lately been propagated by certain ſocieties, which the people of this country had held, that England had no Conſtitution. If the Houſe encouraged this, and ſuffered themſelves to be thus

inſulted, they would ſoon be overpowered by a torrent of inſolence running over their table, and they would be deſpiſed by the public. Perhaps, indeed, when there was only a little indecorum to be obſerved in a petition, the good temper of the Houſe might excuſe it, but here indecorum was the ſmalleſt part of the offence; for it went the length of denying the authority of that Houſe, as a repreſentative body of the Commons of Great Britain. He knew, that in the time of Lord George Gordon's turbulence, the Houſe received as bad a petition as the preſent; but that was not a time to be regarded as an example for the preſent. He ſaw no reaſon whatever for receiving this petition: but he perceived an infinite number againſt its reception. He took notice of the Society for Conſtitutional Information, and hinted at others, all of whom, he obſerved, like the preſent petition, went to propagate the doctrine that there is no conſtitution in this country; the authors of which, he was clearly convinced, ought to be puniſhed, in order to preſerve the ſafety of the ſtate. But this was not the time to inquire into the guilt or innocence of any individual; the queſtion now was ſimply, whether the petition now before them ſhould be received or rejected, upon which he truſted the Houſe had no difficulty.

Mr. GREY ſaid, he agreed with the Right Honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, that this was not the time to debate on the proſecution of any individuals, compoſing this, that, or any other ſociety, but ſimply whether the petition ſhould be received or rejected. The perſons compoſing the ſociety to which he had alluded, and proceeding on the principles, and acting from the neceſſity which occaſioned its original formation, were perſons very well known to the public, and men who had not departed, nor would depart, from the principles they originally profeſſed. They had viewed and maturely conſidered the preſent ſtate of the repreſentation of this country, and they were clearly of opinion that it was not what it ought to be; hence the propriety of receiving the preſent petition. Nor could the Right Honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt be ſeriouſly of another; if he was, Mr. Grey ſaid, he would refer the Houſe to what that Right Honourable Gentleman had himſelf ſaid during the American war. "What! would you return to them the ſlough of our ſlavery as the model of their freedom?" Or if this was not ſufficient, Mr. Grey ſaid, he could refer the Houſe to the ſubſequent language of the Right Honourable Gentleman, now the Chancellor of his Majeſty's Exchequer, before he came into office—"That it was notorious that the Nabob of Arcot had fifteen Members in that Houſe, and that they did not act upon an identity of intereſt with the people."—After this Mr. Grey ſaid, he would appeal to the Houſe whether they ought

ought to be very nice in the language which they were to receive from their Conſtituents; and he warned them againſt the danger of laying it down as a principle that the Members of that Houſe were to be allowed to ſay what their Conſtituents were not to be permitted to ſtate in their petitions. He concluded with giving his aſſent to the preſent motion being received.

Mr. BURKE obſerved, that the Honourable Gentleman had furniſhed the Houſe with ſome ſcraps of former proceedings; he belonged to a ſociety of ſcrap-gatherers. There was a place in this town called Rag Fair——

The SPEAKER called Mr. Burke to order.

Mr. W. SMITH approved of receiving the petition, but expreſſed himſelf more anxious about the opinion the Houſe entertained of the gentlemen who ſigned the petition; in the name of many of them, he diſclaimed all thought of inſulting the Houſe. He allowed alſo, that ſome of the expreſſions in the petition had better have been left out. He then ſtated the reaſon why theſe words were not expunged.

The MASTER of the ROLLS oppoſed the receiving of the petition.

Mr. SHERIDAN, after remarking that nothing was ſo likely to produce ill temper in certain gentlemen as referring to the principles they had formerly maintained, hoped the Houſe would not imitate the example of thoſe gentlemen. If they wiſhed to be treated with reſpect by their conſtituents, their true courſe was to treat their conſtituents with reſpect. An Honourable Gentleman had obſerved, that a ſociety lately inſtituted for the avowed purpoſe of obtaining a Parliamentary Reform, was come to the concluſion of its labours, as he had heard nothing of it for ſome time paſt. He could aſſure the Honourable Gentleman, that the Society alluded to (the Friends of the People) was neither dead nor ſleeping, but in the full vigour of activity. Another Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Burke) who oppoſed bringing up the petition, did not ſeem to have the ſame ideas of virtual repreſentation he had profeſſed and publiſhed formerly. In the diſputes with America, when virtual repreſentation was held up as a ſufficient ſecurity for the rights of the Americans, that Gentleman had ſaid, "What call upon them to accept of the ſlough of your ſlavery for the model of their liberty!" Having got on the ſubject of ſcraps, he would treat the gentleman who oppoſed bringing up the petition with another ſcrap. On a former occaſion, referring to the borough of Old Sarum, it had been ſaid, that its ſtreets were now only to be diſtinguiſhed by the different colours of the corn that grew on the ſoil which it once occupied; and that its only manufacture was the manu-

facture

facture of Members of Parliament. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, a publication was laid before the Crown Lawyers as treaſon; they anſwered, it was not treaſon, but felony, for its contents were all ſtolen from other publications. Juſt ſo it was with the petition; its contents were all ſtolen from the declarations and ſpeeches by which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had originally courted popularity. It was hard indeed if expreſſions, that had been applauded when ſpoken in the Houſe of Commons, were to be deemed inadmiſſible when adopted by the conſtituents of the Houſe of Commons. He referred to the ſtrong language of the petition of the city of London, on the famous caſe of the Middleſex Election; ſaid that his Majeſty's preſent Miniſter had given the model of Aſſociations for Parliamentary Reform, as it could make no difference whether reſolutions were dated from the Star and Garter, or from the Free Maſon's Tavern; and concluded with ſupporting the petition's being brought up.

Colonel HARTLEY thought, that in the preſent circumſtances, the Houſe could not hold up their dignity too high; and was againſt receiving the petition.

Mr. WIGLEY ſpoke alſo againſt the petition.

The Houſe divided.

For receiving the petition	21
Againſt receiving it	109

Mr. ELLIOTT, Chairman of the Committee appointed to try the merits of the Election for the Borough of Stockbridge, reported to the Houſe,

That John Cator, Eſq. and John Scott, Eſq. the ſitting Members, were not duly elected;

That Foſter Baron, Eſq. and George Porter, Eſq. were duly elected, and ought to have been returned; and,

That neither the petition, nor the defence of the ſitting Members, were frivolous or vexatious.

Mr. Elliott then moved, that the Clerk of the Crown do attend this Houſe to amend the return, by eraſing the names of John Cator, Eſq. and John Scott, Eſq. and by inſerting the names of Foſter Baron, Eſq. and George Porter, Eſq. in their room.—Ordered.

Mr. Elliott further reported to the Houſe, that it was the opinion of the ſaid Committee that the moſt notorious bribery and corruption had been practiſed in the ſaid election; which deſerved the moſt ſerious attention of Parliament.

He then moved, that the minutes of the evidence taken before the ſaid Committee be laid before the Houſe. After which he brought up the minutes, and they were ordered to lie on the table.

The

The order of the day being read, for going into a Committee of the whole Houſe, to conſider of the means of procuring a due attendance of Members on the days fixed for balloting for Committees on controverted Elections; the Speaker left the chair, and Sir George Cornwall took his ſeat at the table.

Mr. T. GRENVILLE begun with mentioning the reſpect that was due to the act by which the matter now under conſideration is at preſent regulated, and on which he did not now intend to propoſe any alteration. He was ſorry to be called upon to fix the attention of the Committee on the abſolute neceſſity of their taking ſome ſteps to inforce a due attendance on days fixed for ballots; ſeveral petitions preſented ſo long ago as the beginning of the preſent Parliament being ſtill undetermined. He had no doubt that part of the inconvenience which had of late ariſen from the non-attendance of Members was owing to the preſſure of the times; but if ſo, it was the more neceſſary to provide an immediate remedy, both becauſe the evil was likely to increaſe, and from the danger of hazarding, at this time, the interruption of public buſineſs. It was his wiſh to accommodate the difficulty with as little preſſure as poſſible. There appeared to him only two poſſible remedies; either an alteration of the law, or the enforcing a due attendance. He was in hopes to be able to digeſt and bring forward ſuch alterations on the preſent act as may be of important benefit; but as theſe would only operate at the commencement of a new Parliament, he did not think it right to propoſe them till then. Beſides, were they at preſent to alter the law, it would lead to a preſumption that the execution of it is impracticable.—Is it ſo, he would aſk, on any other conſideration than the want of due attendance in Members of that Houſe? And can any plan be deviſed whereby the merits of controverted elections can be tried without requiring from Members much attention and attendance? He had heard indeed a plan mentioned of trying them by a foreign judicature, not compoſed of Members of the Houſe, but of that he could by no means approve; he ſhould regret any alteration in the exiſting law, proceeding on a ſuppoſition of the impracticability of procuring attendance; for with what face could they ſay to their Conſtituents, that a beneficial law muſt be altered, becauſe they do not do their duty? The remedy which he ſhould propoſe was, a Call of the Houſe. There remained, he ſaid, on the table, eleven petitions, four of which had been preſented at the beginning of the preſent parliament; and ſorry he was, that they were yet to be tried: three of them had come in ſince the commencement of the parliament, and four of them were petitions reſpecting rights; ſome of which laſt were fixed for a late day. Of the ſeven petitions complaining of undue returns, it was probable

bable that the one reſpecting Luggerſhall would go off altogether; and though he did not ſpeak from authority, yet he underſtood that the one reſpecting Sudbury would not probably occupy much time. It was his intention therefore to propoſe, that the call of the Houſe ſhould be on Wedneſday the 6th of March, and that the two ballots, which are now fixed for Tueſday and Thurſday next, ſhould be poſtponed till the day after the call; and that the ballots for Cricklade, Poole, and Pontefract, ſhould be fixed for Tueſday the 12th of March, by which means the preſſure of the call would continue for no more than ſix days. He concluded with moving ſeven ſeveral Reſolutions, in ſubſtance as follows:

1. That it is the opinion of this Committee, that it is highly adviſable to adopt ſuch meaſures as may conduce to the ſpeedy trial of petitions reſpecting controverted elections: ſo that, as far as poſſible, they may be determined upon during the preſent ſeſſion.

2. That this Houſe be called over on Wedneſday the 6th day of March next.

3. That ſuch Members as do not then attend ſhall be ſent into the cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms.

4. That the orders now ſtanding for balloting for Committees to try the merits of the petitions complaining of undue returns for the boroughs of Shaftſbury and Great Grimſby be diſcharged, and that theſe ballots be fixed for Thurſday the 7th of March. That the orders for balloting for Committees to try the merits of the petitions for the boroughs of Cricklade and Poole be alſo diſcharged, and that theſe ballots be fixed for Tueſday the 12th of March, immediately before the ballot on the Pontefract petition, which already ſtands fixed for that day.

5. That on the above 7th and 12th days of March, or on any other days which may be fixed upon for any of the aforeſaid ballots, and on which the Houſe ſhall proceed to appoint a Committee, the names of the Members drawn ſhall be called over, and a liſt of thoſe who were abſent given to Mr. Speaker, who ſhall report the ſame to the Houſe on their next ſitting day.

6. That upon the report, thoſe members who are abſent without excuſe ſhall be taken into cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms, and ſhall not be liberated without leave of the Houſe.

7. That ſtrict proof ſhall be given of all excuſes which may be alleged for abſence.

The EARL of WYCOMBE thought this rather an arbitrary mode of proceeding; and though never deficient in giving the attendance which his duty called upon him to do in that Houſe, he did not approve of ſo ſtrong a mode of compulſion.

Mr. FOX differed entirely from the Noble Lord, and rather thought

thought the compulſion did not go far enough. He was himſelf one of the minority who oppoſed Mr. Grenville's Bill; but he had now altered his opinion of it, and thought the framer merited a well-earned praiſe. The principal objection to it was, the ſtopping of public buſineſs; but it could hardly have been foreſeen, that gentlemen would ſit in their rooms, and allow all public buſineſs to ſtand ſtill, eſpecially at ſo very important a criſis, and he was ſorry it ſhould have ſo happened. No ballot, during the whole of this ſeſſion, had taken place on the day for which it had been fixed, and one had been delayed ſo long as from Tueſday to the Monday following. He ſtated very forcibly the great inconvenience ariſing from this, both with reſpect to public buſineſs, and the intereſt of the private parties concerned; and ſaid that, in his opinion, ſuch compulſion as might enforce attendance would be convenient for gentlemen themſelves; as nothing could be more unpleaſant than the uncertainty which had hitherto taken place as to the time when any buſineſs would come on. He truſted that the alterations, which his Honourable Friend had intimated his intention to bring forward in the preſent exiſting law, would have the effect to prevent thoſe evils which are now ſo much felt, and of which the report the Houſe had heard that day, furniſhed a moſt melancholy inſtance; —two gentlemen had ſat in the Houſe for no leſs than three ſeſſions, who had no right whatever to be there; and the real repreſentatives during all that time deprived of their ſeats in the Houſe. He did not wiſh to go into the ſubject of virtual repreſentation;—but what could gentlemen think of a returning officer dividing a Parliament with the Electors, and having the firſt three years too, which is the moſt certain half!—It was an evil of the moſt alarming nature; and he hoped the bill intended to be brought forward by his Honourable Friend Mr. Grenville, in the outſet of a new Parliament, would go to the enſuring a determination upon all controverted elections, at the very beginning of a Parliament:—the public benefit would be immenſe; and he was certain gentlemen would find the ſitting on one Committee at the beginning of a Parliament, and being enſured from any after trouble, to be far leſs burdenſome than what they are at preſent ſubjected to. As to the petitions now before the Houſe reſpecting rights, he was anxious that they ſhould not go over to another ſeſſion; becauſe, although in any other view, the ſpeedy determination of them was not of ſo urgent importance as of the petitions complaining of returns, yet they were an equal interruption to buſineſs. As to what had been hinted of the idea of a foreign judicature having cognizance in ſuch caſes, he highly diſapproved of it, and it was entirely in oppoſition to all the old and fundamental principles of the conſti-

tution. The deciſions of the Election Committees were all reported, and he believed there was hardly ever any court of juſtice, where, among ſo many decided caſes, ſo little injuſtice had been done.

The SPEAKER ſaid, that a great variety of evils aroſe from the delay of deciding upon controverted elections, and from the non-attendance of members on days fixed for ballots; and he truſted that, on the preſent occaſion, there would not be much difference of opinion. To every one who felt for the honour of that Houſe, it behoved to be a melancholy reflection, that a returning officer may give a ſeat there for a period of three years—there ſurely muſt be a wiſh in every gentleman to produce an early and effectual remedy. If the ballots had been made on the days fixed for them, all the petitions would have been diſcuſſed: the loſs ariſing to private parties was very great, but the interruption of public buſineſs was the moſt important conſideration—he believed the want of attendance was occaſioned by the preſſure of the times, particularly as to thoſe members who are officers in the navy, army, or militia; but it became the more neceſſary to procure the attendance of thoſe who have no excuſe. Rigorous meaſures were always invidious, but, to ſuch extent as appeared to him neceſſary, they ſhould have his ſupport in this caſe: a Call of the Houſe was a meaſure frequently adopted, and he thought there could hardly be a cauſe for it of more importance than what now occurred. He confeſſed he felt a conſiderable degree of gratitude to the Honourable Gentleman who had moved the reſolutions, and from whom the propoſition came with peculiar propriety; and he hoped, when any alteration with reſpect to the regulation of Mr. Grenville's act, ſhould be brought forward, that idea of the Honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt (Mr. Fox), as to an early determination of controverted elections, would be the regulating principle of the new meaſure. He thought the preſent temporary expedient abſolutely neceſſary, as the proſpect of voluntary attendance was leſſening every day;—with reſpect to gentlemen in the navy, army, and militia, the ſeaſon for actual ſervice was approaching, and gentlemen of another profeſſion would be going to attend the aſſizes.

After ſome converſation between the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Speaker, the Maſter of the Rolls, Mr. T. Grenville, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Drake, the reſolutions moved by Mr. Grenville were all agreed to.

The Houſe being reſumed, the report was brought up, and the four firſt reſolutions read a firſt and ſecond time, and agreed to. On the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the further conſideration of the report was deferred till Monday, the

gentlem

gentlemen might have an opportunity of conſidering as to the beſt mode of regulating the applying for, and obtaining leave of, abſence from the Houſe, on aſſigning proper excuſes.

MOTION RESPECTING BARRACKS.

Mr. M. A. TAYLOR ſaid, he was aware that ſcarce any motions could come from gentlemen on his ſide of the Houſe to which the epithets of *factious* and *ſeditious* might not, and had not been indiſcriminately applied;—he would not, however, now embark in a diſcuſſion of this kind:—It would be difficult, he thought, to apply ſuch arguments to the preſent caſe (if epithets of that kind deſerved the name of arguments). In what he was now going to ſay, he could not be called the advocate of France, he would be in truth the advocate of Engliſhmen.—The queſtion was preciſely this, whether in the very heart and body of the country a large ſtanding army was to be kept up, and in a way totally unuſual, as well as highly alarming. He would not think it neceſſary to go into any argument as to ſtanding armies in general:—it muſt, however, be admitted, that in no free country could a large ſtanding army be kept up without danger to liberty.—Hiſtory affords innumerable inſtances of ſtates being modelled by armies: in this country, the ſame army which raiſed Cromwell to the Protectorate, reſtored Charles the Second.—Thoſe diſtinguiſhed characters who led the glorious Revolution, thought it neceſſary to eſtabliſh, by the declaration of rights, that no ſtanding army ſhould be kept up without conſent of Parliament; and, were the caſe otherwiſe, the doors of this Houſe might as well be ſhut up: it was, however, without much difficulty, that they got King William III. to diſband his forces. With regard to the peace eſtabliſhment in this country, it had continued nearly the ſame during the preſent reign; but it had increaſed much ſince the time of Queen Anne: it now amounted to 18,000 men, which appeared to him much too large, and it would be ſtill much more alarming if the propoſition he was about to make ſhould not be agreed to. He had great fears too, that this was not all the peace eſtabliſhment which was intended to be kept up; for he obſerved, in a circular letter from the Secretary to the officers who had been appointed to raiſe independent companies, that theſe officers were ordered to go on and complete their companies, although the armament ſhould not proceed; which ſeemed to give much reaſon for apprehending an increaſed peace eſtabliſhment. Four arguments he underſtood to be brought forward in favour of the army. The firſt was, that great truſt ought to be put in the officers. In anſwer to this, he would ſay, that however much he reſpected the character of Britiſh officers, and no man did it more, yet he could

not help entertaining a jealouſy that their being ſo very much dependent on the crown might render them too much attached to it: he was himſelf conſtitutionally attached to the crown as much as any man; but as officers were not only dependent on the crown with reſpect to promotion, but were liable to be diſmiſſed from the ſervice by its bare *fiat*, without being allowed a trial by Court Martial, which right of the crown had been lately exerciſed on account of bare ſpeculative opinions alone, it was but a fair concluſion to draw, from the nature of man, that that they may probably be too much attached to the crown:—and even, whatever there might be in this, he would go much further, and would ſay plainly, that he would truſt no man. It is ſaid, in the ſecond place, that the Mutiny Bill paſſes only once a year, and he was glad of it:—During the continuance of war it would ſurely be far from his wiſh that any alteration ſhould be made in that act; but he hoped, on the return of peace, it would be accurately reviſed and amended, for it appeared to him to have been very haſtily and incorrectly penned; which opinion Judge Blackſtone has ſtrongly expreſſed. In the third place it is ſaid, that the army is only voted for a year:—But how do theſe votes paſs now? Formerly the Secretary at War, on bringing forward the vote of the army, thought it always neceſſary to make a ſpeech of ſome length, ſtating the particular grounds which rendered the vote neceſſary; but now it generally paſſes altogether as a matter of courſe.

The fourth argument, with reſpect to the army, relates to the queſtion now before the Houſe. In truth, the connection between the ſoldier and the citizen has been the reaſon why a ſtanding army has been permitted to exiſt in this kingdom. Mr. Taylor here alluded to the opinions of Mr. Harley and Mr. Pulteney, who expreſſed, in the ſtrongeſt poſſible language, their ideas of the danger that muſt ariſe to the conſtitution and to liberty, from quartering ſoldiers in barracks, and diſſolving or leſſening their connection with the body of the people. But, ſaid Mr. Taylor, theſe two great men might perhaps be conſidered to have been patriots like himſelf, and of courſe be little regarded. He would beg leave, therefore, to appeal to Mr. Pelham, againſt whom the ſame objection could not poſſibly lie, if the title of patriot is to be appropriated to thoſe alone in oppoſition to the government of the day; and Mr. Pelham's opinion, which he read to the Houſe, was not leſs deciſive on this ſubject. Theſe were ſurely good authorities. He would mention another opinion given by Lord Gage in 1739, which went a great deal further than he meant to carry the argument. Speaking againſt the augmentation of the troops, Lord Gage ſaid, that one thing (meaning the quartering ſoldiers in barracks, and cutting off their

connection

connection with the people) he conſidered as of all others the moſt fatal, and that it would give the finiſhing ſtroke to liberty. If this (ſaid Lord Gage) ſhould ever be attempted, it would become the duty of the people to draw their ſwords, as the laſt effort for liberty, and never to ſheath them till they had brought the authors and contrivers of the meaſure to condign puniſhment. Mr. Taylor ſaid, he could not paſs over another writer famous for his ſound judgment, as well as for his candour and humanity, in treating of military ſubjects; he meant Judge Blackſtone, who ſays that "the ſoldiers ſhould be intermixed with the people; no "ſeparate camp, no barracks, no inland fortreſſes ſhould be al-"lowed." In the argument which he was now maintaining, he had on his ſide the ancient and rooted prejudices of the people, as well as the reaſon of the thing itſelf, and all the weight of the high authorities he had mentioned. What did he meet oppoſed to theſe?—Nothing but a ſet of new-fangled opinions—Firſt, it is alleged that it is a great hardſhip on innkeepers to quarter ſoldiers on them. He believed it might, and that they thought it ſo; but for what reaſon? Becauſe the price paid for hay and ſtraw has not been raiſed for many years: if part of the large ſums expended on building barracks were applied towards a reaſonable increaſe of the price paid for hay and ſtraw, the innkeepers would be glad to have them.—2dly, Barracks are ſaid to be neceſſary, to keep the minds of the ſoldiers, at the preſent moment, from being prejudiced and poiſoned: but the experience of ages has evinced, that no walls are high enough to keep out opinions. Officers, however, may perhaps ſay, that in barracks better diſcipline can be preſerved. Much rather would he wiſh to ſee the army placed on conſtitutional ground, were it even attended with a little relaxation from the moſt rigid diſcipline: but, in point of fact, are not the army out of barracks well-diſciplined? But theſe arguments, however ſtrong, were neither the only ones on his ſide of the queſtion, nor were they thoſe which, in this caſe, preſſed moſt forcibly upon his mind. For the whole ſyſtem of Miniſters ſhewed an evident preconcerted deſign to *curb* and *overawe* the people by the *bayonet* and the *ſword*, inſtead of applying, if neceſſary, the wholeſome correction of the laws of England; and this, in his conſcience, he believed to be their intention. Barracks are ſaid to have done no hurt hitherto; but they have been only erected in ſea-ports, and he believed in ſome places about London and Weſtminiſter. So far indeed as his information went, it led him to believe, that the diſcipline of ſoldiers in barracks is worſe than when out of barracks. At Chatham, where he occaſionally went, he underſtood that no farther back than about three weeks ſince the ſoldiers there had behaved ſo riotouſly and improperly, that the commanding offi-

cer,

cer, on a repreſentation from the inhabitants, had found it neceſſary to forbid them the uſe of ſide-arms. Mr. Taylor confeſſed he was much alarmed; but he was told that there is no danger, becauſe the Right Honourable Gentleman oppoſite to him is a *Conſtitutional Miniſter*, and he has certainly made many elaborate declarations on the beauties of the conſtitution. He could not, however, help conſidering the maxim to be equally juſt in politics as in religion, that "by their deeds you ſhall know them." If he ſaw the exciſe laws extended, could he help thinking it a little degradation from the cauſe of general liberty. Since the voice of that Houſe ſome years ago, "That the influence "of the crown had increaſed, is increaſing, and ought to be diminiſhed"—that influence had alarmingly increaſed. We are now going altogether from liberty: we have engaged in war for the ſupport of deſpotiſm: men have been diſmiſſed from the ſervice of the crown, on account of abſtract ſpeculative opinions: aſſociations have been formed on the moſt dangerous and unlawful principles, and for the worſt purpoſes: we are going from the ſtandard of the conſtitution to the ſtandard of the crown. If we go to church to perform the ſacred duties of religion, we hear *canting prieſts* talking of *paſſive obedience* and *divine right*. Probably becauſe my opinions on theſe ſubjects are different, I may be anathematiſed as in the *gall of bitterneſs*, and in the *bond of iniquity*. He did not incline to enter into any argument with reſpect to the King's rights, in virtue of his prerogative, of erecting barracks; but, before proceeding to erect them, it was undoubtedly the duty of his Majeſty's Miniſters to have informed the Houſe of their intention to do ſo, and of the reaſons which induced them to think it a meaſure either prudent or neceſſary. It had been the uniform deſire of the Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Pitt) to lower the ſpirit of enquiry in that Houſe; all he thinks proper to aſk of them is, to pay for what is already done; but they muſt not enquire the reaſon for which it is done. In the preſent inſtance, the ground intended for the purpoſe was purchaſed and the barracks erected in ſummer, and the Right Hon. Gentleman endeavoured to *ſmuggle* them through the Houſe. *(Here there was a murmur of diſſent from the oppoſite ſide of the Houſe.)* Mr. Taylor repeated, that Mr. Pitt had endeavoured to ſmuggle them through the Houſe. Did he not do ſo, when he had firſt purchaſed ground and erected barracks, and only came to that Houſe with a demand for defraying the expence? What was then left for the Houſe to do? This appeared to him to be a great conſtitutional queſtion; and he thought it highly dangerous, that barracks ſhould be erected entirely at the pleaſure of the crown. He ſaid that in the motion which he ſhould take the liberty to ſubmit to the Houſe he

ſhould

ſhould adopt the words of Judge Blackſtone, and he concluded with moving, that it is the opinion of this Houſe that the uniform and perſevering oppoſition of our anceſtors from time to time to the erecting of barracks in this country was founded upon a juſt ſenſe of the true principles of our moſt excellent conſtitution, and that the opinion has been juſtified, upon high legal and political authority, "That the ſoldiers ſhould live intermixed with the people, in order that they might be connected with them, and that no ſeparate camp, no barracks, no inland fortreſſes, ſhould be allowed."

The SECRETARY at WAR ſaid, that as to the officers of the army, to whom the Honourable Gentleman had alluded, and of whom he had obſerved, that they were, from their ſituation, leſs inclined to obſerve thoſe principles by which the liberty of the people of this country were to be maintained, he believed, that it was not in the power of any perſon to prove that they were leſs inclined to ſuch principles than any other claſs of men in this country.—As to what the Honourable Gentleman had obſerved about their looking to the crown for promotion—ſo they certainly did. Why did the Honourable Gentleman not mention the officers of the navy alſo? for they too muſt look up to the crown for promotion—Why did he not take notice likewiſe of gentlemen of the profeſſion of the law?—As he did not notice any of theſe characters, he would aſk, why take notice in particular of the officers of the army, becauſe others were under the ſame influence from the crown? As to the prejudice and jealouſy to which the Honourable Gentleman had alluded, and the diſpoſition which mankind in general felt upon the ſubject of barracks, he believed that the meaſure, as far as it went, had not created the leaſt degree of jealouſy in the people of this country, and as to the reaſon which actuated his Majeſty's Miniſters in adopting it, he would fairly own it was a matter of neceſſity. It was neceſſary that the military power of this country ſhould be in readineſs to aid the civil, for it was a truth which he lamented, that the civil power had of late often been found inſufficient to ſupport neceſſary order in this country. That being the caſe, the queſtion then would be, whether there was any more attention given to a military ſyſtem than was neceſſary at the preſent time, and whether they ſhould not be kept in many places diſtinct from other people, upon which he believed there could not be much doubt at the preſent time. As to the general ſentiments of the public, he believed, that ſo far from there being any jealouſy on account of the erection of theſe barracks, that they approved of them in general. The Honourable Gentleman called them fortreſſes. He contended, that they could not be juſtly ſo called, for, in point of fact, they

were

were nothing more than ſtables for the horſes of dragoons, with rooms over them for the men to ſleep in; and he could anſwer to the Houſe, that the inhabitants of ſeveral places had already wiſhed for the military to be ready to aſſiſt the civil power, and thus barracks might be erected for ſuch military; and, he believed, that in the places where they were to be placed they were very likely to give general ſatisfaction.

Mr. MINCHIN was of opinion that the mode adopted by Miniſters was a very proper one. He obſerved that ſome ſuch meaſure, with regard to the military in this country, was abſolutely neceſſary; it was difficult to quarter them, and that had long been a ſubject of great complaint the laſt war—ſo much ſo, that many publicans gave up their licences on account of the hardſhip under which they laboured in that reſpect. He had other reaſons for approving of the plan in queſtion—it was uſeful to the ſoldiers themſelves, for by it their health and morality were promoted: they were in every ſenſe better taken care of by this plan than if they were billeted at inns. If there were any doubt of the propriety of the meaſure, he would refer to a ſiſter kingdom (Ireland), where moſt of the ſoldiers were in barracks, and in the places where they were not in barracks the people of that kingdom petitioned that barracks ſhould be erected.

Major MAITLAND ſaid, that he waited patiently for ſome time to hear the two Honourable Gentlemen who had defended the ſyſtem of barracks, becauſe he had a curioſity to hear what they had to ſay upon the ſubject—what the reaſons were that ſhould induce the Houſe to agree to that plan—upon what ground it was that a plan ſo new could be ſupported, and why it ſhould be adopted.—But after all that he had heard from the Honourable Secretary at War, whoſe ſituation gave him an opportunity of knowing much upon the ſubject, and alſo all that he had heard from the grave orator who ſpoke laſt, he was more at a loſs to form an opinion than he was before he had heard them. He was not only to look for a cauſe for the meaſure in queſtion, but alſo for the mode in which it was to be carried on. If the meaſure itſelf was offenſive to thoſe who wiſhed for the welfare of the people of this country, the mode by which that meaſure was to be carried on was not leſs ſo. It was a ſyſtem which was dangerous in itſelf, for it compelled all its objects to look to the King only, inſtead of looking, as every one ſhould look that was ultimately to be ſupported by the people, by their defraying the expence of it, to all the three branches of the legiſlature, King, Lords, and Commons, and which was the conſtitutional mode of conſidering every thing of the kind. How did he apply this obſervation; was not his Ma-

jeſty to have the direction of all his army? moſt certainly he was—but this was not the whole of the caſe, for it was well known to the Houſe, that laſt ſeſſion his Majeſty had allowed —(and here he begged to remark, that he was not ſpeaking of his Majeſty as acting of his own mind; but, in the conſtitutional language of this country, by the advice of his Miniſters, who alone are reſponſible in ſuch caſes)—his Majeſty, he ſaid, had allowed an additional ſum of money for the payment of the army without conſulting that Houſe. This, under the qualification he had given already, he ſaid, was irregular, however Miniſters had thought fit to adviſe his Majeſty to do ſo. It was their ſyſtem to act in a manner independent of that Houſe, and to render its function as nominal as poſſible. This ſtep was part of that ſyſtem.—Another part of the ſame ſyſtem was that of the meaſure now under conſideration, the building of barracks; this, when compared to the ſituation of other ſoldiers, might be called a ſort of puniſhment, and he feared theſe ſoldiers would ſee and feel in that manner. The building of the barracks ought to have been ſubmitted to, and the whole plan of it laid before the Houſe, becauſe as the money was to come out of the pockets of their conſtituents, the Members of that Houſe were the only perſons fit to judge of the propriety or impropriety of the meaſure; and they were the only perſons who had, by the conſtitution, a right to decide upon the ſubject. But Miniſters had no reſpect for the conſtitution in this reſpect; they undertook to do any thing they pleaſed, and afterwards came to parliament to call upon them to pay the expence of it. Thus far he had ſpoken of the mode, and objected to it; he had ſtill more objection to the meaſure itſelf. It had been defended, as ſome might think, by the two Honourable Gentlemen by arguments; he confeſſed he did not feel himſelf able to anſwer theſe arguments, becauſe he was at a loſs to recollect that they had made uſe of any, none, at leaſt, that required any anſwer.—As to the point taken notice of in the opening of this ſubject by his Honourable Friend, that the officers of the army being more connected with the crown were therefore more jealouſly to be regarded: with reſpect to their love of liberty, he differed from his Honourable Friend; for he was ſure, that if the crown did but act properly with them, there never would be any occaſion to ſay any thing againſt the public principles of the army. If the contrary ſhould be the caſe, and the hour ſhould come when his country ſhould look with jealouſy—if military merit ſhould be totally diſregarded, and that the army ſhould feel that impreſſion, and ſhould know by experience that government attended to private intereſt in the diſpoſition of all its promotions in the army, (as of late there was too much reaſon to complain) dread-

ful indeed would be the ſituation of this country. If it ſhould be once felt as a general principle, that thoſe who had bled in the field and endured all the hardſhips of a military life for years were to be neglected, and that others were to be advanced who had no military merit, for no reaſon aſſigned, but for well underſtood reaſons, which it was not convenient to avow, (which he could not help ſaying had in ſome degree been the caſe,) then he would ſay that this country might be in danger.

With regard to the Mutiny Bill, on which the whole of the military authority of this country depended, he muſt allow that it impoſed ſome degree of ſlavery on the ſoldiers, but not an iota more than was abſolutely requiſite for all the purpoſes of military diſcipline and the advantages to be derived from it.

As to the arguments that had been urged for the military ſyſtem which had been adopted by Gentlemen on the other ſide, that they were now more neceſſary than ever before they had been, for that the ſituation of this country was ſuch as to juſtify the civil officers to call in the aſſiſtance of the military, nay, that ſuch aſſiſtance had been often wanted, this was of a piece with the other part of the conduct of Miniſters; for they had already endeavoured to ſpread ſham alarms throughout every part of the kingdom, of ſedition, inſurrection and rebellion; and this they did, that they might with the greater eaſe plunge this country into a war; but he called upon any of the officers of the crown now to ſtate any of theſe ſeditions, or diſpoſition to rebellion in this country, or the neceſſity there was for calling forth the alarm of the people at large upon the ſubject.

With reſpect to our having our military in barracks, he granted, that if Miniſters could ſtate any neceſſity for them, that the meaſure ought to be adopted, becauſe there were, in certain caſes, ſome advantages to be derived from that mode of keeping the military in readineſs; but we muſt likewiſe remember the diſadvantages to which that mode ſubjected us, and therefore, before parliament ſhould ſanction the meaſure, great attention ſhould be paid to it: as to the point of mere diſcipline he did not think that barracks were neceſſary, he was indeed of a contrary opinion; and as to the thought, that by taking the army away from the maſs of the people for improving of their health and morals, he did not agree with the Honourable Gentleman who had ſpoken upon that ſubject. Indeed no man could pay too high a compliment to the character of the Britiſh army; he believed that there was no need to fear them, that in truth they were ſuperior to any other upon earth; and why?—Becauſe they were different in ſituation from all other ſoldiers in the world. Becauſe they were deeply intereſted in the country for which they were enliſted; becauſe not one of them was a

ſoldier

ſoldier merely, but united two characters in one perſon, that of citizen and ſoldier. But, if they were to be put into barracks, that would tend to take away from them the moſt valuable part of the character—the part of the citizen—which was indeed the moſt valuable character of every Britiſh ſubject. He could not here ſuppreſs an obſervation made on the character of the Engliſh ſoldiers by the late king of Pruſſia, who ſaid he never could make them ſoldiers, but, for all that, they were ſuch as could beat any ſoldiers in the univerſe. This the Major ſaid he would prove them to be, and this they would be, while they were citizens connected with others, and not ſeparated from them; but it appeared to him that the mode adopted by government was to deſtroy this union; and he could not help conſidering them in ſome meaſure ſeparated: this was againſt the principles of the conſtitution. It was againſt the principles of the conſtitution alſo that officers, againſt whom no objection could be made on the ſcore of military merit, ſhould be removed and diſmiſſed from the ſervice upon points of ſpeculative opinion. He could not, he ſaid, help lamenting that this made part of the ſyſtem of the Miniſter to reduce the army to a mere machine, to be at the will and caprice of the executive power, or rather at the mercy of the Miniſter; it was a plan perfectly new, and different from every thing that had been adopted before. He had heard much ſaid againſt reform, and very florid declamation by the Right Honourable Gentleman (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) againſt reform at the preſent time, but little did he think that that Right Honourable Gentleman was commencing a reform, or rather an alteration in the conſtitution, and that too for the purpoſe of increaſing the power of the crown againſt the rights and privileges of the ſubject. He concluded with giving his hearty aſſent to the motion.

LORD BEAUCHAMP obſerved, that it appeared rather extraordinary to him that the preſent ſtage ſhould be taken to object to barracks, at a time when there was nothing before the Houſe to lead to that enquiry. They had not any eſtimate upon the table whereon to diſcuſs the expence of the matter, for that was the time it was to come regularly before them. Why ſhould the Hon. Gentleman enter into the diſcuſſion of the ſubject before the Houſe were at all acquainted with the extent of theſe barracks—[A very loud cry of hear! hear! hear!]—His Lordſhip proceeded and obſerved that the Honourable Gentleman who opened the debate had ſaid, in order to give colour to his obſervation, that the building of barracks, as it was now to be carried on, was a new ſyſtem, and that the doctrine of its neceſſity in this country was new; whereas, his Lordſhip ſaid, the plan of building barracks had been known long ago, and that barracks had been

erected many years ago. This was not the firſt time when the diſcuſſion of barrack-building had taken place; and it had on theſe occaſions been invariably determined, that his Majeſty had the unqueſtionable right of taking all theſe things upon himſelf; and in this caſe it had been determined by his Majeſty, that theſe barracks ſhould be erected; and he believed there was not an inſtance in which it had been neceſſary to come to that Houſe for its previous approbation. [Another cry of hear! hear!] His Lordſhip then ſaid, that in his opinion it was no objection in ſuch a country as this that a thing of this ſort was new; for there was no country in his opinion which could be ſtationary in its politics—[A violent cry of hear! hear!]—But he did not admit, that in point of fact this was a deviation in policy from the ancient ſyſtem of this country; beſides, if other countries changed their ſyſtem of policy, it was neceſſary that Great Britain ſhould do the ſame thing. He obſerved as to the ſituation of this country, in the time of King William, upon which ſo much ſtreſs had been laid, as to the difficulty that prince had to keep up his army, owing to the jealouſy the people of this country had againſt ſtanding armies, the Houſe would recollect ſtanding armies were ſpoken of all over Europe, and that King William was a foreign prince, and therefore it was natural that there ſhould have been a degree of jealouſy under ſuch circumſtances at that time. A great part of the ſame policy and jealouſy prevailed in the time of the two firſt princes of the preſent family, and yet without a conſiderable ſtanding army the people of this country muſt have fallen. What was the ſituation of this country at the preſent time? If barracks were not to be erected, what would be the ſituation of the large manufacturing towns?—If dragoons were not collected eaſily, did the Houſe imagine that the miſchief that might be intended to be done by rioters could be avoided if the military were quartered in different public houſes a diſtance from each other, and if meaſures to prevent riots were not taken in a very early ſtage of them, it would become too ſtrong to be prevented at all? He referred to the riots at Birmingham, in which a ſcene of plunder and miſchief was known to have taken place, and he believed that, conſidering the diſpoſition of the people there, if troops of dragoons had been in barracks in the neighbourhood, whatever might have been intended, it would not have happened as it did.

With regard to the diſpoſition of the people in general, he did not believe that any conſiderable objections would be made to theſe barracks. In Warwickſhire, where he reſided, the inhabitants were perfectly ſatisfied with the plan. Beſides this was part of the policy of a ſtate; and in purſuing of which he ſaw not

not the ſmalleſt danger, but ſaw it in a different light, and approved of it. He contended alſo, that there were no general rules of policy that might not require alteration from circumſtances; and that was the view in which he ſaw the preſent meaſure.——Indeed he ſaw abundance of reaſon for the preſent meaſure. When the ſtanding army of France was placed on a very different footing from any that ever was before known in that country, and when, inſtead of depending on their old principle, they depended on principles entirely democratical, ſhould we not put the Britiſh army upon another footing from what they had been? he maintained that we ſhould. He believed indeed that the Britiſh army was now what it always had been, brave, loyal, and attached to the conſtitution of this country. He believed that they were not now, or that they ever had been, infected with republican notions, at leaſt ever ſince the time of Cromwell. God forbid they ſhould. God ſend that they might preſerve their attachment to the juſt equipoiſe of the conſtitution of this country. But ſoldiers were but men; and when we knew that ſuch pains had been taken to corrupt them—when we knew that the very inſtitution of Sunday Schools had been made uſe of for that purpoſe—When we knew that Mr. Paine's book had been ſo induſtriouſly diſtributed amongſt them—[A great cry of No! No!]—when we knew, that if barracks were not erected, that ſoldiers would be quartered in the very loweſt and the moſt infamous public houſes, where their principles would be every day attacked, and their manners contaminated by the moſt vile aſſociates, it was proper that ſome meaſure ſhould be taken, and he confeſſed freely he knew of none better than the preſent, as well for the avoidance of the evils, as to prevent a diſpoſition of mutiny. With reſpect to the obſervation, that ſoldiers were certainly dependant on the throne, he ſhould not ſay a word. And as to the obſervations drawn from other times, he muſt ſay that he could not place much reliance on them; beſides, if what was ſaid on that part of the ſubject was quite correct, yet he would ſay it was no guidance to us, for thoſe days were very different from the preſent: and as there was no clamour at preſent in the country againſt this meaſure, he muſt regard it in all reſpects proper, and therefore he would oppoſe the motion.

Mr. COURTENAY ſaid he had liſtened with all the attention and deference which he thought it his duty to do to the Noble Lord who had juſt ſat down, and to the Honourable Gentleman who had preceded him, and neither of them had advanced any thing that had convinced him of the impropriety of the motion of his Honourable Friend. The Noble Lord indeed ſaid, that the motion was out of time, becauſe no eſtimate

of

of the expence, or plan of the extent of the barracks in queſtion, had as yet been laid before the Houſe. Mr. Courtenay ſaid that this ſeemed to him to be an Iriſh mode of arguing, for it went to eſtabliſh it as a principle, that we were to have the barracks firſt, and then to have the eſtimate of the expence and plan of the extent of them. This was certainly a new mode of allowing the Houſe of Commons to judge of the propriety of the meaſures of Government! The next point that came from the Noble Lord was, that politics in this country were not to be ſtationary, in which he had the honour to concur with his Lordſhip; for he found that politics were not to be ſtationary with men, nor were men to be ſtationary in politics. At moſt, the only point on which they were ſo was, that they ſat with him and his Honourable Friends on that ſide of the Houſe; this however was excuſable, for the other ſide was already too much crowded.

With regard to the neceſſity of theſe barracks, as the noble Lord had not, nor had the Honourable Gentleman given a ſatisfactory reaſon for their being erected, he was conſtrained to ſeek it from another quarter, and it had occurred to him that theſe buildings were to be regarded as a ſort of a military nunnery to preſerve the chaſtity of our ſoldiers, and that it was thought that they ought to be ſtrongly locked up, and that they were only to look through gates and iron bars.—Here being ſome murmurs, Mr. Courtenay obſerved there was no indelicacy in his intention, for he had taken the thought of a very celebrated and chaſte Engliſh Poet, John Dryden, into whoſe works he had lately looked, and where he found a paſſage applicable to the advantages of theſe barracks to the ſoldiers,

For it is of a nature ſo ſubtle,
That unleſs you will lute it with care,
The odour will fly through the battle,
And the ſpirit impregnate the air.

He was of that opinion; and Mr. Courtenay ſaid, he could wiſh that the Noble Lord was in ſuch a ſituation as to propoſe ſomething that would preſerve our ſoldiers in the barracks from corruption. The Noble Lord, however, had tarniſhed the character of the army, by ſuppoſing that a ſoldier could be corrupted by the principles to which he had alluded. Mr. Courtenay ſaid, that in ſo obſerving, a ſlur was thrown upon the character of the Britiſh ſoldier. But it had been further obſerved, that the French principles would contaminate our army, if left out on different quarters, and therefore barracks became neceſſary, and the reaſoning ran thus:—That they had already corrupted the citizens, and therefore it became neceſſary to take care of the ſoldiers.—To this Mr. Courtenay ſaid he objected, becauſe he conceived

conceived it to be that of introducing an inſidious artificial diſtinction between a citizen and a ſoldier, in this country a thing at all events to be avoided, becauſe it was on the union of the two characters every thing excellent in our military depended. As to what had been ſaid on barracks, and the propriety of erecting, and that the ſoldiers would not murmur at it, and ſuch obſervations, he knew the nature of barracks a great deal too well to aſſent to ſuch doctrine; he knew that ſoldiers regarded the living in barracks as a thing to be avoided, if poſſible; they knew well enough the hardſhips they endured nights and mornings, and they all regarded it as an invidious diſtinction to be in barracks, when they compared their ſituation with that of thoſe who were out of barracks; and he knew too that a Britiſh ſoldier did not like that a diſtinction ſhould be made between him and his brother ſoldier; this, Mr. Courtenay ſaid, he found would create animoſity between the ſoldiers, for it was the nature of mankind to hate thoſe who were in a better ſituation than themſelves, when they were ſure there was no reaſon to regard them as inferior to the objects of favour.

The noble Lord objected to an authority quoted by his Honourable Friend, becauſe little reliance could be placed on it. Mr. Courtenay ſaid he ſhould quote another authority, to which he believed there would be no objection; it was the diſtinguiſhed Author of the Spirit of Laws, Monteſquieu. That great author ſaid, "That ſo jealous are the people of England of ſtanding armies, that they are only voted from year to year: but they never ſuffer men to lay in barracks, becauſe that would be making a diſtinction between citizens and ſoldiers, by ſeparating ſoldiers from the maſs of the people, and accuſtoming ſoldiers to conſider themſelves as a diſtinct body, they would thereby be the more readily brought to act againſt the people."

But the army of France it ſeemed were democratical, and therefore a different ſyſtem was to be adopted with reſpect to our ſoldiers. What was to be underſtood by this? Was it that the army of England was to ſupport deſpotiſm; and that for that purpoſe barracks were to be erected all over the kingdom. Here he obſerved, that if ſome mode had been adopted at the beginning of the ſeſſion, to prevent diſſenſions among ſome of themſelves in Parliament, it would not have been improper.

He then enumerated the effects of barracks both as to their internal management and the effect they might produce in the country, and the manner in which they might perhaps be employed; firſt to overawe the people, and afterwards finally to deſtroy their freedom. He inſtanced a circumſtance in the courſe of the American war, in which a few men in barracks had repulſed General Waſhington and a large army, by way of proving

the

the force of an army in barracks, and ſaid that a barrack might be called a fortification.

As to their having acted upon the ſyſtem of barracks in Ireland, he did not think that a reaſon why it ſhould be adopted in this country; there was a difference between this country and Ireland which reminded him of the opinion given by the late Mr. Serjeant Davy, a celebrated lawyer, who had ſaid, that as Ireland was in a ſtate of actual ſlavery, there was nothing remaining to be done but to ſubdue the ſpirit of the inhabitants; to make the whole a ſyſtem of ſecure deſpotiſm; and he knew of nothing that would effectuate this, but by erecting barracks all over the kingdom.

He then took notice of the wiſhes which had been expreſſed by many perſons in the country for barracks for ſoldiers. No doubt there were. Publicans, from the burden that would be taken off; and the worthy Gentlemen of the different Aſſociations—men who had no principle of morality or virtue in general, and who cared for nothing, nor had any thing in view, but their own intereſt.

The next point was the obſervation with reſpect to the advancement of lawyers, and the power of the crown to provide for them, as had been alluded to by the Honourable Secretary at War. It was thought by the crown, and no doubt juſtly, that a lawyer's conſcience was more tender than that of any other, and therefore, whenever he abandoned the principles of juſtice, he was to be rewarded the more for it, in proportion as the people might deſpiſe him for ſacrificing his profeſſional reputation.—But if he ſhould appear regardleſs of his reputation as a profeſſional man, deſpiſe the moſt obvious principles of natural juſtice—forſake all pretenſion to honour or to honeſty—lend his name to the moſt contemptible paltry trick, then he was entitled to be placed at the head of his profeſſion. In ſhort, a lawyer had a ſort of Talicocian conſcience, which was well underſtood by the court and treated accordingly; he meant in the inſtance of Judge Jeffreys in the reign of Charles II. and Mr. Juſtice Scroggs, but God forbid he ſhould allude to the preſent time.

Upon the article of augmentation in the army, under the head of Staff Officers, great as that was, he believed the country would regret that there was not one more added to the number in that honourable ſtation, a more gallant, able, eſteemed, and diſtinguiſhed officer he believed there was not in the ſervice.—[*This alluded, we believe, to Sir Charles Grey.*]

Lord MULGRAVE paid the higheſt compliments to the character of the Britiſh ſoldiers, and expreſſed his aſtoniſhment that it ſhould once have been thought they would conſider their being

being in barracks as a punishment, when they knew that it was part of their duty to submit to it as military characters. He knew they would submit without a murmur to what they had undertaken on their entering into the service. He expressed his astonishment also, that the Mutiny Act should be deemed as fastening any slavery on a soldier; it was an act that formed a material part of the constitution of this country, and was such as was absolutely necessary for the well-being of the state. His Lordship took notice of the quotations taken from the speeches of Mr. Pulteney and Mr. Pelham, by the Honourable Gentleman who now brought this subject before the House, and seemed to be of opinion that little reliance could be placed on the labours of those who so irregularly attempted to report the Debates of that House, inasmuch, as the reasoning in the reports of these speeches appeared to his Lordship to be quite absurd. He expatiated upon the necessity of barracks in the present situation of affairs, and upon their military merits, and concluded that, from his own experience, he could assure the House he never knew of any one evil occasioned by them.

Major MAITLAND explained; and said he did not mean to say, that being stationed in barracks was absolutely a punishment in a military sense; but that soldiers would regard it in that view, upon comparison with the situation of other soldiers. He disclaimed also all thoughts of intending to convey any reflection on the army, when he said they were dependent on the crown.

Mr. BURDON said, that as a magistrate, he had felt the want of barracks last summer in the part of the country where he resided. In corporate towns, where there was a more regular and efficient police, tumult and insurrection might be prevented by the civil power, but in towns of a different description, which had become populous by trade or manufacture, the aid of the military was often necessary; and magistrates being unwilling to send for troops till the last necessity, because the people on whom they were to be quartered thought them a burden, mischief was sometimes done that might have been prevented. In all such places barracks would obviate the difficulty. He was therefore against the motion.

Sir GEORGE HOWARD reprobated the bringing forward of questions day by day, reflecting on the conduct of Ministers, at a time like the present. Some gentlemen seemed to wish that Ministers had been withheld from going to war with France, when from the conduct of France it was evident that war could not be avoided. The time was such as to call upon every man to exert himself in support of a constitution which had existed unchanged for one hundred years, and he could not but express his abhorrence of motions made on such an occasion,

that tended only to embarraſs Miniſters, and weaken the public confidence in their integrity. Of Mr. Pulteney, whoſe opinion had been quoted, he would mention an anecdote. In Sir Robert Walpole's adminiſtration, when a meſſage from the King informed the Houſe that Spain had declared war againſt England, Mr. Pulteney ſaid, that whatever might be his opinion of Miniſters, he ſhould hold himſelf unworthy of a ſeat in that Houſe if he did not join heart and hand in enabling them to oppoſe the common enemy; he wiſhed the ſame declaration had been made by oppoſition on the war with France. He firmly believed that for two years paſt a regular ſyſtematic plan had been purſuing by perſons in this country, in concert with perſons in France, to produce the greateſt miſchief that this country could ſuſtain.—But the great majority of the people of this country, if they could be polled from Eaſt to Weſt, and from North to South, would be found firmly attached to the conſtitution of their anceſtors. They had yet religion among them. They had not declared themſelves Atheiſts. Such arguments had been held in the Houſe of Commons as if five or ſix members of the French Convention had been admitted to the bar to plead the cauſe of France. He could not be ignorant of the diſpoſition of the army, in which his whole life had been ſpent. He had ſerved nine campaigns abroad, and muſt know ſomething of thoſe who ſerved with him. He could not admit that officers of the army were more to be ſuſpected of undue attachment to the crown than any other deſcription of men. Both officers and privates were zealouſly attached to the conſtitution. He concluded with again deprecating the agitation of queſtions tending to leſſen public confidence in Miniſters.—Let them now be ſupported in defending the country, and when the proper time came, let them be impeached if they had acted wrong.

Mr. FOX ſaid, that all his reſpect for the Right Honourable General could not prevent him from anſwering, that the advice he had juſt given, if the Houſe were to follow it, would prove a complete ſuſpenſion of the moſt valuable functions of that conſtitution which he was ſo anxious to defend. If when the country was brought into danger, they were to ſay, that they would agitate no queſtions but what Miniſters choſe to agitate, that they were in no inſtance to examine their conduct, but to commit the whole management of public affairs implicitly into their hands, they ſhould betray the truſt which their conſtituents had repoſed in them, they ſhould relinquiſh the moſt imperious of their duties, namely, that of watching, and, when neceſſary, controlling the ſervants of the Executive Power, and the practice of our government would be any thing but what it had formerly been, and what he hoped it would long continue. His

Honourable

Honourable Friend was not to be blamed for the motion he had made. It aroſe out of the conduct of Miniſters; and to that conduct, not to the mover of it, was it to be imputed. He had as high an opinion of the integrity, the honour, and principles of the officers of the Britiſh army as the Right Honourable General; but he would not pay them a compliment at the expence of the Conſtitution. He would not ſacrifice to them that jealouſy, which it was the duty of the Houſe of Commons to entertain of every ſet of men, ſo immediately connected with the Crown. To the Crown they muſt look for promotion, by the Crown they might be diſmiſſed from their profeſſion without any cauſe aſſigned, and to the Crown they muſt be attached in different degrees from men on whom ſimilar motives did not operate. This attachment aroſe from the ſituation in which they were placed, it applied to them collectively as a body, and was no diſparagement whatever to any of them as individuals. To the Crown it was ſaid Lawyers muſt look for promotion; the Crown could give and take away ſilk gowns, but the Crown could neither give nor take away the fair emoluments of a man's abilities in his profeſſion. The ſilk gown would bring but few, if any clients, and as few would the loſs of it take from the Barriſter of reputation. The Honourable General had ſaid that he had ſerved nine campaigns abroad, and what the Honourable General would not ſay, with great honour to himſelf and advantage to his country. Now after all his campaigns, and the very conſiderable emoluments with which they had been rewarded, would the Honourable General ſay that his Majeſty might not diſmiſs him from all thoſe emoluments, for no reaſon but becauſe he happened to differ in political opinion from his Miniſters, were ſuch a difference ever to take place? If he could not ſay ſo, then it was clear that they were held at the pleaſure of the King and his Miniſters, and that ſuch being the ſituation of all military officers, they were fit and neceſſary objects of the jealouſy and vigilance of the Houſe of Commons, as it were, indeed, in a greater or leſs degree, all perſons whatever employed by the Crown. Late events had added much to his jealouſy in this reſpect. They had ſeen officers diſmiſſed without any reaſon aſſigned or aſſignable, except theoretical opinions, which they were ſuppoſed to entertain. Theſe officers had been allowed to receive the price of their commiſſions: but was it nothing to be turned out of their profeſſion, on which they had founded all the hopes of their future fortune? Beſides they might not have been allowed to ſell, if his Majeſty's Miniſters had thought fit ſo to adviſe him; and therefore all the officers of the army knew, that they were ſo far completely at the mercy of the Crown, and that men who had ſhed their blood in the ſervice of their country

might be deprived not only of their rank and their hopes, but robbed of the money with which they had originally purchaſed their commiſſions. While Miniſters and their friends were praiſing the Conſtitution, and deprecating innovation, they themſelves were introducing a ſyſtem for the diſpoſition of a ſtanding army, which had been always held incompatible with the ſafety of public liberty, and always oppoſed. Was the time and the occaſion to be ever a concluſive argument for all that refuſed to do, and for all that did? When to repair any breach that time had made in the fabric, when to reform an exiſting abuſe in the practice of the Conſtitution was propoſed, their anſwer was, "What, will you meddle with the Conſtitution at ſuch a ſeaſon as this? will you endanger the whole for the ſake of a part, that may ſafely wait for a remedy till a more convenient opportunity?" When they themſelves propoſed not reform, but innovation, the anſwer was the ſame, "Conſider the occaſion, will you oppoſe a meaſure which the time loudly calls for?" There was not now, it was ſaid, the ſame reaſon for being afraid of a ſtanding army as when William III. a foreigner, was on the throne—an abſurd argument in his opinion; but admitting it to have any weight, were we to give up the principles of our conſtitution, and a moſt leading one was the jealouſy of a ſtanding army, becauſe the King was a native? On his Majeſty's acceſſion, it had indeed been inſinuated that the Conſtitution, at leaſt in practice, was to be very different from what it had formerly been, a doctrine for which he could never ſee any reaſon, and which he hoped never to hear revived. Was there not as much reaſon to be afraid of barracks now as in 1740? Was there more cauſe for jealouſy of a ſtanding army, when we were menaced from abroad, and dreaded the invaſion of a Pretender to the throne? Yet at that period Mr. Pulteney and Mr. Pelham oppoſed erecting barracks, and they ſaid well; for the mixing of the ſoldiers with the people by which they imbibed the ſame principles, and the ſame ſentiments, was the beſt ſecurity of the Conſtitution againſt the danger of a ſtanding army. But it was ſaid the ſoldiers could not mix with the better ſorts of people to learn their political opinions. It was quite ſufficient if they were on a par in their opinions of the Conſtitution with men in the ſame ranks of ſociety from which they had been originally taken. But ſuppoſing that there were any force in this argument, would confining them apart in barracks give them acceſs to better converſation and better opinions? It was entirely new to ſay that the military was neceſſary to the execution of the civil power. The Conſtitution acknowledged no ſuch auxiliary. For the exerciſe of the civil power the means were always in force, and the very preamble to the annual Mutiny Bill, which ſome people conſi-

dered

dered as bombaſtic, expreſsly ſtated that a ſtanding army in time of peace, without conſent of Parliament, was againſt law. If magiſtrates neglect to call in the military when their aſſiſtance was neceſſary, they did not do their duty. If there were places where the exiſting police was inſufficient, let means be tried to remedy the defect, but let it not be pleaded as a reaſon for keeping up a military force; for of all ſorts of police, a military police was the moſt repugnant to the ſpirit and the letter of our government, and ought to be the laſt that ever Parliament would adopt. It was not true that the building of barracks was acceptable to all the country. There were places where it was conſidered, not as a benefit, but a grievance. It might be that publicans were glad to be relieved from having troops quartered upon them, but that proved nothing; and if they were of the ſame opinion they ought not to be allowed to ſell their permanent ſecurity for a temporary convenience. There were various inſtances of ſomething like a deſign on the part of Miniſters to teach the army to look ſolely to the Crown, without regard to the Houſe of Commons. One of theſe was the increaſe of the ſoldiers pay laſt year, without firſt conſulting Parliament, and before Parliament had met, an increaſe which the King had no authority to give till voted by the Houſe of Commons. The King had the ſole command of the army. Why? Becauſe it was given him by the Houſe of Commons; but it was their excluſive privilege to ſay whether or not there ſhould be any army, what its number, and what its pay. He was ſtill old faſhioned enough in his notions of government to dread a ſtanding army, and to think that the conduct of it could not be watched with too much caution. He did not clearly underſtand the argument of the Noble Lord near him (Beauchamp), who ſeemed to ſay that the ſtanding army of Louis XIV. was the ground of our ancient jealouſy of a ſtanding army, and that France had now an army of another kind, of which ſhe was not jealous; we, as matter of *ton*, ſhould be no longer jealous of ours.—— Wiſhing always to ſpeak with the utmoſt reſpect of his Majeſty, and applying his cenſure of meaſures only to his Miniſters, he would not pay him ſo abſurd a compliment as to ſay that the Conſtitution was more ſecure under him than under his two auguſt progenitors. What motive could then be aſſigned for being leſs jealous of a ſtanding army now than in former reigns? Looking back to the conduct of Sir Robert Walpole as a miniſter, whatever might be his faults, no man would accuſe him of having ever entertained the thought of trenching on the Conſtitution by means of the army; yet the utmoſt jealouſy of a ſtanding army had ſubſiſted during his adminiſtration. Were our preſent Miniſters more conſtitutional than Miniſters of thoſe times;

times; were they more to be relied upon than the man who had a principal ſhare in ſettling the conſtitution at the revolution, and was conſequently attached to it from opinion, from honour, and from affection; were they fitter to be truſted than ſome of the noble Lord's anceſtors, who made part of the adminiſtration at the period alluded to; had he in his new zeal to ſupport them, diſcovered that the manner in which they came into power was better, or their reſpect for the opinion of the Houſe of Commons greater? He could diſcover no ground for his Lordſhip's giving to the preſent Miniſters a ſuperior degree of confidence, unleſs, perhaps, that hope was a ſtronger principle than gratitude. While we profeſſed to adhere to the Conſtitution, as tranſmitted to us by our anceſtors, we ought alſo to adhere to the maxims on which they exerciſed it; one of which was, never to allow the army to become a diſtinct ſet of men from the maſs of the people, by being ſeparated from the people in barracks. Next came the argument, that the meaſures of Miniſters were not to be queſtioned, becauſe we are at war. Mr. Pulteney he had never conſidered as his political model, although he had done on the preſent occaſion what Mr. Pulteney did on the declaration of war by Spain—given his ſupport to government in the meaſures neceſſary for carrying on the war. But did Mr. Pulteney, when he made that declaration, tie himſelf up from enquiring into the particular acts of Miniſters? So far from it, that whoever would take the trouble of looking into the journals, would ſee that the oppoſition of that time, with more induſtry and much more ſucceſs than the preſent oppoſition, had brought forward motions of cenſure on the Miniſter, and divided the Houſe on them. They ſaid then, as he and his friends ſaid now, "We will ſupport the Miniſter againſt the foreign enemy, but we will not ſupport him againſt Great Britain." This erecting of barracks was not a meaſure of war, but a meaſure of peace, for it was undertaken before Miniſters began to talk of war, and it affected this country and no other. From the whole of their conduct there was at leaſt as good ground to ſuſpect them of improper deſigns as any that the Honourable General had mentioned for ſuſpecting him, and thoſe who acted with him. In one point he differed from his Honourable Friend who made the motion. When the money for the expence of theſe barracks came to be voted, he ſhould oppoſe it. He knew he ſhould be told that the expence was already incurred, and that it would be hard to refuſe payment to men who had given their property or their labour on the faith of adminiſtration. This was a difficulty which the practice of Miniſters, in incurring expences without the ſanction of Parliament, rendered frequent; but difficult and ungracious as it was to refuſe to pay

he could prefer doing that to betraying the Conſtitution. If they felt any reſpect for the Commons, if any for the people whom they repreſented, they would take care that the people ſhould be free, not in form but in ſubſtance, and that ſuch innovations on their ancient maxims, or, if they choſe to call them ſo, their ancient prejudices, were not attempted until their repreſentatives were conſulted. He wiſhed not to revive the ſubjects which the Houſe had already debated, but ſurely, if the whole country had been alarmed on points ſtill diſputable, it was not being too delicate to feel alarm on ſuch a meaſure as that now in debate, unleſs they could perſuade themſelves that a ſeditious pamphlet was pregnant with every poſſible danger, but a ſtanding army perfectly harmleſs. He knew not whether the Houſe had loſt its former jealouſy of a ſtanding army; he knew not whether the people had loſt theirs; but if they had, it was the duty of their repreſentatives to endeavour to revive it; and he ſhould therefore vote for the motion.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER ſaid, he ſhould not have occaſion to trouble the Houſe much at length. He ſhould not enquire what was the proper rule of the ſupport which Gentlemen might think proper to give to Miniſters. All he ſhould ſay was, that he did not wiſh the general ſituation of the country, or the war in which we were engaged, to prevent the examination of the meaſures which in his opinion that ſituation called for. As little would he diſcuſs the degree of jealouſy that ought to be entertained of a ſtanding army. That, like other undefined phraſes, calculated to agitate the minds of men, had been on former occaſions very ſucceſsfully employed to excite popular clamour. It would be as unſucceſsfully employed now, if any men or ſet of men choſe to have recourſe to it, for the people were too loyally and too zealouſly attached to the King and the Conſtitution, to be moved by ſuch artifices. If by a ſtanding army was meant, an army kept up without the authority or conſent of Parliament, that indeed would be an object of jealouſy; but if by it was meant an army voted from year to year, regulated and paid by Parliament according to the practice of the Conſtitution, it was no object of rational jealouſy. Much of the clamour excited againſt the ſtanding army in 1740 had been raiſed by men whoſe object was not merely to weaken the hands of Adminiſtration, but by removing the army to bring in the Pretender, and deſtroy that very Parliament whoſe power and authority they affected to magnify. The uſe then made of popular words ought not to be forgotten. The Right Honourable Gentleman coupled the erecting of barracks with a ſuppoſed ſyſtem of Miniſters for paſſing by the Houſe of Commons, and extending the prerogative of the crown, and challenged the Right

Hon.

Hon. Gentleman, or any man, to produce an inſtance where the functions of Parliament had been invaded, or where the prerogative had been extended beyond its known conſtitutional limits. The bread money to the private ſoldiers, now brought into queſtion, had been debated laſt year, and the objection now made to it not mentioned at all, or only faintly hinted at. If it was ſuch an invaſion of the functions of Parliament, why were thoſe who thought themſelves the only guardians of the people's rights then ſilent? But giving the ſoldiers that money, was only giving them what they were before entitled to by the votes of Parliament, and what the King had therefore a right to give them. It had been originally withdrawn by an erroneous warrant, and the error had grown into practice. Money, it was true, was wanted to provide the neceſſaries which the money withheld had been formerly applied to purchaſe, and for that money his Majeſty's Miniſters came to Parliament.

The propriety of erecting barracks had been ſo well and ſo eloquently defended by gentlemen who had gone before him in the debate, and particularly by a Noble Lord near him (Mulgrave), that but little was left for him to add on the ſubject. The circumſtances of the country were ſuch as made it neceſſary to adopt that mode of lodging the troops in a greater extent than formerly, and it had always been adopted as circumſtances required. But although it had been a meaſure entirely new, he ſhould not have been deterred by any fear of innovation from doing that which he conſidered as eſſential for the ſafety of many parts of the country. He denied, however, that it was an innovation. The principle was ſo little new and ſo little dangerous, that in all places where troops were in general ſtationary, barracks had been long ſince erected. Let them look at London and Weſtminiſter, let them look all along the coaſt, at Chatham, at Portſmouth, at Dover, at Plymouth, &c. &c. and in Scotland, at Edinburgh, at Stirling, at Fort William, at Fort George, at all theſe places the troops were lodged in barracks, and no danger had hitherto been either felt or apprehended. The circumſtances of the country, coupled with the general ſtate of affairs, rendered it adviſable to provide barracks in other parts of the kingdom. A ſpirit had appeared in ſome of the manufacturing towns, which made it neceſſary that troops ſhould be kept near them. Theſe were the places where it was moſt dangerous to have the ſoldiers diſtributed among the inhabitants, becauſe they were the places where diſputes were moſt likely to happen, and when they did happen they were attended with the moſt miſchievous conſequences. The ſyſtem acted upon by thoſe who made ſuch precautions neceſſary, was firſt to debauch that particular claſs of men from whom they were to appre-

hend

hend immediate reſiſtance to their nefarious deſigns. The mode of debauching them was not by propagating opinions, or by the ordinary ſeduction of communication, but by direct bribery, of which there were proofs and recorded convictions in courts of juſtice. the Right Honourable Gentleman ſaid, that by ſeparating the ſoldiers from the people they would learn to conſider themſelves as a diſtinct claſs of men, and be deprived of the means of imbibing the ſentiments and opinions of the maſs of the people.—If the queſtion were, whether or not they ſhould imbibe the ſentiments of loyalty, of affection, and reverence for the Conſtitution entertained by the maſs of the people, he ſhould regret any ſeparation that deprived them of the opportunity, for he deſired no army but an army animated with ſuch ſentiments in common with the people. But if, on the contrary, attempts were making to win them over to the ſentiments of a deſperate faction, leagued with a foreign power, then he would aſk if Miniſters had not done their duty in endeavouring to fruſtrate ſuch attempts. To barracks they would carry with them the ſentiments of Engliſhmen; they would there be acceſſible to the opinions of the maſs of the people; but not to the emiſſaries of anarchy and miſchief. He admitted that expences incurred by Miniſters, without a vote of Parliament, was a fit ſubject of jealouſy. But there were occaſions which juſtified incurring ſuch expences, and the Houſe was to judge both of the fitneſs and urgency of the occaſion. Would they ſay, that after the circumſtances he had mentioned were known to Miniſters, that they ought to have waited for the meeting of Parliament? If they thought that the meaſure ought now to be adopted, they muſt think that it was fit to be adopted when Miniſters adopted it, and be glad to hear that what they judged to be neceſſary was nearly completed. The form of the Honourable Gentleman's motion did not much bind him to anſwer it. When he gave notice of it, the Honourable Gentleman had aſked when the expences would come to be voted, and he had replied, as had been ſince ſaid, with *hauteur*—in the eſtimates of the army extraordinaries. He was always ſorry when it was believed that he had given occaſion for the imputation of *hauteur*; he knew not what other anſwer he could have made; and if the objection was to his manner, he thought it would equally apply to that of the Honourable Gentleman. He did expect that the motion would have called upon him for a particular defence of his conduct; but as it went only to compliment our anceſtors for what it evidently appeared, by the erection of barracks in ſo many places, they had not done, he thought the Houſe would be much better employed on the Order of the Day, the Committee on the Mutiny Bill, which he ſhould take the liberty of moving.

Mr. M. A. TAYLOR ſaid, he had heard no anſwer to the arguments of the Gentlemen who ſupported the motion, and replied to the Chancellor of the Exchequer's objections to the form of the motion.

Mr. GREY ſaid, that proofs might perhaps be called for of thoſe plots and circumſtances that made barracks neceſſary now where they were not before. He agreed that the general maſs of the people was loyal, and reverenced the Conſtitution, and till the documents were produced, ſhould not believe the tales of ſedition propagated by Miniſters.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer had ſaid, that proofs of attempts to bribe the ſoldiers were recorded in a court of juſtice. The ſingle circumſtance alluded to occurred in Edinburgh, where the troops were in barracks, ſo that the fact went directly againſt the argument. This alone would induce him to oppoſe erecting barracks, even if he were not to oppoſe it on the general principle, for nothing was more certain than that the emiſſaries of faction, if any ſuch there were, would act with more effect on the troops ſhut up in barracks than diſperſed in quarters. No man better knew the value of popular words to excite public clamour than the Right Honourable Gentleman, yet from thoſe whom he charged with uſing the words ſtanding army for this purpoſe, he would probably except the late Lord Chatham, whom he underſtood to have always been jealous of a ſtanding army.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER explained, that he had not cited the fact of an attempt to bribe the ſoldiers, as a proof that they were more expoſed to ſuch temptations in quarters, but to prove the general circumſtances on which he thought the erection of new barracks neceſſary.

The queſtion was put on the motion for reading the Order of the Day, and carried without a diviſion.

The Order of the Day was read, and the Houſe in a Committee went through the Mutiny Bill.

Adjourned to the 25th.

FEBRUARY 25.

The bill for making the ſame proviſion for the wives and children of perſons ſerving in the militia as ſubſtitutes, as is allowed to the families of thoſe who ſerve in the ſame in conſequence of their having been drawn by lot, was read a third time.

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS obſerved that ſome gentlemen were of opinion, that the bill, as it then ſtood, would have a *proſpective* operation only, ſo that no other ſubſtitutes could derive any advantages from it than thoſe who ſhould enter the militia *after* it ſhould have paſſed into a law. If ſuch were to be really its effects, the object which he had in view would be in a great meaſure defeated, for he meant that the proviſion made in the

the bill for the families of ſubſtitutes ſhould extend to all thoſe who had entered the militia ſince the day it was embodied in conſequence of his Majeſty's late proclamation; to remove all doubt, therefore, and effectually to ſecure the object at which he aimed, he had prepared a clauſe for giving the bill a retroſpective, as well as proſpective operation, and he moved that the Houſe would give leave to bring it up. Leave was accordingly given, and the Houſe having approved of the clauſe, ordered that it ſhould be tacked to the bill by way of rider.

Mr. SHERIDAN reminded the Houſe that ſome time ago he had given notice of his intention to make a motion on the ſubject of the ſedition or ſeditious practices ſaid to have been then exiſting in this country. Since that time, he obſerved, ſeveral circumſtances had occurred, which had induced him to poſtpone his motion from day to day. Since the date of this notice, war had actually broke out, and it did not appear to him proper to interrupt the important debates upon that great queſtion, by the introduction of any other of comparatively leſs importance. But this had not been his only motive for delay; ſeveral proſecutions had been commenced on account of the ſeditious practices, to which his motion was to refer; and he had been of opinion that pending theſe proſecutions, he ought not to bring forward any propoſition on the ſubject. At preſent, theſe cauſes of delay either no longer exiſted, or were on the point of being removed; the Houſe had definitively decided upon the queſtion of war; and as to the proſecutions, many of them had been brought to a concluſion, and the remainder, he preſumed, would be diſpoſed of in the courſe of the preſent week; he therefore thought that he might now without further delay fix the day on which he meant to make his motion: he gave notice therefore, that he would make it on Monday next. He begged leave beforehand to requeſt that Gentlemen would come prepared to diſcuſs with temper the queſtion which he ſhould propoſe; and he was confident that if they would diſplay as much temper on the occaſion as he ſhould, there could be little doubt but they would agree with him in the concluſions which he ſhould draw from the facts and arguments which he ſhould ſtate to them on that day.

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS roſe merely to mention that he himſelf had fixed upon Monday next, and had communicated his intention on that ſubject to many members, for taking into conſideration the report of the reſolutions which he ſhould have the honour to move this evening in the committee on the ſtate of the Eaſt India Company. He hoped, therefore, the Honourable Gentleman would leave him in poſſeſſion of Monday,

and that any other day would equally ſerve his (Mr. Sheridan's) purpoſe.

Mr. SHERIDAN replied, that he underſtood the Right Honourable Gentleman had fixed upon Friday next for the report of the reſolutions reſpecting the Eaſt India Company; and this it was which had made him (Mr. S.) make choice of Monday. However, as any other day would anſwer his purpoſe juſt as well, he was willing to leave the Right Honourable Gentleman in poſſeſſion of that day, and he himſelf would take the day after.

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS admitted that his original intention was to report the reſolutions on Friday; but that he had afterwards changed his mind, and fixed upon Monday, for the purpoſe of allowing gentlemen more time for conſidering them, before they were called upon to confirm them. However, as a day was no great object to him on the occaſion, he would leave Monday to the Honourable Gentleman, and bring up the report of the reſolutions on Tueſday.

In this Mr. Sheridan acquieſced.

The Houſe reſumed the conſideration of the report of the reſolutions propoſed by Mr. T. Grenville, for calling over the Houſe on the 6th of March, and taking into cuſtody ſuch members as ſhould not be preſent at the Ballots on the 7th and 12th of the ſame month, or as ſhould not afterwards ſtate ſufficient reaſons for their abſence.

Mr. T. GRENVILLE obſerved, that a Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Pitt) had expreſſed a wiſh, that the reſolution reſpecting the taking members into cuſtody might be ſo altered, as to allow members to ſtate before the call the cauſes which would put it out of their power to attend the call: his object in forming this wiſh was, that Gentlemen who had ſuch excuſes to make as the Houſe would probably deem ſufficient, might not be put to the great inconvenience of coming up to town from the public ſervice in which they might be engaged in the country, or expoſed to the hardſhips of being taken into cuſtody, before their reaſons for abſence ſhould have been heard. Mr. Grenville ſaid he was very ready to gratify the wiſh of the Right Honourable Gentleman on this head; his only difficulty was, how to word the reſolution, ſo as to anſwer the propoſed end, by allowing members to make excuſes previous to the call, as well as ſubſequent to it. After ſome further obſervations, he propoſed an amendment to the reſolution for allowing Gentlemen to make previous excuſes on Wedneſday and Monday next. He begged at the ſame time it might be underſtood that Gentlemen not making excuſes on thoſe two days, were not to be precluded from doing ſo any time before their names ſhould be reported

reported to the Houſe as abſent on the 7th or 12th of next month.

The amendment was agreed to, and the reſolution thus amended, together with the other reſolutions reſpecting the call and the ballots, was confirmed by the Houſe.

India Budget.

The Houſe having reſolved itſelf into a committee, Mr. Hobart in the chair,

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS roſe to lay before the Houſe his ſtatement of the finances and trade of the Eaſt India Company. He ſaid that the ſtatement he ſhould now offer was different from that of any of the former ſix years which he had ſubmitted to the Houſe. Thoſe of former years had been made ſimply with a view to ſhew the balance of the Company's finances upon a compariſon of revenues and charges, but the account of the preſent year was more extenſive. He ſhould combine the affairs of the Company both at home and abroad, exhibit their relative effects, and ſtrike a general balance from the whole of the ſtatement, in order to ſhew in the moſt diſtinct manner the ſurplus ariſing from both the trade and the revenues of India.

The following is the amount of the revenues given for three years, viz. 1787-8 to 1789-90, and likewiſe of the charges, as nearly as they can be aſcertained:

	£.
Revenues of Bengal upon an average amounted to	5,454,107
——— Madras	1,296,468
——— Bombay	147,155
	6,897,730
Charges of Bengal	3,131,210
——— Madras	1,578,365
——— Bombay	524,142
——— Bencoolen	50,000
	5,283,717
Upon this average the net revenue is	1,614,013

This average cannot be over-rated, becauſe during theſe years a large expenditure happened in making preparations for war. The eſtimation of the revenue of the country, ſurrendered to us by Tippo at the end of the war, is 400,000l. which is not included in the above average; but a committee of the court of directors have made an eſtimate of the future revenues and expences in India for the information of the proprietors of ſtock.

In

In this eſtimate	£.
The revenues are ſtated at - - -	6,963,625
The charges (commercial included) at -	5,342,575
Net revenues - - - - - - -	1,621,050

From this eſtimate he ſaid he ſhould draw all his concluſions, becauſe the affairs and accounts of the Company were now brought into a more regular and accurate ſtate, than they had been heretofore. He was aware that eſtimates from the Company were in general in no very high repute in the Houſe of Commons, becauſe it was very well known that they were often drawn up with a view to anſwer ſome particular purpoſe. It ſo happened however that every argument, founded upon the knowledge of that practice, would make ſtrongly in favour of the eſtimates then before the Committee; for as they had been made by the Court of Directors for the purpoſe of ſerving as a baſis of the agreement which was to take place between the Company and the public, and to point out what degree of participation the latter might expect from the former, it was to be preſumed that in ſtating the amount of the Indian revenue, the Court of Directors had rather kept within than gone beyond the mark; and conſequently that what they admitted to be the average with ſurplus of revenue, might be conſidered as lower than the reality. For he begged it might be underſtood, that before the eſtimates were drawn up, the Directors were fully appriſed, that the public expected a ſhare of the ſurplus proportioned to its amount; he himſelf, inſtead of making any ſecret of the matter, had told them as much in very plain terms.

Hence, he inferred that in this inſtance, and in this point of view, the eſtimates might be fairly taken as not intentionally made too favourable or flattering; and that however the nation might think a greater ſurplus would ariſe, it need not be under any apprehenſion of ſeeing it ſmaller than it was ſtated by the Company. Not wiſhing to be governed ſolely by the eſtimates of the Court of Directors, he had himſelf formed one from ſuch materials as his ſituation in office had furniſhed him with; and he thought himſelf well warranted in eſtimating the ſurplus 400,000l. higher than it had been ſtated by the Court of Directors: from all this he thought he might fairly conclude, that the Company's affairs had not been placed by the Court of Directors in too favourable or flattering a point of view; and that if they were ſuch as they were repreſented in the eſtimates on the table, and he was fully convinced that they were infinitely more proſperous, the nation would have cauſe to rejoice with a proſpect of advantage,

advantage, which it might fairly expect to derive from the resources and the Company's poſſeſſions in India. It appeared from the eſtimates preſented by the Court of Directors, that the nett ſurplus which they allowed might be expected, amounted to 1,621,030l. To convince the Committee that there was not the ſmalleſt ground for apprehenſion that it would fall ſhort of this ſum, he obſerved, that the Directors had not taken into their account the produce of the countries ceded to us by Tippoo Sultan, which might reaſonably be eſtimated at 400,000l. a year; and therefore he might venture to take their eſtimate as the baſis of all his reaſoning on this head; a baſis which he was confident could not fail him. Having thus aſcertained the nett ſurplus, he next requeſted the Committee to turn its attention to the ſtate of the Company's debts payable in India. From the beſt authority it appeared that thoſe debts amounted to 9,084,550l. Of this ſum part bore no intereſt; and that which did amounted to about 7,000,000l. The intereſt was not the ſame upon the whole of that ſum, for ſome of it, which had been borrowed during the war, bore an intereſt of twelve, and ſome of only eight per cent. It is impoſſible for us to follow the Right Honourable Gentleman in his various calculations on this ſubject, without running the riſk of inaccuracies, which we would wiſh to avoid at all times, but ſtill more ſo in a caſe of this kind. In the courſe of them, however, he communicated a pleaſing piece of intelligence, which we muſt not omit. He ſaid, that by the laſt accounts, brought by the Ganges, it appeared that Tippoo had fulfilled all his engagements, and made good all his ſtipulated payments. The ſums advanced by him amounted to 1,200,000l. Out of the amount Lord Cornwallis had given 250,000l. to the army, as ſome acknowledgment for their ſervices during the war: ſince that the Court of Directors had ordered another donation to the ſame amount, making in the whole 500,000l. ſo that there remained 700,000l. to be diſpoſed of by the company in paying intereſt upon their debts, and for other purpoſes. He was happy he ſaid to find, that notwithſtanding the expences of the late war with Tippoo, the Company's debts in India were at this moment leſs than they were before the war. He obſerved that there was another reſource in India, which would be highly advantageous to the manufacturing intereſt of England, and that was the profit upon the increaſed ſale of Britiſh manufactures. On this head he ſaid he muſt congratulate the country upon the increaſed and vaſtly increaſing demand in the Eaſt for the manufactures of Great-Britain; it muſt give the Committee ſincere ſatisfaction to hear that in the ſhort ſpace of eight years the quantity of Britiſh manufactured goods exported to China and India had been yearly increaſing.

creaſing. In 1784 the value of our manufactures exported to thoſe two countries amounted to 400,000l. but the value of thoſe that were exported laſt year exceeded *One Million* ſterling. In this place he took occaſion to pay many high compliments to Lord Cornwallis, who to the glory acquired by him in the field for his gallantry and moderation, added the leſs ſplendid, but more ſolid reputation of a man who made it his ſtudy to render his civil government a bleſſing to the people of India, by promoting their happineſs, and an advantage to England by inſpiring the native princes with a confidence in her good faith, and promoting her manufactures by many judicious and wiſe internal regulations, in which Mr. Dundas obſerved, his Lordſhip had been aſſiſted by an Honourable Gentleman, lately from India, Mr. Grant, who poſſeſſed not only the qualities neceſſary for a man in public truſt, but alſo all the virtues that adorned private ſociety, and dignified human nature. Mr. Dundas entered into a variety of calculations reſpecting the profits ariſing from an increaſe of inveſtments, and the ſales at home. He ſtated from different papers on the table the amount of the floating debt in India, of the debt bearing intereſt there, of the floating debt in England, and the bonded debt; and having ſummed up the whole, he went into a long detail to ſhew by what ways and means theſe different debts might be diſcharged or reduced. The reſult was, that proviſion being made for the reduction of the debt in India, in the ſpace of eight years, to 3,000,000l. and the reduction of the bond debt in England to 1,500,000l. and lower than which he did not think it ought to be reduced, he maintained that the company would be able to increaſe the dividend to the Proprietors of India Stock two per cent. add 500,000l. to the public revenue of Great Britain, and have a larger annual ſupply for inveſtments than the Company ever received before. With reſpect to an increaſe of dividend, he was decidedly of opinion, that the Proprietors of India Stock were well entitled to it, for they did not receive at preſent a ſhilling more per cent. than they received before they had any of their preſent territorial poſſeſſions. He ſhould propoſe, he ſaid, that for the purpoſe of enabling them to pay off ſome of the debt which hung heavieſt upon them in England, they ſhould be at liberty to increaſe their capital ſtock by opening a new loan or ſubſcription. (Here Mr. Huſſey laughed, as to ſhew he did not think this meaſure was a very ſtrong proof of the proſperity of the Company's affairs). Mr. Dundas good humouredly obſerved, that the Honourable Gentleman, he was thoroughly convinced, would not forego the advantages that would ariſe from the meaſure; and if he might venture in that Houſe to make uſe of ſuch an argument as the *argumentum ad crumenam*, he would

venture to lay a wager, that the Honourable Gentleman would readily ſubſcribe his ſhare to the loan; at leaſt he was ſure that if he would not, he would find many who would be very glad to take his ſtock off his hands. Touching upon the queſtion of the right of the public to the territorial acquiſitions of the company, he ſaid he had not a doubt but the nation had a deep intereſt in them; but it was not a very eaſy matter to aſcertain the amount or extent of that intereſt: for the Company had expended no inconſiderable ſhare of the commercial property, ariſing not from territory, but from the profits of their trade, in either acquiring or maintaining thoſe poſſeſſions; and conſequently the public ought not to take the territory into their own hands, without making fair compenſation to the Company. Another thing to be conſidered was, that allowance ſhould be made to the Company for their forts, ſtores, artillery, &c. which were aſſets, and not part of the territorial poſſeſſions. And after all came this laſt conſideration, how could the public bring over to Europe the produce or ſurplus of the revenue, ſhould they take the whole into their own hands? On this head he entertained a decided opinion that it could be brought home but through the medium of *trade*. And here aroſe another queſtion, whether that trade ſhould be open or excluſive. Much, he obſerved, had been ſaid and written on this ſubject; and he knew an idea had gone forth that the excluſive trade to India and the Eaſt was impolitic, and injurious to the manufactures of England. It was not his intention to go into that queſtion at preſent; another day would afford him an opportunity of going into it at large: all he wiſhed and aſked for the preſent was, that gentlemen would keep their minds open on that head, and not make them up until he ſhould have ſtated all that occurred to him upon it. He did not mean to keep the Committee waiting for his opinion, for he was ready to declare at that moment, that the excluſive trade not only was neceſſary to the Company, and to the State, but that the abolition of it would be not only highly injurious to the Britiſh manufactures, but completely deſtructive of their ſale in the Eaſt. This he would endeavour to prove ſome other time; but he begged that gentlemen would, till that time ſhould arrive, give him credit for this, that in maintaining the neceſſity of excluſive trade, he was influenced only by a regard for the intereſt of the State in general, and of the Britiſh manufacturers in particular, and that it was preciſely on theſe grounds that he would defend the monopoly. There was one point more on which he would beg leave to touch at preſent; and that was, what ſhould be done with the remaining ſurplus, ſhould any remain, after the payment of 500,000l. a year to the public, the

dividend upon the ſtock, and the neceſſary expences of the Company. For his part, though ſome might think the State entitled to ſuch ſurplus, he was of opinion that the Company ſhould be ſuffered to lay it out in the public funds, as a kind of reſerve in caſe of adverſity; ſo that in ſuch caſe, it might come in aid of their capital; that till ſuch adverſity ſhould arrive, the public ſhould have the intereſt of it; but that the intereſt ſhould be paid to the Company, if adverſe fortune ſhould overtake them. That ſuch a ſurplus as this would accrue, he was fully convinced, and a more equitable diſpoſition of it, than that which he had ſtated, he could not deviſe. It might be ſaid, in anſwer to the flattering account he had given of the Company's affairs, that they were not beyond the reach of bad fortune; that we were actually at war, and that the conſequences, ſhould the events of the war be unfortunate, muſt be felt by the Company as well as by the public. This he was ready to admit: but on the other hand he might be at liberty to obſerve, that when it was conſidered with whom we were at war, and what were the relative circumſtances of England and France, he was ſure it would be allowed, that from the latter we had nothing whatever to fear in India. But, it might be ſaid, depredations might be committed on the Company's trade; he allowed it was poſſible; but he contended, that when gentlemen conſidered the great naval ſuperiority of England over France, they muſt allow, that depredations by the French on the Engliſh Eaſt India Company's trade were barely within the verge of poſſibility, but at the ſame time extremely improbable: by this he begged to be underſtood to mean, that depredations to any conſiderable amount were not to be apprehended. In what he had that night ſtated to the Committee, he had pointed out advantages both to the Company and the public; advantages the more pleaſing, as the plan from which they were to ariſe met the approbation of the former, and conſequently the compact would be voluntary, and not forced. He aſſured the Committee, that he had not advanced one ſingle aſſertion, which he was not fully perſuaded was ſupported by truth, and demonſtrable from authentic documents. He was ſo clear of this, and ſo confident of the ground on which he ſtood, that it was his intention to print and ſend forth into the world every ſtatement he had made that night, and every argument by which he ſupported his plan, in full confidence that no man could diſprove a ſingle fact, or ſhew that he built any one hope in the affair, that was not founded on the cleareſt principles of reaſoning, calculation, and policy. To the public he would leave it to pronounce upon his plan; he feared not the broad day of diſcuſſion; the cauſe was good, and he truſted that as what he had

had now to propoſe had the good fortune to be favoured already with the conſent of the Company, ſo it would be fortunate enough to meet the ratification of a thinking and intelligent people.

He concluded by reading the following Reſolutions, and moving the firſt of them in order:

Reſolved, That it appears, that, on an average of three years, 1787 to 1789-90 incluſive, the revenues of the ſeveral preſidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, have amounted to ſix millions eight hundred and ninety-ſeven thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty pounds per annum, and the charges incurred in the civil and military eſtabliſhments, as far as can be aſcertained, to five millions two hundred and thirty-three thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventeen pounds per annum, valuing the current rupee at two ſhillings, the ſtar pagoda at eight ſhillings, and the Bombay rupee at two ſhillings and three pence.

Reſolved, That it appears, that, allowing fifty thouſand pounds per annum for the expences of Bencoolen and Penang, the net revenues of the Britiſh poſſeſſions in India, on the foregoing average, have amounted to one million ſix hundred and fourteen thouſand and thirteen pounds per annum.

Reſolved, That it appears, that the revenues ariſing from the countries ceded to the Company by Tippoo Sultaun at the termination of the late war, ſtated in the treaty at thirteen lacks, ſixteen thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-five pagodas, and which countries are eſtimated, by the Court of Directors, to produce three hundred and ninety thouſand pounds per annum, are not included in the foregoing average amount of revenues.

Reſolved, That it appears, that the future revenues of the Britiſh poſſeſſions in India are eſtimated, by the Court of Directors, to amount to ſix millions nine hundred and ſixty-three thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-five pounds per annum, and the civil and military charges (including one hundred and four thouſand four hundred and fifty pounds for commercial charges) to five millions three hundred and forty-two thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-five pounds per annum.

Reſolved, That it appears, that the net revenues of the Britiſh Provinces in India, after defraying the civil, military, and commercial charges, are eſtimated, by the Court of Directors, at one million ſix hundred and twenty-one thouſand and fifty pounds.

Reſolved, That it appears, that the debts owing by the Eaſt India Company at the ſeveral ſettlements in India amounted, on the 31ſt day of January 1792, as near as can be aſcertained, to the ſum of nine crore, eight lacks, forty-five thouſand five hundred and eight current rupees.

Reſolved, That it appears, that the amount of the debt, bearing intereſt on the 31ſt day of January 1792, was ſix crore, ninety-three lacks, thirty-nine thouſand four hundred and thirty-two current rupees, and that the amount of that intereſt was fifty-nine lacks, twenty-two thouſand and ninety current rupees; but that, from later advices, the amount of debt bearing intereſt is ſtated by the Court of Directors at ſix millions ſix hundred and ſixty-nine thouſand and eighty-two pounds, and the amount of that intereſt at five hundred and ſixty-one thouſand nine hundred and twenty-three pounds.

Reſolved, That it appears, that after deducting the intereſt payable on the debts in India, from the exceſs of the revenues above the civil, military, and commercial charges, the net ſurplus is eſtimated at one million and fifty-nine thouſand one hundred and twenty-ſeven pounds per annum.

Reſolved, That it appears, that, on the average of the three laſt years, from the 1ſt day of March 1790 to 1793, the prime coſt of goods ſold by the Eaſt India Company has amounted to two millions five hundred and fifty thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-eight pounds per annum; that the cuſtoms payable on thoſe goods have amounted to ſix hundred and twelve thouſand two hundred and thirty-one pounds per annum, the charges of freight and demorage to ſeven hundred and ſeventeen thouſand four hundred and fifty-three pounds, and the charges of merchandize to three hundred and ſix thouſand one hundred and eighty-five pounds per annum, making the total of prime coſt and charges four millions one hundred and eighty-ſix thouſand five hundred and ninety-ſeven pounds per annum,

Reſolved, That it appears, that the goods ſold by the Company in the laſt three years, on an average, have amounted to five millions one hundred and three thouſand and ninety-four pounds per annum, which exceeds the prime coſt and charges by nine hundred and ſixteen thouſand four hundred and ninety-ſeven pounds,

Reſolved, That it appears, that the prime coſt, and ſeveral charges of cuſtoms, freight, and charges of merchandize, of the goods to be ſold by the Eaſt India Company, are eſtimated, by the Court of Directors, to amount to four millions two hundred and forty-four thouſand ſix hundred and ninety-eight pounds per annum.

Reſolved, That it appears, that the ſales of goods by the Eaſt India Company are eſtimated, by the Court of Directors, to amount to four millions nine hundred and eighty-eight thouſand three hundred pounds per annum, which exceeds the prime coſt and charges by ſeven hundred and forty-three thouſand ſix hundred and two pounds.

Reſolved,

Reſolved, That it appears, that the charges and profit on private trade, on the average of the laſt three years, have amounted to eighty-three thouſand three hundred and ninety-three pounds per annum, and are eſtimated, by the Court of Directors, to amount to ſeventy thouſand pounds per annum in future.

Reſolved, That it appears, that the net ſurplus on the whole of the revenues and trade of the Eaſt India Company, after paying eight per cent. dividend on the capital ſtock of five millions, is eſtimated, by the Court of Directors, to amount to one million two hundred and thirty-nine thouſand two hundred and forty-one pounds per annum.

Reſolved, That it appears, that, in the laſt three years, two millions eight hundred and twenty-one thouſand one hundred and eighty-three pounds of the principal and intereſt of the debt transferred from India to England, has been diſcharged by the Eaſt India Company.

Reſolved, That it appears, that the debts owing by the Eaſt India Company at home, under the head of annuities, bonds, bills of Exchange, cuſtoms, and debts contracted in the ordinary courſe of their commercial tranſactions, are calculated to amount, on the 1ſt day of March 1793 (including one million three hundred and fifty-four thouſand and fifty pounds of debt transferred from India) to ten millions ſix hundred and one thouſand and ſixty-nine pounds, excluſive of the capital ſtock.

Reſolved, That it appears, that the effects of the Eaſt India Company in England, and a-float outward, conſiſting of the amount due from government on annuities to the Company, caſh in the treaſury, goods ſold not paid for, goods unſold, cargoes a-float, and other articles in their commerce, are calculated to amount, including the balance of quick ſtock in China, to thirteen millions fifteen thouſand four hundred and forty-nine pounds, excluſive of four hundred and twenty-two thouſand and eleven pounds, charged as expences incurred on account of French priſoners, in an expedition to Manilla, and for hoſpital expences.

Reſolved, That it appears, that the value of aſſets in India, conſiſting of caſh in the treaſuries, bills receivable, of goods provided to be ſhipped for England, of goods imported to be ſold in India, of ſalt, opium, &c. and of ſtores for uſe or ſale, amounted, according to the lateſt advices, to four crore, nine lacks, eighty-four thouſand and fifty-one current rupees, excluſive of the debts ſtated to be owing to the Company there, amounting to the ſum of three crore, fifty-one lacks, eighty-three thouſand nine hundred and thirty-two rupees.

The Committee agreed to all the reſolutions.

FEBRUARY 26.

Sixteen petitions in favour of the Berkley Navigation were preſented and read.

Motion made that the bill be now read a ſecond time.

A petition from the merchants of Briſtol was preſented againſt the ſaid bill, and being read, an amendment was propoſed, to leave out *now*, and to inſert Thurſday ſe'nnight.

Queſtion put that *now* ſtand part of this queſtion,

Ayes	-	-	84
Noes	-	-	8

The bill was then read a ſecond time and committed.

Mr. M. A. TAYLOR ſaid, he was happy to underſtand from ſome gentlemen concerned in the regulations reſpecting the Newfoundland trade, that they were not diſpoſed to reſiſt a meaſure which he intended to propoſe, and therefore he ſhould not be under the neceſſity of troubling the Houſe for more than a minute or two this day on that ſubject. The act relating to the Newfoundland trade was now expired; it contained clauſes, which, if introduced into the new bill that was to be brought in, would, in the opinion of his conſtituents, be highly prejudicial to their intereſts in particular, and to thoſe of the trade in general: the truth of this opinion they were ready to eſtabliſh, and he was glad to find that the gentlemen on the other ſide of the Houſe were willing to afford them an opportunity; as both parties were diſpoſed to diſcuſs the matter fairly and fully, all that remained for him to do was to put it in ſuch a way as would beſt anſwer their common wiſh; he then moved,

"That a Committee be appointed to enquire into the ſtate of "the trade to Newfoundland, and to report the ſame as it ſhall "appear to them to the Houſe."—Paſſed in the affirmative.

He next gave in a liſt of Members, taken indiſcriminately from both ſides of the Houſe, and moved that they ſhould form the ſaid Committees. This motion alſo paſſed without oppoſition.

Mr. WILBERFORCE ſtated, that the motion which he was going to make was in his opinion ſo much a motion of courſe, that he did not ſuppoſe any ſerious oppoſition would be made to it. An Honourable Baronet indeed (Sir W. Young) had given notice that he meant to oppoſe it; but as the Hon. Baronet ſince had time to reflect more deliberately upon the buſineſs, he truſted that he would abandon ſuch a deſign, and ſuffer to paſs unoppoſed the motion which he was about to make, and which was no more than a preliminary to the renewal of the reſolutions which were carried laſt year by a conſiderable majority. He then moved,

"That

"That this Houſe will on Thurſday next (the 28th) reſolve "itſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe to conſider of the "circumſtances of the African Slave Trade."

Sir WILLIAM YOUNG, purſuant to the notice given by him on a former day, roſe to oppoſe the motion; he ſaid, that reflection, inſtead of making him deſiſt from his oppoſition, had ſerved only to confirm him in an opinion that the great queſtion of the ſlave trade ought not to be agitated at preſent, but that it would be prudent to defer the diſcuſſion of it to ſome more proper ſeaſon. Men's minds both at home and in the Weſt Indies were at this moment too much heated for a ſober and cool deliberation on ſo important a queſtion. In England, and in that Houſe, many exaggerated accounts had been given of the ſituation and treatment of the negroes both before their departure from the coaſt of Africa, and after their arrival in the iſlands; by theſe accounts the paſſions of the Houſe had been excited to decide againſt the dictates of judgment and ſound policy. He ſaid that exaggerations were by no means neceſſary to render the Slave Trade odious; for he was ready to admit, that in its principle it was not to be defended, and muſt neceſſarily be repugnant to the feelings of mankind; but ſuch were the circumſtances of our Weſt India Colonies, that the continuance even of ſuch a trade for ſome time longer was abſolutely neceſſary to their exiſtence, and its abolition would be their ruin. On this ſubject he ſaid he could ſpeak from his own knowledge, for during the laſt ſummer he viſited moſt of the Engliſh Iſlands in the Weſt Indies, and he could take upon him to ſay, that a great deal of what he had heard in that Houſe in the courſe of the laſt ſeſſion, reſpecting the treatment and condition of the negroes, appeared to him to be unfounded in fact. It had often been ſaid that by the irregularity of numbers of males and females imported into the Iſlands, and the exceſſive labour to which they were expoſed, very few children were reared, and that this was the reaſon that it became neceſſary to import ſo many Africans every year. He declared, that having viewed the negro villages on many eſtates, he had ſeen as many children in each as could be found in any village of the ſame ſize in England. This would ſerve to ſhew that the neceſſity of importation might be gradually diminiſhed, and the plantations be worked by Creole Negroes inſtead of Africans. The condition of the ſlaves had of late been conſiderably mended; the act for regulating the middle paſſage had been productive of very happy conſequences; and many regulations had been adopted in the Colonial Aſſemblies, tending greatly to better the condition of theſe poor people. He maintained that, in whatever related to the Slaves and Slave Trade, this

this country could not act with efficacy without the concurrence of the legiſlature of the Iſlands: theſe bodies were extremely well diſpoſed to do every thing that could reaſonably be required at their hands; and more it would not be prudent to aſk. He believed that there were not in his Majeſty's dominions a ſet of ſubjects more loyal than the land-owners in the Weſt India Colonies; but he could not anſwer for the continuance of loyalty, when the men from whom it was expected were to be irritated, outraged in their character, and injured in their property. They had been repreſented as brutal and unfeeling in their nature; many of them had been bred at the firſt ſchools in England, and were known when here to be equal to the moſt humane or generous of Engliſhmen. Few men were patient of inſults, and ſtill fewer diſpoſed to be ſtrongly attached to thoſe who would reduce them to beggary; there was a *ſpirit moving* among the Planters to which it would not be prudent to give ſtrength, by unneceſſarily puſhing forward that which might drive them to what they themſelves would wiſh to avoid. He concluded by moving an amendment, viz. that the words "Thurſday next" ſhould be left out, and the words "This day ſix months" inſerted in their ſtead.

Mr. BUXTON ſeconded the motion for the amendment; he ſaid that the Houſe by giving way to the clamours without doors, inſtead of ſtedfaſtly and firmly adhering to principles of wiſdom and ſound policy, might lay the foundation for the ruin of our happy conſtitution. Gentlemen ought to be on their guard againſt a ſpirit of innovation! Liberty was not now in danger from its arch enemy deſpotiſm, but from thoſe who, under the appearance of erecting a temple to liberty, were actually endeavouring to deſtroy it, to overturn all government, and eſtabliſh anarchy upon its ruins. In England it once happened, that when the people ſeemed moſt clamorous for liberty, the Mace of the Houſe of Commons was declared to be a bauble, and the reſolutions of the Houſe dictated by an armed force from without. He warned gentlemen againſt ſimilar conſequences, if they ſhould ſhew ſo little firmneſs as to be ſwayed by clamours without doors, raiſed by perſons who, under the idea of univerſal liberty, would deſtroy ſociety.

Mr. CAWTHORNE ſaid, that many things had been ſtated laſt ſeſſions as true, for the purpoſe of inflaming the minds of the Houſe and of the public, which, when fairly inveſtigated, were found to be falſe. The moſt ſtriking and moſt ſhocking was the charge which was brought againſt Captain Kimber. The Honourable Member (Mr. Wilberforce) by ſtating as a fact the ſuppoſed cruel treatment of a negro girl, had occaſioned the apprehenſion

apprehenſion and ſufferings of that injured man in Newgate; on trial however his innocence appeared, and he was honourably acquitted, and the two witneſſes who had given teſtimony againſt him were both committed by the court for perjury: it was true that one of them had ſince been acquitted, but the other was convicted of that foul crime. To Captain Kimber he thought the Honourable Member ought to make ſome compenſation for ſufferings of which he was the cauſe. He truſted alſo that the Honourable Member would not in future be ſo eaſily milled by perſons who ſhould tell him frightful tales about the treatment of the Negroes: he underſtood that one of thoſe philanthropic tale-bearers who had been in the employ of the friends to the abolition of the ſlave trade, and who, he underſtood alſo, was a religious man, had ſince committed an aſſault upon him and another Honourable Member (Mr. Thornton), becauſe they refuſed to increaſe or continue the allowance which he received for his intelligence; for which aſſault he was committed by an alderman of the city of London. As to the queſtion of the ſlave trade, he thought it was high time it ſhould be at reſt; and as he hoped the amendment would give it its *quietus*, he would vote for it moſt cordially.

Mr. W. SMITH denied that his Honourable Friend (Mr. Wilberforce) had cauſed the proſecution to be brought againſt Captain Kimber; he had barely ſtated to the Houſe the facts which had been related to him; and the magiſtrates thought it their duty to apprehend the man, and bring him to trial. The acquittal of Captain Kimber he could not conſider as a proof that the charge brought againſt him was falſe, becauſe the court never went into the merits of it: he was acquitted on a collateral point, not at all connected with the merits of the charge. One of the witneſſes againſt him (Dowling) denied that he had ever ſaid he would be revenged of Captain Kimber: in this he was contradicted by other witneſſes, and on this contradiction, and not upon a proof of the falſehood of the main charge, was Captain Kimber acquitted. Dowling had ſince been convicted of perjury; but it was remarkable that Devereux, who was indicted for the ſame offence, and for the teſtimony which he had given directly againſt Captain Kimber, upon the main grounds of the charge, had been acquitted of perjury: ſo that the evidence of Devereux, now an unimpeached witneſs, was in full force. As to the motion made by his Honourable Friend, he was of opinion that the Houſe could not act conſiſtently with its deciſion laſt year, if it did not adopt it.

Mr. CAWTHORNE, in explanation, ſaid, he did not mean to ſay that Mr. Wilberforce was the author, but the occaſion of the proſecution brought againſt Captain Kimber.

Mr. EAST thought that references to cases of trials not before the House were improper; and that when a man had been acquitted by his country, he should not be still represented as not purged from the guilt of the charge.

Mr. DENT was of opinion, that the House ought not to go into a committee on the subject of the slave trade; for though the resolutions passed last year contained various restrictions, the enemies of that trade avowed that they were for its unqualified abolition. He wondered that gentlemen would endeavour to force upon the West India planters principles which, however they might be suited to England, were destructive of the property of the planters. People should be prepared for liberty before they could enjoy it, or make a good use of it: this had been allowed even by a champion for liberty in France, the famous Mr. Rabaud de St. Etienne (a protestant clergyman in the National Convention), that the same liberty and constitution, which were fittest for France, would not suit her West India colonies.

LORD SHEFFIELD in vindication of Captain Kimber said, that his counsel had eighteen witnesses to produce in his behalf, but had been prevented from examining them by the court and jury, upon this ground, that no further testimony was requisite to prove his innocence; he might therefore be said to have been acquitted on the merits of his case.

Mr. FOX maintained that the character of the House was involved in the present question, which was no less than this, whether the House should renounce all that it did last Session, on mature information and deliberation, towards the abolition of the slave trade; or whether, having a due regard to its consistency, it would proceed in the work which it had so well begun. Not one single argument had been advanced that day, to shew that the House should stop short, which did not on the contrary demonstrate that it ought to go on. It was said that the agitation of the question of abolition had already produced salutary effects; and that the act for regulating the middle passage had answered the most sanguine expectations of those who had proposed it. But whilst this act was under discussion, those who opposed it said that it would absolutely ruin the West India islands. Their prophecies he trusted would be of the same stamp, and redound to the honour of the legislature, instead of injuring the colonies. He was sure the more the question of abolition was discussed, the more proselytes would be gained to it; for truth was always sure to gain ground through discussion. Gentlemen, he said, ought to recollect that the House was bound to go into a committee, to consider further of the slave trade; for it was the general opinion of both sides of the House last

laſt year, that if the trade was to be aboliſhed gradually, inſtead of immediately, there were various regulations which ought to be enacted into a law as the forerunners of the abolition. The reſolutions of laſt year ought therefore to be renewed, and ſent up to the Lords as ſoon as poſſible.

Mr. Fox paid many compliments to Mr. Wilberforce for his zeal and perſeverance in this buſineſs, which did him the greateſt honour; and if any reproach could be made to him it was not for having hurried, but for having delayed the buſineſs ſo long. An Honourable Baronet had ſaid that the legiſlative aſſemblies ought to go hand in hand with parliament in the work of aboliſhing the ſlave trade; he admitted that they ought; but an Honourable Baronet inſinuated at the ſame time, that thoſe aſſemblies might grow tired of loyalty, and diſpute the right of this country to interfere in the buſineſs. This was a very ſerious buſineſs, and probably ſomething deciſive muſt be adopted in conſequence of it; for the queſtion of the ſlave trade having been once agitated, and the Houſe ſtanding pledged to it as it then did, it could not be ſuffered to ſtop. The right of this country to regulate the intercourſe between her and her colonies had never yet been queſtioned; if it was to be queſtioned now, parliament would be under the neceſſity of determining whether Great Britain did or did not poſſeſs that right. At all events, it would decide whether thoſe under the immediate juriſdiction of the Britiſh parliament, viz. the inhabitants of Great-Britain, ſhould be concerned in carrying on a trade which was allowed, even by thoſe who were not for aboliſhing it, to be diſgraceful to humanity, and ſubverſive of every principle of juſtice. Government, ſo far from being in danger of ſubverſion by aboliſhing ſuch a trade, would derive its greateſt ſtability from a ſyſtem founded on a due regard to the rights of man and of nature; rights properly underſtood, and properly ſupported, but not abuſed as they were in a neighbouring country. As to the caſe of Captain Kimber, he did not like to ſpeak of perſons who had been tried and acquitted by their country; he hoped that Captain Kimber was innocent; but the queſtion, whether the ſlave trade ſhould or ſhould not be aboliſhed, was by no means to be decided by the guilt or innocence of Captain Kimber; other inſtances of cruelty exerciſed upon the unfortunate negroes had been ſtated and remained uncontradicted. He was fully perſuaded, that if the name of Captain Kimber had never been mentioned, the vote of laſt year for the gradual abolition of that odious trade would have been preciſely the ſame; but if there was a ſingle member who joined in that vote upon the belief that the charge brought againſt Captain Kimber was true, and who now believed it to be falſe, he wiſhed that ſuch member,

and ſuch only, would vote for the amendment propoſed by the Honourable Baronet.

Mr. GASCOYNE ſaid, he did not foreſee that the motion originally made would have produced any diſcuſſion, had it been known that all which was meant to be done in the committee was to renew the reſolutions of laſt ſeſſion: but he had imagined that the Honourable Gentleman intended when in the committee to move ſome additional reſolutions, to which he for one would moſt certainly give his oppoſition.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER obſerved, that the amendment moved by the Honourable Baronet called upon the Houſe to declare neither more nor leſs than this, that without any reaſon aſſigned, or any new evidence given, the Houſe repented of its reſolution laſt year for the gradual abolition of the ſlave trade; he truſted that a due regard to conſiſtency would guard the Houſe againſt the diſgrace of ſuch a declaration. He underſtood that all his Honourable Friend meant to do in the committee was to move the renewal of the reſolutions paſſed laſt year, and ſend them up to the Lords. Some other ſtep, indeed, might afterwards be neceſſary, ſhould the examination of witneſſes take up ſo much time as that it could not be expected that an act for aboliſhing the ſlave trade entirely on the 1ſt of January 1796 could paſs this ſeſſion: in that caſe it would be adviſable that his Honourable Friend ſhould propoſe ſome bill for eſtabliſhing thoſe regulations, which the intermediate ſpace between this and 1796 would require, preparatory to the total abolition at that period.

Mr. WILBERFORCE declared, that ſhould that unfortunate event take place, which he by no means apprehended, that the Houſe ſhould refuſe to go through with the buſineſs, which, with ſo much honour to itſelf it had begun, no conſideration upon earth ſhould prevent him from bringing forward again and again the queſtion of abolition. As to the caſe of Captain Kimber, he could very fairly aſſert, that what he had been told on that ſubject he told the Houſe, but never applied to any one to inſtitute a proſecution againſt him; the magiſtrates took him up, and the evidence given before them was thought ſufficient to warrant them in committing him; and upon the ſame evidence a grand jury had thought it their duty to find a bill of indictment. But Captain Kimber had ſince been acquitted, and an Honourable Member was of opinion that he ought to make him compenſation for his ſufferings. This he would be moſt ready to do, and to defend him with as much zeal as he had accuſed him, if he was able to think him innocent; but his acquittal having been upon a collateral point, and not upon the merits of his caſe, he felt no diſpoſition in his mind to make him

him think that any reparation was due. With reſpect to the ſlave trade in general, he determined never to loſe ſight whilſt he had life, but to exert every power which his Maker had given him, until he ſhould ſee that abominable and unprincipled trade completely aboliſhed. The cauſe in which he was embarked was that of heaven, of juſtice, of humanity, and never, never would he abandon it but with his life.

The Houſe at laſt divided, when there appeared

For the original motion 53
Againſt it, and for the amendment 61

Majority for the amendment 8

The queſtion being put, that the Houſe reſolve itſelf into a committee on that day ſix months, the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved an adjournment of the queſtion to Thurſday ſe'nnight (March 7).

Mr. Cawthorne, Sir W. Young, and Mr. Jenkinſon, reſiſted the propoſition; on which, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Wilberforce, agreeing that the buſineſs could be brought before the Houſe in another ſhape, the motion for poſtponing the queſtion was withdrawn.

The motion to defer the committee for ſix months was therefore put and carried without a diviſion; and Mr. Wilberforce gave notice that he would on Thurſday ſe'nnight (March 7) make a motion relative to the abolition of the ſlave trade.

February 27.

No debate.

February 28.

Mr. BURKE took notice of a circumſtance which occurred this morning as being out of order, and affecting the privileges of the Houſe. He ſaid, that the Lords went into Weſtminſter-Hall at a much earlier hour than uſual to proceed on the trial of Mr. Haſtings; and that through mere inadvertency, as he ſuppoſed, their Lordſhips had omitted to inform that Houſe of their intention to proceed at ſuch unuſual hour; the conſequence was, that the Commons were not preſent; and he, preferring the furtherance of ſubſtantial juſtice to the forms of legal procedure, proceeded to the place of trial, and went on with the other managers; and they acted, as if they had received the uſual directions of the Houſe, with cuſtomary formality—this appeared to him to be an act of neceſſity. He then entered much at large into the propriety of yielding a prompt and literal obedience to the orders of that Houſe, by thoſe who were under

its

its command; but ſubmitted the preſent as a meaſure that was, under all the circumſtances, unavoidable.

The SPEAKER took a view of the proceedings of the Houſe, and cleared himſelf, and all its members, and alſo the managers, from imputation of delay in general with regard to their attendance on the trial of Mr. Haſtings, or any remiſſneſs in that reſpect.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER moved, "That, under the circumſtances above mentioned, this Houſe "doth highly approve of the conduct of the Right Honourable "Edmund Burke, and the other managers, for having taken "ſuch ſteps as enabled the Commons to proceed on the trial of "the ſaid impeachment."—Carried *nem. con.*

Mr. BURKE returned thanks to the Houſe for their ſupport of himſelf and brother managers.

Major MAITLAND brought up the report of the committee appointed to enquire into the beſt mode for expediting the impeachment carried on again Mr. Haſtings.

The report ſtated ſeveral circumſtances, and the committee recommended two things to the particular notice of the Houſe—the one was, an early attendance of its members on every day appointed for the trial—the other, to do all they could to obtain a greater number of days in each week, for that purpoſe, than had hitherto been given upon the progreſs of the preſent trial. It recommends alſo to the Houſe to follow the precedent of Lord Strafford, on the 22d of March 1640.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER then moved, "That this precedent be read," which being done, he moved that this Houſe do meet as a committee in Weſtminſter Hall.—Theſe were the words of the precedent, by which the attendance of the Houſe will be diſpenſed with on the trial.—This motion paſſed *nem. con.*

A converſation then took place on the motion of Major Maitland, for a conference with the Lords, which was afterwards withdrawn.—The Houſe then proceeded to receive excuſes for abſence on the day of call.

Mr. GRENVILLE claſſed theſe excuſes in the following order.

1. Gentlemen of the navy.
2. Gentlemen of the army.
3. Gentlemen of the militia.
4. Gentlemen of the long robe.

On the verification of facts.

As a number of gentlemen in that Houſe would fall under the rank of militia, he propoſed to confine it to the field officers of the militia now in actual ſervice.

Sir

Sir WILLIAM YOUNG moved, that the captains of militia on march be included, which was negatived without a diviſion.

Mr. Grenville's motions were then agreed to.

MARCH 1.

Mr. BURKE ſaid it was not to be conſidered as matter of ſatisfaction to that Houſe, that a great criminal (for ſo by the articles of the impeachment of that Houſe he was entitled to call Mr. Haſtings) ſhould have ſo long eluded the public juſtice of this country. He wiſhed, and he was ſure the Houſe wiſhed, that no delay ſhould take place upon this trial. He did not mean to ſay that the managers ſhould ſubmit any propoſition to the criminal, but he ſubmitted to the Houſe, whether they might not, on the next day of trial, ſtate that the managers had no objection to go on in the abſence of the judges.

The SPEAKER ſaid, he did not mean to ſay that the managers were authorized to make any propoſitions to the defendant, or to the Lords, upon the trial of Mr. Haſtings, but there was no irregularity in their expreſſing in open court their readineſs on their part to proceed in the abſence of the judges; it would then reſt with the Lords and the accuſed either to proceed or adjourn.

On the ſuggeſtion of the Speaker the Houſe reſolved,

1. "That this Houſe do to-morrow, and every day on which the trial of the impeachment again Warren Haſtings, Eſq. ſhall be proceeded during the preſent ſeſſions of parliament, meet as a committee in Weſtminſter-Hall, and that the Houſe do on ſuch days ſit at three o'clock."

2. "That for the purpoſe of enabling the Houſe to receive a meſſage from the Lords relating to the time of their further proceeding on that trial, Mr. Speaker be at liberty to take the chair, though forty members be not preſent."

Sir CHARLES MORGAN moved for leave to bring in a bill to prevent labourers from being employed in making canals during the harveſt.

Mr. SHERIDAN profeſſed himſelf an enemy to ſuch a bill, as being arbitrary in the extreme, by hindering the poor from obtaining the profits of their labour in ſuch manner as was the moſt ſuitable to their inclination.

Mr. HUSSEY was of the ſame opinion, and moved an amendment to this effect, "That canals ſhould not be ſuffered to be cut during the harveſt."

Mr. HAWKINS BROWNE was of opinion, that canals were of a ſubordinate conſideration, when the harveſt was put in competition. There was a great ſcarcity of hands laſt year, and that

that objection would be increaſed the next harveſt in conſequence of the augmentation of the army.

After a few words from Sir Charles Gould, Lord Sheffield, and the Maſter of the Rolls, the motion was agreed to, leaving out the word labourers, and ſubſtituting the word perſons.

Mr. POWIS, though he admitted that canals, in many inſtances, were highly beneficial to the commerce and manufactures of this country, was nevertheleſs of opinion, that a ſpirit of ſpeculation with reſpect to them had of late been, and was now ſo prevalent, as to make it prudent and proper in that Houſe, by a general regulation, to guard againſt its being carried to an extent prejudicial to the intereſt of the public: he would, for this purpoſe, move a reſolution which he hoped would meet the concurrence of the committee; that, in all canal bills, the tolls to be raiſed ſhould be limited in ſuch manner as might beſt reconcile the intereſt of the proprietors with that of the public.

Mr. WIGLEY thought ſuch a general reſolution unneceſſary, and moved that the chairman do now leave the chair.

A converſation enſued, in which the Maſter of the Rolls and ſeveral other Members ſupported the propriety of the reſolution moved by Mr. Powis; while Mr. Huſſey, and many other gentlemen, contended for the great public utility of canals, and that it would be imprudent to check the ſpirit of adventure in private individuals, from the encouragement of which alone they were likely to be carried on.

The committee divided on Mr. Wigley's motion for the chairman leaving the chair,

Ayes - - - - - -	25
Noes - - - - - -	21
Majority againſt Mr. Powis's motion	4

MARCH 2.

HASTINGS'S TRIAL.

Adjourned the trial to the 12th of April. Houſe adjourned to March 4.

MARCH 4.

The Houſe in a committee of ſupply reſolved to grant the following ſums:

	£		
For rebuilding and repairs of the navy for the year 1793 - - -	387,210	0	0
For the ordinary of the navy - - -	669,205	5	10

For

	£.		
For civil lists, establishment for Upper Canada for 1793 - - -	6,700	0	0
For civil establishments for Nova Scotia for 1793 - - - -	5,000	0	0
For New Brunswick - - -	4,400	0	0
For St. John's - - -	1,900	0	0
For Cape Breton - - -	1,800	0	0
For Newfoundland - - -	1,182	10	0
For the Bahama Islands - -	4,250	0	0
Salary to chief justice of Bermuda to the 24th of January 1794 - -	580	0	0
To chief justice for Dominica for 1793 -	600	0	0
For civil list establishments of New South Wales to October 10, 1793 - -	4,657	18	0½
For monies pursuant to addresses -	37,657	17	3
For monies to John Dalley, Esq. for his inquiry into the emoluments of the offices of the customs in Scotland - -	500	0	0
To monies issued to commissioners of woods and forests - - - -	1,600	0	0
For American Loyalists, and Florida sufferers, to October 10, 1793, pursuant to the act 28 Geo. III. - -	218,041	7	4
For ditto to the 10th of October 1793, by 30 Geo. III. - - -	58,500	17	6
For provision and articles for New South Wales, and expences of convicts there -	56,370	15	8
For expences of prosecution of Warren Hastings - - - -	3,727	12	0
For convicts on the Thames - -	11,021	4	5
For ditto at Portsmouth - - -	12,407	1	4

That provision be made for the pay and cloathing of the militia for 1793.

This day being appointed for the members to make their excuses for non-attendance, pursuant to the motion of Mr. Thomas Grenville, this business took up some time: at length this and all other business being gone through, the House waited for Mr. Sheridan, to whom this day had been allowed for making a motion of which he had given notice, on the subject of sedition. Mr. Sheridan not appearing, several members called out Adjourn, adjourn. In a few minutes Mr. Sheridan came.

Mr. SHERIDAN immediately began—first, with begging a thousand pardons for having kept the House waiting so long; but he understood that the House were likely to be occupied in receiving excuses from members for absence on the day of call, and that that business would not be over until after six o'clock.

He had heard too that a great number of petitions were to be preſented to the Houſe; there were upwards of fifty of them from the Royal Burghs of Scotland, reſpecting their internal government, and he ſhould beg leave to preſent them to-morrow, and he hoped for the attendance of the Houſe, and particularly that of the Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Dundas) who had ſuch a ſhare in the former diſcuſſions upon that ſubject. He ſhould now proceed to the ſubject of the motion which he intended preſently to ſubmit to the Houſe, the object of which would be to get a committee to inquire into the truth of the reports of ſedition in this country—Reports, whatever ſome might think of them, he was ſure were calamitous in their effects to this country, and might become more ſo, if not checked in time. He ſhould not attempt to prove, in this place, that there never exiſted any ſufficient reaſon for apprehending the danger of the ſedition to which he had alluded, or that there had not been any act of inſurrection in any part of the kingdom, to warrant the propagation of ſuch report; it was well known that there never was any thing of that ſort of conſequence enough to merit the deſcription which had been given of it, or to create the alarm which followed; at leaſt that was the opinion he had formed upon the ſubject. However, he perhaps might be obliged to retract that opinion in conſequence of the proofs that might be brought forward before the committee of inquiry, for which he intended to move; if that ſhould happen to be the caſe, he ſhould be glad to ſee that Miniſters had only done their duty in ſpreading an alarm, at a time of real danger, and then he ſhould be glad to praiſe them for their vigilance, however he might deplore the neceſſity that gave it birth. When he ſaid he ſhould move for a committee to inquire into thoſe things, he did not wiſh to ſay any thing upon the effect of it at preſent; his object was to know in what ſituation this country really was, and alſo to know whether the language made uſe of by his Majeſty's Miniſters upon the ſubject of ſedition, conſpiracy, and treaſon, were not at leaſt premature at the time it was uttered; and conſequently that nothing had happened in this country that could juſtify government in the ſteps they had taken, and the proceedings they inſtituted; at preſent, however, he had the ſatisfaction, as he really believed the Houſe had, of thinking that theſe reports were ill-founded; to remove all doubt, however, upon that ſubject, and to obtain complete information, were the objects of his motion. Parliament met early in December laſt, and they were called together in a very extraordinary manner: this of itſelf was matter of alarm to the country; for they naturally concluded, that it would not have been ſo aſſembled, had there not been ſtrong reaſons for it. We were then under the

apprehenſion

apprehenſion of a foreign war. From that very moment, Parliament ſeemed ſo taken up with that thought, that they loſt all curioſity upon the internal ſituation of this country; they took it for granted, that every thing that was ſaid by Miniſters was true, upon the ſedition lurking in the country at the beginning of the ſeſſion; they took it for granted too, that every ſtep taken to check it was juſt; this was a fraud upon the public, and the Houſe ought to feel it ſo, for he really, and in his conſcience, believed that the alarm was ſpread for the expreſs purpoſe of diverting the attention of the public for a while, and afterwards to lead them the more eaſily into a war. He muſt now beg leave to obſerve upon the nature of the confidence which that Houſe ſhould place in the aſſertion of the King's Miniſters at any time, more eſpecially when they were about to involve the country in the calamities of war, and of the effect of extending that confidence. When Miniſters came to that Houſe, and calling upon it to ſtrengthen the hands of government, they were always bound to explain to that Houſe the real motives they had for aſking for that aſſiſtance, in order that the Houſe of Commons, as the repreſentatives of the people, might be able to tell that people, whoſe lives and money were to be affected, and who finally ſupported the whole of it, the reaſons why they were to be deprived of the rights they had before enjoyed; for he would maintain it as a maxim, that to ſtrengthen the hands of government was temporarily to weaken the rights of the people; and he would follow that obſervation up, that to ſtrengthen the hands of government to carry on a foreign war, without informing the people of the real ſtate of our country, was making mere machines of them, was a conſpiracy againſt the conſtitution, and was laying down a plan by which their liberty might be loſt for ever.

With reſpect to the late ſuppoſed ſedition in this kingdom, and of the ſuppoſed temper for inſurrection, and of the lurking treaſon of which we heard ſo much by hints and conjectures, there were three circumſtances to be conſidered, and three points of view in which the ſubject might be placed. The firſt was, that the danger in this country had been real.—Secondly, that the danger was not real, but that the whole was a falſe alarm, really entertained by government, in which caſe the propagation, although unfortunate, was yet honeſt. The third was, that the whole was founded on a ſyſtematic plan laid by government for deluding the ſenſe, and finally ſubduing the ſpirit of the people. It was, in his opinion, the duty of Parliament to regard the ſubject in either of theſe three points of view, but he could not perceive any other in which it could be properly regarded; and he ſaw in either of them no way of proceeding with propriety,

but by inſtituting a committee of inquiry. Let us ſuppoſe, for inſtance, the whole evil was really felt as Miniſters had deſcribed it at the beginning of the ſeſſion. What then would follow? Moſt certainly the adoption of a committee of inquiry, in order that a plan ſhould be laid for our future ſafety. What was the next thing to be attended to, and the next view of the ſubject, ſuppoſing that Miniſters really apprehended danger, although in truth there was not any? Moſt certainly that a committee ſhould be appointed to inquire, and that they might make their report upon the ſubject, announce it to be in a ſtate of ſafety, and calm the apprehenſions of the public. What was the third point of view, that ſuppoſing the whole to be a mere device on the part of government, for the purpoſe of leading the people the more eaſily to a war with France, by perſuading them that there are at this moment many agents from France who are doing every thing they can to diſturb the peace and internal tranquillity of this country? again he muſt ſay, that a committee ſhould be appointed to inquire, in order that the public ſhould know the deception which had been practiſed on them, and that if the war had been ſo commenced, the people ſhould purſue the means of declaring to the throne their ſentiments upon that ſubject. The truth was, that we were at war with a very powerful victorious republic—Hear! hear! hear! was vociferated on this expreſſion.—Mr. Sheridan proceeded, and obſerved that we were at war with a great, a powerful, and hitherto victorious republic; it was idle to conceal the truth, and he added, that there was not in that Houſe, or in this country, any man who wiſhed more ſincerely than he did, that we may be able to check them in the career, at the ſame time he certainly characterized them aright at preſent. He then came to the accounts which had been given, or rather the hints which had been thrown out by his Majeſty's attorney general at the beginning of the preſent ſeſſion of parliament, concerning the plots and conſpiracies that were ſaid to be formed in this country; but had any thing of this been proved? Not a ſyllable. But this made part of the ſyſtem adopted by government, and the public were to be alarmed at the apprehenſion of the progreſs of French principles, in order that they might the more readily go to war with the French; and by the conduct of the moſt worthy gentlemen of the aſſociations, the people of this country were called upon to revile the French in expreſſions, and to follow their ſyſtem in practice; namely, to bring them under a government by clubs. He wiſhed the Houſe to reflect on what was likely to be the reſult of all this. The people of this country were accuſed of a ſpirit of diſaffection, many plots and conſpiracies were ſaid to be hatched, and now he in his conſcience believed there was not an

iota

iota of truth in any part of the charge to juſtify the apprehenſion which government expreſſed at the commencement of the ſeſſion. What was to be done?—inſtitute a committee of inquiry, for if there was any of this treaſon or conſpiracy lurking any where, all he could ſay was, that it remained at this hour as undiſcovered as at firſt when it was apprehended to be formed.—Theſe aſſociations were formed, as it was ſaid, for the protection of perſons and property againſt republicans and levellers: and what were they about to do, and what in fact had they been doing? Firſt of all to prevent the circulation of Mr. Paine's book, and the Jockey Club, and to bring to puniſhment the diſtributors of theſe publications, works which had for many months been ſpread all over the country, by the connivance, as he might ſay, of his Majeſty's Miniſters; and this too when one of thoſe very Miniſters had an opportunity of reflecting on the impropriety of ſuch publications, who had himſelf formerly indulged a diſpoſition not to treat the high powers of this country with that reſpect which was due, and had no doubt repented of that temper and thoroughly changed his temper. What care I for the king's birth-day—what is the king's birth-day to me—or ſome other coarſe expreſſion, had, he believed, been uttered by a noble Duke ſome time ſince, but his Grace had altered his opinion in theſe particulars; but what then, was that any reaſon for apprehending any danger in the country? Was there to be any ſedition in the kingdom on that account; what had appeared of late to juſtify our dreadful apprehenſions? He was not ſure that Miniſters felt any alarm at the time that they were endeavouring to alarm the country, for how did the Chancellor of the Exchequer act? In the courſe of the ſummer he proceeded with due ſolemnity to take the weight on himſelf of the laborious office of Warden of the Cinque Ports, and he conducted himſelf in that ſituation in a manner as pleaſing to his hoſts as entertaining to his gueſts, and returned to town without any great apprehenſion of danger; but as the meeting of Parliament approached, things became more and more alarming, until at laſt the whole country was ſaid to be threatened with deſtruction. The whole of this was a panic created by Miniſters for the purpoſe to which he had alluded before; this he felt no difficulty in ſaying, and he called on Miniſters to deny it; he was ſo well convinced of the truth of it, that he would venture to affirm, that if all the magiſtrates appointed under the new police bill were to appear at the bar of that Houſe, they would not be able to give one inſtance of the exiſtence of that ſedition which Miniſters had ſo often adverted to in calling upon the Houſe to ſupport them.—All he requeſted of the Houſe was, that a committee of inquiry ſhould be appointed—or of Miniſters, if they

ſaid

ſaid that ſuch committee was unneceſſary, that they themſelves had been deceived upon the ſubject, and that what they advanced upon that topic ſome time ſince, they were now ready to retract. This, he ſaid, was due to the public, for the people of this country ought not to be practiſed upon by fraud; they were a generous and a brave people, and he believed that if this country were to be invaded by a foreign enemy, it would only increaſe our energy and ſtimulate our exertion. He muſt therefore ſay, that, to accuſe them of ſeditious motives, was highly unjuſt, as well as indecent. This panic had already had a great effect; and, indeed, it was much too general an impreſſion to proceed from real danger; a general panic was always created by phantoms and imaginary evils. It had been always ſo in the panics of armies for inſtance; he believed that there was not once to be found in hiſtory an inſtance in which the panic of an army had proceeded from real danger; it had always proceeded either from accident or the deſign of the enemy. Indeed the thing bore evidence for itſelf; had the danger been real, there muſt have been a difference of opinion as to the amount of it, for men would ſpeak upon what they know, and while there was a difference in the ſize and character of the underſtandings of men, there muſt be a difference in their opinions; thoſe who believed any thing upon the tales of ſedition which he had before alluded to, believed every thing that was ſaid about it, and that of itſelf proved its fallacy. There were numerous inſtances recorded both in proſe and verſe where nations had been miſled and had acted upon ſuch principles. There were many inſtances in which a panic had been communicated by one claſs of men to the other.

——— *Sic quiſque pavendo*
Dat vires famæ; nulloque auctore malorum
Quæ finxere, timent. Nec ſolum vulgis inani
Percuſſum terrore pavet: Sed curia, et ipſi
Sedibus exiluere patres, inviſaque belli
Conſulibus fugiens mandat decreta ſenatus.

He had now diſmiſſed the two firſt parts of the ſubject, and he therefore came to the queſtion, whether Miniſters had ſpread thoſe alarms, for purpoſes which they did not avow; and he ſhould be ſorry indeed, if they could not explain this to the ſatisfaction of the public; it would be with great reluctance, that he ſhould put that conſtruction upon their conduct, which led to the affirmative of that propoſition; but there had been ſuch encouragement given to reports of a certain nature, that he hardly knew how to avoid ſaying, that theſe alarms were created for very dangerous purpoſes; indeed, he could not refrain from ſaying, that there appeared on the part of his Majeſty's Miniſters;

firſt,

firſt, a deſire to inflame the minds of the people to prepare them to go to war with France; ſecondly, an inclination to divert the public mind from the queſtion of parliamentary reform, for the purpoſe of concealing the apoſtaſy of certain individuals, who do not chooſe to be put to the teſt, and tried by the public upon the ſtandard of their own profeſſions. As to the firſt of theſe points, namely, that of inflaming of the minds of the people of this country, in order to prepare them for a war with France, Mr. Sheridan ſaid, he need only refer to the ſpeech of the Right Honourable Gentleman himſelf (Mr. Pitt), who had ſaid, at an early ſtage of the diſcuſſion of that ſubject, that he believed the public rather reproached government for ſupineneſs, than blamed it for its promptitude in going to war. This was a mode of beſpeaking the opinion of the public; and he could not help ſaying it appeared to him, from that and other things, that attempts were made, and ſome of them, he was ſorry to ſay, ſucceſsful ones, to inflame the public mind with regard to France. This opinion he entertained the ſtronger, when he reflected on what had been ſaid on the execution—or death—or murder, of the late King of France. It was well known by thoſe who brought that ſubject forward, how it would affect the feelings of Engliſhmen; they revolted from it with horror; he knew they did, as he did himſelf; but calamitous as it was, yet even that event was attended with one conſolation to us—namely, the opportunity it gave for the expreſſion of our feelings and humanity. He had always, however, looked upon that event with grief, becauſe he ſaw the effect it was likely to produce; he ſaw that the cauſe of freedom itſelf was likely to ſuffer by it. He believed that if that act of horror had been ſpared, from motives which he ſhould not care what they were ſaid to be, they might be called either juſtice, honour, mercy, humanity, magnanimity, or any other name, ſtill the thing itſelf would have been the ſame, and tremendous evils would have been averted. Such was his opinion now, and ſuch it always had been upon that ſubject.

With regard to the other motive of Miniſters, namely, that of diverting the attention of the public from the queſtion of parliamentary reform, he believed in his conſcience that there was a deſign of that nature entertained by Miniſters in this country, and that even theſe had ſucceeded for a time; but all this was temporary, for the people were not to be deluded for ever; God forbid they ſhould! God forbid that a brave nation ſhould be blinded for a long time by a few individuals, and that a whole country ſhould be falſe to itſelf and deſtitute of honour, becauſe an individual or two had betrayed their character, and becauſe a few perſons were intereſted in propagating falſe alarms upon

upon the ſtate of the country!—That was not to be expected; indeed the deception was too coarſe in its nature to laſt for much length of time, and the reports were too ridiculous about plots, conſpiracies, and treaſons.—How ſtood facts upon this occaſion.—A noble Duke (the Duke of Richmond) had formerly been of opinion that there was nothing to be ſeen but danger for want of a parliamentary reform; but he had ſo elevated himſelf of late upon fortifications of his own creating, and availed himſelf of his great power of diſcernment, that he was now able to diſcover plots, conſpiracies, and treaſons, under the thought of a parliamentary reform, or under any reform.—A great municipal officer too, had made a diſcovery exceeding beneficial to the people of this country.—He meant the Lord Mayor of London, who had found out that there was, at the King's Arms in Cornhill, a debating ſociety, where principles of the moſt dangerous tendency were propagated, where people went to buy treaſon at ſixpence a head, and where it was retailed to them by the glimmering of an inch of candle, and five minutes, to be meaſured by a glaſs, were allowed to each traitor to perform his part in overturning the ſtate. Such thoughts were too childiſh, and ſuch conduct was too ridiculous in his lordſhip to merit the attention of the Houſe. And yet coarſe and ridiculous as they were, theſe things had their effect with the public for a time, and they certainly did create a general impreſſion of fear. Here Mr. Sheridan entered into a detail of many circumſtances and ſtories upon falſe alarms in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, and particularly the Tower; firſt, when the alarm began, carts, waggons, coaches, were ſaid to arrive daily and hourly at the Tower, filled with traitors from different parts of the iſland, and Miniſters were applauded for their prudence, and their various ſervants for their activity in the ſervice of the ſtate.—Not one word of truth in the whole caſe—not a being brought to the Tower—not a being charged with treaſon.—The whole was a miſerable fabrication to deceive the credulous. Suſpicion, indeed, had been entertained; and he believed that many letters had been ſtopped at the poſt-office, and he had no doubt that many of his were among the number. He ſaid he did not wiſh to talk of himſelf, but as ſo much had been ſaid upon the ſubject of correſpondence with foreign powers, and as hints were thrown out in various channels under the direction and encouragement of Miniſters, that he, and others with whom he agreed on public ſubjects, held improper correſpondence with other powers, he truſted the Houſe would excuſe him for adverting to himſelf, and ſaying that if government ſhould think it worth their while, he ſhould not on his own part have the ſmalleſt objection to publiſhing every word in every letter he ever wrote upon the ſubject of po-

litics.

litics. This he did to refute at once all the calumny which had been ſpread upon that ſubject. He had not the leaſt doubt but that he might ſafely ſay the ſame thing of others who had been ſlandered in the ſame way. There was a paper drawn up by him, which he had no difficulty in ſaying he ſhould be glad to avow every where, and on any occaſion, and this he ſaid in order that it might be underſtood that no apprehenſion of miſconſtruction ſhould deter him from ſaying he wiſhed it to be publiſhed—he was confident it was not repugnant to the principles of juſtice and humanity. This related to the ſubject of the trial of the late King of France. He ſaid this in hopes of defeating the purpoſes of thoſe who were ſo malicious as to inſinuate, from the moſt unworthy motives, that there exiſted a faction in this country connected with its enemies. He could have wiſhed that there ſhould not have been any neceſſity for his declaring, that he abhorred the principle of the decree of the National Convention of France of the 15th of November. Nothing ſhould have deterred him from having written his ſentiments upon ſuch ſubjects—Nothing, he hoped, would deter Miniſters from publiſhing them at ſome future day, as there was no doubt but that they had kept copies of them, and various other things, at the poſt-office.

He then came to take notice of the manner in which government had proceeded to create the alarm to which he had alluded. They had advertiſed Mr. John Froſt and Captain Perry.—The public were to look upon theſe two gentlemen as traitors. One hundred pounds each was to be given for apprehending them. One of them, Mr. Froſt, was at this hour in this country, under bail, and ready for his trial, if he is to be tried; and the other was charged with only having printed in the Argus what the Chancellor of the Exchequer had himſelf delivered in a ſpeech upon the ſubject of parliamentary reform. He ſaid he ſhould not have mentioned theſe things, but to prove that great pains had been taken to carry on a ſyſtem of deluſion. There was another fact, which was too extraordinary to be omitted. A ſtory had been trumped up, that there was a plan for taking of the Tower by the French; after which, the whole of our conſtitution was to be overturned; after which the whole of the royal family were to be murdered. At the head of this plot was to be placed that moſt execrable character, Marat, whom the French would have done well long ago to have removed, and which they would have been able to accompliſh, had they not joined to him Robeſpiere, and others of a different character. This fiction was not enough, for we were told that there were certain people in pay by the French, for the purpoſe of deſtroying as many of the people of this country as they could,

and attempts had been made to poiſon the New River. There was no doubt but that theſe things appeared now to be too ridiculous to be believed; and yet many gave credit to them, inſomuch that the proprietors of the New River were obliged to adverti ſe in all the newſpapers the falſehood of that report. Was this no hardſhip, or did it not ſhew a ſhameful diſpoſition to impoſe upon the public, and to work up the public of this country into fury againſt the French? In further confirmation of this, he referred the Houſe to the groſs clumſy calumny of the various newſpapers which were publiſhed from day to day under the authority of adminiſtration, where every thing that belonged to the French was abuſed without mercy; by this the French were given to underſtand, for many months, that our court was at enmity with them.——This alſo was part of the ſyſtem of deluſion which had been practiſed, in order to bring about a rupture between the two countries. There was one paper in particular, ſaid to be the property of members of that Houſe, and publiſhed and conducted under their immediate direction, which had for its motto a garbled part of a beautiful ſentence—

——Solem quis dicere falſum
Audeat? Ille etiam cæcos inſtare tumultus
Sæpe monet, fraudemque et operta tumeſcere bella.

But it was on the authority of government alone that he reſted upon when he made theſe obſervations; there were many other authorities on the ſyſtem of deluſion. An inſurrection was ſaid to be planned by corrupting the ſoldiers, and this turned out to be the ſum of ſixpence given for porter in Edinburgh, and for which afterwards the offender made an apology. Now what the ſcarcity of money might be in that country he could not tell, but this was very clear, the effect it produced was nothing but laughter. He then alluded to the burning of Mr. Dundas in effigy by the people of Scotland, from feeling, and contraſted it with burning Mr. Paine in effigy by command, and made ſeveral obſervations on the cauſe of both.—He then detailed the ridiculous accounts of pretended inſurrections at Dundee and other parts of the north, and alſo at Saliſbury, Shields, and other places, and maintained that there was not the leaſt proof of diſcontent in the public mind, or diſaffection to government in any one of theſe, but that the whole aroſe from other cauſes. Theſe things entitled him to ſay that there was ground for inquiry into the ſubject, and that an inquiry ought to take place to ſet the public mind at reſt upon ſuch topics.

He next took notice of the effect of the ſyſtem of deluſion in the metropolis, and the hardſhips under which many individuals laboured in conſequence of that ſyſtem; where publicans had been

been told by different magiſtrates of the effect of their ſuffering any converſation upon politics in their houſes; that if they conducted themſelves in the leaſt degree diſpleaſing to the court, they ſhould loſe their licences; and ſtill further, they were aſked, what papers they took in.—"Do you take in the Morning Chronicle or Poſt?"—Yes, Sir.—"Take care there is "no ſedition in it, for if there is, you are liable to puniſhment "for diſtributing it to your cuſtomers."—There was one very particular caſe in this reſpect.—The Unicorn in Covent-Garden, where a ſociety had long met to diſcuſs the propriety of a parliamentary reform. The landlord was ſent for to Sir Sampſon Wright; the man appeared, and explained the nature of the ſociety. Sir Sampſon Wright ſaid it was perfectly a harmleſs meeting in itſelf, but adviſed him not to ſuffer the ſociety to meet again, becauſe it might give offence to the higher powers.—So that a man was not to have a newſpaper which he liked, or which his cuſtomers might inſiſt upon ſeeing, nor was a harmleſs ſociety to be held, becauſe it might be diſagreeable to the higher powers. He was given to underſtand alſo that every thing that had paſſed in his houſe for months was perfectly well known to the magiſtrates, as well as that of every other public-houſe; for that they had agents to take notice of all theſe things.

He then took notice of the expreſſion of the Attorney General at the opening of this ſeſſion of Parliament, of his having 200 caſes to bring forward for proſecution only; a very few of whom had been at all brought forward, and many of thoſe only bookſellers for ſelling, in the way of trade, the Rights of Man, omitting all the parts objected to by the Attorney General in the trial of Mr. Paine, the author of the book, and for ſelling Mr. Paine's Addreſs to the Addreſſers, and the Jockey Club. Mr. Sheridan ſaid, he had 200 caſes to ſubmit to the Attorney General, and to that Houſe, of real hardſhip ſuſtained by innocent individuals, and which he ſhould have ſtated this night, but that the accidental and unexpected diligence of the Lords had called for ſo much of his time laſt week on the trial of Mr. Haſtings, ſo as not to allow him time to collect theſe caſes, but which might be hereafter attended to and diſcuſſed in that Houſe. The general outline of which, however, he gave immediately; many of them aroſe out of the ſpirit of the Alien Bill—a bill in its nature oppreſſive—a bill, the exerciſe of which muſt ſoon incapacitate for ever any man from being a proper Miniſter of a free country. It was impoſſible that Miniſters could know the proper objects in all caſes to be ſent away, and if they did not know of any, they became conſtrained to ſend ſome

away to ſave appearances, and to keep themſelves in countenance. This reflection led him to take notice of the practice of erecting barracks all over this kingdom, alſo part of the ſame ſyſtem, and tending with all other things uniformly to the point of deſpotiſm.

The next point which came to be noticed was the mode adopted on the part of the Treaſury, for finding out perſons who diſtribute ſeditious books. This was done by means of a circular letter all over the country, from Meſſrs. Chamberlaine and White, Solicitors to the Treaſury, to various attornies, employing them as agents in this buſineſs. This, Mr. Sheridan obſerved, was to the laſt degree dangerous; becauſe it went to the effect of placing in a ſituation to be tempted, a ſet of men not highly diſtinguiſhed for ſuperior morality, and of making them derive emolument from the litigation which themſelves, not their clients, were to create. The books chiefly to be noticed were, as he had ſaid before, the works of Mr. Paine and the Jockey Club: he had no occaſion to ſay any thing of theſe books; but neither theſe, nor any other books, could ſpeak more freely on the neceſſity of a Parliamentary Reform than the ſpeeches of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Duke of Richmond; or more groſsly againſt Kings, than the Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Burke) had ſpoken upon former occaſions. Here Mr. Sheridan recited the proceedings of the Thatched Houſe Tavern, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Duke of Richmond, together with John Horne Tooke, and other friends, aſſociated for the purpoſe of procuring a Parliamentary Reform, and alſo Mr. Burke's ſpeech upon his reform bill—Kings are naturally fond of low company, &c. Mr. Sheridan made many comments on theſe ſpeeches, and obſerved, that it was extremely hard and unjuſt for Miniſters to proſecute poor people, and to deprive them of the common comforts of life, for publiſhing what themſelves had formerly approved, but what they now found convenient to abandon.

He then took notice of the principles of the Society, of which Mr. Reeves was the leader, and of all others formed upon that plan. Theſe ſocieties were deſcribed by Mr. Law, in the letter which he publiſhed on the 24th of January laſt, in the Morning Chronicle, ſtating his reaſons for withdrawing from that ſociety; and ſtating, amongſt other things, that they proceeded againſt Republicans and Levellers upon private anonymous letters—nothing, he ſaid, could be more infamous than ſuch a principle.

He next came to Doctor Tatham's letter to Dr. Prieſtley, accuſing him in the moſt groſs and unfounded manner with wiſhing to ſee the ſame fate to our family as that of the unhappy

ſuffering family at Paris; and yet theſe things were to paſs unnoticed by government; that man was not to have the common protection of law to which the very worſt citizen is entitled in this country, and this purely on account of his political opinions. Here Mr. Sheridan took notice of the diſgraceful riots at Birmingham, and of the difficulties thrown in the way of payment of the money ordered by verdicts of Juries upon trials for the damages ſuſtained by theſe riots. But even this was exceeded by what had taken place in Cambridge, for, to ſuch a pitch of inſolent injuſtice had the ſyſtem of political oppreſſion been carried againſt publicans, that they were compelled to take an oath that they not only would not ſuffer political diſputes in their houſes, but that they would give an account of the behaviour and converſation of every republican they might happen to know or hear of. All this was infamous, but it was the effect of the panic he had ſo frequently alluded to; it was owing to that panic that the Chancellor of the Exchequer objected the other day to the bringing up and receiving of the petition from the inhabitants of Nottingham, ſtating the neceſſity of a parliamentary reform. A petition not half ſo objectionable as the Cheſter petition, which had been received.—It was owing to that panic that a Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Burke) did not of late ſpeak with the eloquence with which he uſed to command the admiration of his auditors. For now really the taſte of his mind, and the character of his underſtanding, was altered. It was owing to that panic that another Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Windham) had brought his mind to approve what his heart had for years before abhorred—he meant the erection of barracks. It was owing to that panic that the Right Honourable Gentleman had prevailed upon himſelf to ſupport a Miniſter, becauſe he had a bad opinion of him. It was owing to that panic that a noble and learned Lord (Loughborough) in the other Houſe, had given his diſintereſted ſupport to government, and had actually accepted of the ſeals of an adminiſtration he had uniformly reprobated from its commencement. If that noble and learned Lord judged from the ſame principle of the Right Honourable Gentleman—that of ſupporting an Adminiſtration becauſe he thought it a bad one, he wiſhed to know what his opinion muſt be of its profligacy, ſince he went ſo far as to accept an office under it. But above all, it was owing to that panic that the Right Honourable Gentleman to whom he had alluded before had loſt his fine taſte entirely, and had become the ſlave of the moſt ridiculous pantomimic trick and contemptible juggling—ſuch as to carry daggers and knives to aſſiſt him in efforts of deſcription.—It was to this panic alſo that the milk of the Chriſtian religion

too

too had loſt its mildneſs, and a ſpirit of intolerance had renewed its fierceneſs from the pulpit. Here Mr. Sheridan took notice of Dr. Horſley's ſermon on the 30th of January laſt before the Lords. This diſcourſe opened with comments upon the vanity of political diſquiſitions altogether, and concluded with an anathema on thoſe who did not agree with him in political opinion, reviving all the ſlavery of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance.

The laſt point to which Mr. Sheridan called the attention of the Houſe was the notice which the Chancellor of the Exchequer took of the ſociety of the Friends of the People. He muſt ſay that it was an unfortunate event that the Right Honourable Gentleman ſhould have regarded that ſociety with diſeſteem; it was a calamitous thing for this country that he ſhould have ſo regarded that ſociety; or, rather, it was a calamitous thing for this country that the Right Honourable Gentleman had abandoned his principles—his father's principles—the principles of the late Sir George Savile, and all the illuſtrious characters of that day; but the members of that ſociety would not abandon the principle on which they had been inſtituted; and he hoped and truſted that his Honourable Friend (Mr. Grey) would never be deterred from purſuing his purpoſe. He did not wiſh to ſeek profeſſions from him—he did not wiſh to hear him ſay to that Houſe that he was unhackneyed in the ways of men, but that he had ſet his heart upon an object, and would abandon it but with his life. He did not wiſh to hear any florid declamation from him concerning the happineſs of the human race. All he wiſhed was, to ſee him act in a manner to deſerve their affection. He was a man who deſerved to be ſupported in the cauſe of a parliamentary reform, and ſhould be ſupported; he lent it a lofty ſupport, he was a man who poſſeſſed a lofty mind, ſeated upon a heart of honour; and in it he muſt riſe into fame, for the cauſe of juſtice, of honour, and of truth, never yet had, nor ever would be attempted to be ſupported in vain.

He then moved, in the way of a Reſolution, "That this Houſe will, upon this day ſe'nnight, reſolve itſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe, to conſider of the ſeditious practices and inſurrections referred to in his Majeſty's moſt gracious ſpeech at the opening of the preſent ſeſſion of Parliament."

Mr. LAMBTON roſe to ſecond the motion of his Honourable Friend. It was moſt unqueſtionably the duty of Miniſters to have brought forward evidence to that Houſe, and to the public, of the plots and inſurrections which had been ſo much talked of; and if there were in this country incendiaries and diſturbers of the public peace, they ought to have been proſecuted and puniſhed; it would have been the intereſt of Miniſters alſo to

have

have done ſo, and thereby to have totally confounded the unbelieving few. He alluded to the conduct of Cicero with reſpect to Catiline's conſpiracy, and contraſted it with that of Miniſters on the preſent occaſion. Cicero came boldly forward with a direct and preciſe charge, naming the whole members of the conſpiracy: Miniſters, on the other hand, had ſheltered themſelves under the general and indefinite term, "notoriety," without adducing a ſingle proof; whereas truth always ſpeaks out fairly.—He charged Miniſters with having given countenance to a ſpecies of inquiſition of a moſt dangerous and tyrannical tendency. How many unjuſt and injurious calumnies had been thrown out againſt his Right Honourable Friend (Mr. Fox), whoſe character ſtood in no need of any eulogium from him, but it was ſo exactly and ſo well delineated in the paſſage which he was about to read, that he would gladly have rummaged many a dunghill for it; inſtead of that, however, he had found it in a delightful garden.—(He then read a paragraph from a ſpeech of Mr. Burke's, containing a high panegyric on Mr. Fox.) Mr. Lambton proceeded to take notice of the clubs which had been ſo much ſpoken of at Derby, where no great number of perſons, and they having no other object in view than the obtaining a Reform in Parliament, had been magnified into 1500 Republicans and Levellers; and of thoſe at Cromer and Norwich, which were equally innocent. He next alluded to the aſſociation at the Crown and Anchor, and to the illegal and dangerous ſpirit of inquiſition which marked their proceedings; and he read upon this ſubject part of Mr. Law's letter, to whom his thanks were due for the honourable and proper part he had acted. He was perſuaded, he ſaid, that Miniſters had no proof of the exiſtence of any of the conſpiracies or inſurrections about which ſo great an alarm had been induſtriouſly created, otherwiſe they would boldly and firmly have taken the neceſſary ſteps for the ſafety of the country, and the protection of the public peace, in ſuch a conjuncture, truſting to ſecure themſelves by a bill of indemnity; but then indeed they muſt have come forward with ſome ſort of proof. It appeared to him that Miniſters had two objects in view by the preſent alarm; one was, to get rid of a Reform in Parliament, by confounding with levellers all thoſe who profeſſed to wiſh for it; the other, to reconcile the people of this country to a war with France. He would warmly ſecond the motion of his Right Honourable Friend, which appeared to him highly proper and neceſſary.

Mr. WINDHAM ſaid, that the Honourable Gentleman who made the motion had gone through an infinite variety of matter, in great part of which it would be unneceſſary for him to follow him; and he would endeavour to give as much method as poſſible

to

to what he meant to ſay. The queſtion had been entirely miſ-ſtated; no plots or inſurrections, in the ſenſe affixed by the Honourable Gentleman to theſe terms, had ever been ſaid to have exiſted;—but only ſeditious practices and meetings, tending to produce ſuch plots and inſurrections, and opinions and publications of a moſt dangerous tendency had been circulated with a degree of induſtry never known before. The firſt idea of an inſurrection was to be found in the proclamation for drawing out the militia, on which ſubject there had already been a full diſcuſſion in the Houſe; it had not been ſaid that theſe inſurrections were for the purpoſe of overthrowing the conſtitution, but it had been ſtated, that the inſurrections, ſuch as they were, ſatisfied the letter of the act of Parliament, and that the general ſtate of the country ſatisfied the ſpirit of it; ſo that both taken together juſtified the ſummoning Parliament, and calling out the militia; there was therefore, in this caſe, no pretext, nothing but what was fair and open: when therefore, the Honourable Gentleman calls for proof of inſurrections, in the ſenſe which he has mentioned, he is aſking for evidence of what was never aſſerted; he could at leaſt ſay for himſelf, that he had never ſpoken of the exiſtence of any ſuch inſurrections.—The ſame is the caſe too with reſpect to plots.—On this point, the facts ſtated were chiefly theſe, that the whole country teemed with publications never before circulated to ſuch an extent, or containing ſuch ſtrong and objectionable expreſſions. To prove a thing of this kind would be abſurd; as well might he aſk the Honourable Gentleman to bring proof that there is ſuch a man in the world as General Dumourier; by attempting to prove ſuch facts in detail, he would weaken the evidence of their exiſtence, inſtead of adding ſtrength to the conviction otherwiſe brought home to the mind of every individual. Here there are two facts, the exiſtence of ſuch publications, and the induſtry employed in circulating them; and they are both of ſuch public notoriety, that to attempt to prove them would be both uſeleſs and ill-judged.

Mr. Windham ſaid, that alarm was ſurely a *prima facie* evidence of danger; and the Honourable Gentleman who made the motion had acknowledged that an alarm exiſted:—he would not aſſert to himſelf, however, ſo great a merit as had been aſcribed to him, that of having alarmed his country to a ſenſe of its danger and its duty; Miniſters would certainly ſtand acquitted from having created the alarm, for it undoubtedly exiſted in November, and the firſt ſtep on their part, which could be alleged to give any countenance to it, was the proclamation for the meeting of Parliament. The Aſſociation at the Crown and Anchor was the firſt thing which, in his opinion, had tended to repreſs this alarm; and he paid high compliments to the character and conduct

conduct of Mr. Reeves, which he thought had been undeſervedly attacked. When he joined the late events which had taken place in France with what he himſelf had obſerved in this country, an irreſiſtible conviction of danger was brought home to his mind: in ſuch a caſe he thought it idle to talk of proof. He then adverted to the maſſacres at Paris of the 2d and 3d of September: theſe, he ſaid, were entirely brought about by a handful of men, and ought to teach us the danger of French principles in this country, how ſmall ſoever the number of thoſe who hold them, or under whatever pretence they may be diſſeminated. A parliamentary reform, on the principles of Mr. Paine, would be the deſtruction of the conſtitution. As to the obſervations which had been made by the Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Sheridan) on the letter which he had ſigned, reſigning his place in the Whig Club, he was no doubt happy in adopting a meaſure of that kind, which he did from the impreſſion of duty, that he was joined by thoſe reſpectable friends who had ſigned it along with him, at the ſame time he would have done it if he had ſtood alone: he reprobated any idea of his canvaſſing for ſubſcriptions to it, but ſaid he thought it perfectly right that it ſhould have been allowed to lie for ſubſcriptions, as it was underſtood that ſeveral gentlemen were deſirous to ſign it. He ſaid he had been miſrepreſented in ſuppoſing that he had declared he would ſupport the preſent adminiſtration, becauſe he diſapproved of their conduct; but this was perhaps one of the ſubjects where an attempt to explain might rather throw over it an air of myſtery: he conceived himſelf called upon by duty to ſupport the executive government in the preſent circumſtances; we ought not, he thought, to relax in vigilance, for however the conduct of the Jacobins in this country might be changed, their principle ſtill remain the ſame, not leſs dangerous for being concealed; when they had ſucceeded in kindling an alarm they had ceaſed from their work, but like live embers, if not totally extinguiſhed, they might break out afreſh into a greater flame than ever. In his opinion, no evidence could be brought that would ſtrengthen the conviction, and he would therefore oppoſe the motion.

Mr. MARTIN ſaid he would confeſs a weakneſs, which he hoped would be reckoned a pardonable one, that of being hurt at being ill thought of. He had joined the aſſociation of the Friends of the People, but he hoped it would not be underſtood that he conceived himſelf a friend to the lower order of the people only. With the permiſſion of the Houſe, he would wiſh to explain how he became a member of that aſſociation, and how far he meant to go. [Here he was ſtopped by the Speaker, who ſtated the irregularity of going into a ſubject of this kind.]

The LORD MAYOR hoped for the indulgence of the Houſe in ſtating to them ſome facts. Placed in a reſponſible ſituation as a magiſtrate, his duty led him to watch the proceedings of the Jacobin Clubs, &c. in this city. Soon after the proclamation in May, he found they had conſiderably decreaſed; but, on the ſucceſs of the French arms, he found theſe ſocieties renewed with great augmentation of members and increaſed activity. With regard to the Aſſociation under the title of the Friends of the People, he was ready to admit, that, both from the character and reſpectability of its members, from its declared purpoſe, and the ſentiments it has publicly profeſſed, it was placed on a very different footing from any of the others. But the misfortune was, that other ſocieties, while giving out as their object a Reform in Parliament, were ſecretly propagating French principles, and circulating Paine's books, which were even found placed in the hands where the poorer people drink what is called Saloop at an early hour in the morning. He would mention what his conduct had been with regard to anonymous informations which he had received: he had uniformly ſent for the perſons accuſed, had mentioned what had been ſtated againſt them, and had adviſed them to be careful of their conduct in future. Theſe ſocieties had gone ſo far as to talk of no King, to declare that Parliament is too corrupt to give room for expecting from that quarter any reform or redreſs of abuſes, and to ſpeak of a Convention as indiſpenſably neceſſary. No ſooner was he ſeated in the mayoralty chair, but he found himſelf called upon for exertion to ſupport the peace of the city, and to put the country on their guard. Gentlemen had ſaid that the Lord Mayor had been brought down to diſperſe a parcel of ſixpenny debaters; he would beg leave to give an account of this buſineſs: the fact was, that the Gentleman in the Chair had ſaid that he was a Republican, and that as to the Tree of Liberty, he was ſorry we were not ſo far forward. After all, however, he had taken the mildeſt and leaſt exceptionable method of diſperſing them, by perſuading the keeper of the houſe that he ought not to receive people of that deſcription into it. The laſt proclamation had had a ſurpriſing effect even in the courſe of forty-eight hours; and the citizens of London had approached the Throne to teſtify their loyalty, and expreſs their approbation of the meaſures of government. It was ſtill however neceſſary to be extremely watchful, as he had occaſion to know that the determination of theſe aſſociators to accompliſh their wicked deſigns was unſhaken and perſevering, though for the preſent, in ſome degree checked. In point of numbers they had increaſed 900 in one week, from the 11th to the 18th of November, afterwards they had decreaſed.

His

His Lordſhip concluded by expreſſing his diſapprobation of the motion.

Mr. FOX ſaid, that from the ſpeech of his Honourable Friend behind him (Mr. Windham), at leaſt till towards the concluſion of it, he had hoped for a ſpeedy determination of the debate. He would not ſay, that he was not much intereſted in the fate of his Hon. Friend's motion, but his anxiety was greatly leſſened from the reflection, that great part of its object had been already obtained; for to have drawn from his Honourable Friend (Mr. Windham), now ſo ſtrenuous a ſupporter of, and ſo much in the confidence of the miniſter, a total diſavowal of all thoſe ſuppoſed plots and inſurrections by which the late alarm had exiſted, is undoubtedly a great point gained. That Honourable Friend of his had now expreſsly acknowledged, that no inſurrections or plots, in the ſenſe meant by his Honourable Friend (Mr. Sheridan) had ever exiſted; but does this agree with what has been held out by Miniſters? No; plots and inſurrections of different kinds, and in different places, have been held forth; a conſpiracy was even talked of for taking poſſeſſion of the Tower, and the time ſpecified when it was to have taken place. All this, however, is now given up. His Honourable Friend ſeems fond of reaſoning altogether in general, and, in his ſupport of the preſent Adminiſtration, he has adopted the prudent plan of giving up both fact and argument; for he could otherwiſe give them no conſiſtent ſupport. He complains of being miſrepreſented when he is ſtated to have ſaid that he gave Miniſters his ſupport, becauſe he entertained a bad opinion of them; but he did unqueſtionably ſay, that his obligation to ſtrengthen the executive government might become, on that account, the more binding. There ſeemed, therefore, little ground to complain of miſrepreſentation. Is it, however, ſaid Mr. Fox, or can it be deemed unreaſonable that the denial now given by the Honourable Gentleman ſhall be given formally by the Houſe,—that they ſhall give a vote of quiet to the minds of the people?—This the fortifications of the Tower, and other circumſtances calculated to impreſs the minds of the people with ſerious alarm, rendered the more indiſpenſably requiſite. Mr. Fox next adverted to what had been ſaid of the Clubs at Cromar; and if his Honourable Friend (Mr. Windham) had been ſo much miſinformed, as he had undoubtedly been, with reſpect to what happened in a village within two miles of his own houſe, he would have hoped it might have led him to be more jealous of the information he received as to other clubs and aſſociations. Mr. Fox ſaid that he and his friends were not obſtinate infidels; they deſired only to be convinced, and would readily alter their opinion if they ſaw any reaſonable evidence to

induce them so to do.—As to what had been said by his Hon. Friend, that no pretext had been held forth by Ministers to justify the proclamations for calling out the militia, and for the meeting of Parliament, but that they had fairly and distinctly stated the fact; he must beg leave to observe, that a true fact may frequently be used as a false pretext; and here, by the Hon. Gentleman's own account of the matter, the insurrections satisfied at most but the letter of the law; while a cause totally different, and unconnected either with these insurrections or within the purview of the act of Parliament, was recurred to in order to satisfy the spirit of the act.

Mr. Fox now adverted to the proceedings of Mr. Reeves's Association in receiving and considering anonymous informations, and transmitting them to government; which he reprobated in the strongest and most emphatical terms, as destructive both to the peace and character of individuals, in all probability innocent, and totally subversive of every principle of liberty. With respect to the present circumstances of the country, Mr. Fox said it was undoubtedly true that many of those friends whom he highly respected, and with whom he had long been accustomed to think and act, entertained a much greater degree of alarm than he did, and of course differed with him in some degree as to the extent of the support which should be given at this time to the executive government. They acted, he knew, on the most honourable principles; and he had the satisfaction also to know that that temporary disagreement in opinion on the present occasion, made no difference whatever in the great line of their political principles; in their disapprobation both of the general system of the present administration, and of the way by which they came into office. He said that the direct lie had now been given to the contents of many pamphlets equally dangerous with any of Paine's books, particularly one called the Dream of an Englishman, and others; which had been industriously circulated to spread alarm and distress over the face of the country. Was it to be held an insolent expedient of government to tell the public that treasons and conspiracies existed, and neither to prosecute nor endeavour to discover the conspirators and traitors? He and his friends might be supposed to speak as if they felt galled upon the subject. He owned he did speak with some such feeling, because he knew it had been confidently said that letters had been written by him and his friends, to persons in France, of dangerous tendency, and that it was only owing to the lenity of Ministers that they were not produced. If Ministers were in possession of any such letters, he challenged them to the proof. But he should be told it was an awkward thing to produce letters

opened

opened at the Poſt-Office. To that he ſhould anſwer, the awkwardneſs in opening them at the Poſt-Office. It did however ſo happen, that for, he believed, more than two years, he had not had occaſion to write a ſingle letter to France, except one to an Engliſh Friend (Lord Lauderdale) when at Paris.—Again he ſhould be told, that he had ſeen Frenchmen in this country, that he had ſeen the French Miniſter. He had ſeen Frenchmen here, and had ſeen the French Miniſter, but he had yet to learn that it was any crime for him or any gentleman to ſee the Miniſter ſent to our Court from any country. He knew of no law by which Members of Parliament, like Senators of Venice, were prohibited from even converſing with the Miniſters of foreign States. Was it not a ſituation of the country, horrible to relate, that men's correſpondence and converſation were to be pried into with ſuch inquiſitorial jealouſy, as to make it dangerous for them to commit their thoughts to paper, or to converſe with a ſtrangers but in preſence of a third perſon? Let the Houſe do away all theſe ſuſpicions and rumours by an honeſt inquiry, and reſtore the public to that freedom and confidence, both of writing and ſpeech, which it was the pride of our conſtitution to beſtow, and which became the frank and open character of a free people. The Right Honourable Gentleman had ſaid, that theſe plotters againſt the conſtitution were only quiet like a gang of houſe-breakers, who had diſturbed the family, watching for an opportunity to repeat the attempt. What would be the conduct of the Right Honourable Gentleman if he were really alarmed by houſe-breakers? Would he make no inquiry to diſcover the gang, and thereby prevent them from repeating the attempt? Or would he adopt the ſpirit of a bill once propoſed in that Houſe, in conſequence of numerous burglaries, of which Jews were ſuſpected to be the perpetrators? The tenor of this bill was, any Jew or ſuſpected perſon that ſhall be ſeen looking down an area, GUILTY.—*Death.* If the Houſe refuſed to enquire into the grounds of the ſuſpicions to which they had given the ſanction of their belief, they put every perſon upon whom ſuſpicion fell into almoſt as bad a ſituation as the ſuſpected perſons under ſuch a bill. A circumſtance reſpecting the ſeceſſion of ſome gentlemen from the Whig Club had been alluded to, which he could have wiſhed had not been mentioned in that place. The Right Honourable Gentleman ſaid he had canvaſſed for no perſons to join him in that ſeceſſion; but was not the very mode in which he had done it a canvaſs?

He was ſure that the Right Honourable Gentleman was his friend, becauſe he told him ſo; he knew that he was the friend of the Right Honourable Gentleman—but had he no other

proofs

proofs but the circumſtance juſt mentioned, and the publication connected with it, he ſhould not be ſo preſumptuous as to hope that any friendſhip exiſted between them. His Right Honourable Friend, whom he never ſuſpected of intending to ſupport adminiſtration in any other mode than that which he profeſſed, was perhaps raiſing a ſort of independent corps; and ſome might perhaps be induced to join it, preferring that mode of quitting their old friends to a more open deſertion. But his Right Honourable Friend would recollect that theſe independent companies, when once raiſed, were always incorporated with the regular battalions. The operation of fear was not eaſily calculated, when they ſaw already that it had made one man Chancellor.—To his Right Honourable Friend it had produced only reputation. He was now extolled as one of the very firſt men in the country, not for thoſe virtues and abilities that well entitled him to the rank, but for his quick ſenſe of alarm, and his preſeverance in diſmay. When fear could thus confer both profit and reputation, there was no ſaying to what man might aſpire by this glorious kind of magnanimous timidity. He concluded with declaring that he was ſtill incredulous, and ſhould vote for inquiry, which was never more neceſſary than when the ſituation of the country was apprehended to be dangerous.

Mr. WINDHAM in explanation ſaid, he had ſtated the inſurrections, however they might juſtify the conduct of the Miniſters, were not on the ground of his opinions, or of his conduct, but the general ſtate of the country. With reſpect to the conduct of a gentleman, not a member of the Houſe (Mr. Reeves), he had praiſed only in general terms his giving birth to the aſſociations which had done ſo much good. With the mode of receiving anonymous information he was not acquainted; he had not commended it, and he was not prepared to condemn it: he begged to be underſtood as giving no opinion upon it. If in any proceeding which he had thought it his duty to adopt there was an air of hoſtility to his Right Honourable Friend, there was no man that lamented it more ſincerely than himſelf.

Mr. BURKE ſaid, that as they were divided into the alarmed and the alarmiſts, it was a great addition to his alarm to hear a great ſtateſman advance principles which our government, and every rational ſociety, totally diſclaimed. The Right Honourable Gentleman had ſaid in ſubſtance, that if a domeſtic faction was combined with a foreign enemy, we muſt not declare war againſt the foreign enemy for fear of ſtrengthening the domeſtic faction. Very differently had our anceſtors thought and acted at the revolution, in the reign of Queen Anne, of George I. and George II.; at each of theſe periods there were many

many perſons at home diſſatisfied with the government, but that did not deter Miniſters from declaring war againſt France. To be deterred by any ſuch motive would be to declare faction triumphant. To the reverſe of ſuch policy was it owing that we had been able to preſerve our Monarchy, our Peers, and our Commons. Were we to wait till France could turn againſt us the force of the countries ſhe had conquered and pillaged, for that was her mode of making war? Till Dumourier had plundered the bank of Amſterdam, ſo intimately connected with the bank of England that they might be ſaid to be the ſame? The Honourable Gentleman had opened his motion with his uſual gaiety, in a ſtile of gaiety which in another perſon might have been thought to favour of malignity; but his arguments were not very concluſive. If it was ſaid that the Miniſters had excited a falſe alarm from their terrors of a parliamentary reform, it might be aſked whence came theſe terrors. Neither the Honourable Mover, nor his Honourable Friend near him (Mr. Grey), though they were always talking of reform, had ever made any motion on the ſubject. The Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Fox) had always declared, that he had never ſeen any plan of reform of which he thought ſo well as to propoſe it to the Houſe, and it was not very candid in any man who ſaw it in that point of view to be goading others to undertake it. The Miniſter had done more on the ſubject than any man in the Houſe, more than he thought it wiſe for any man to do. He had twice moved it in Parliament, and once got it recommended from the throne; the latter a meaſure of which he moſt pointedly diſapproved, as tending to make the people believe that they were not properly repreſented. He had heard many motions for theſe reforms, and had always oppoſed, but never dreaded them, while previous ſteps were not taken to infuſe into the people diſtruſt and contempt of their repreſentatives. Whether ſomething might not be done to correct unimportant defects here or there, he neither knew nor cared, while the general ſyſtem was preſerved entire; and to that he feared no danger from ſober diſcuſſion in that Houſe, independent of factious combinations abroad. The war gave no ſolid increaſe of power to the Miniſter. By it he hazarded much more than he could gain. He riſked that which was the baſis of his popularity, his ſyſtem of finance; and conſequently had no motives of perſonal intereſt for doing that late which he ought to have done early. The victorious enemy whom we had to engage, and ſorry he was to ſay that they were victorious, had long been connected with a faction at home, whoſe object was to force us into an alliance with the French, for the purpoſe of jointly propagating their miſchievous principles. To prove this, he

he read extracts from the correſpondence of the revolution ſociety in 1791 with 27 Jacobin ſocieties in France, and the names of the members of the committee of correſpondence for that year, to ſhew that they were not men of mean ſtation or inconſiderable influence. To the ſentiments contained in this correſpondence, all adverſe to the conſtitution, two perſons not members of the ſociety had put their names in teſtimony of approbation. Theſe were Mr. Paine and Dr. Prieſtley—the former now a member of the French Convention, and the latter, whoſe great ſervices to philoſophy, politics, and religion, had not been ſufficiently rewarded in this country, was honoured with the citizenſhip of France, becauſe he declared hoſtility to the conſtitution of England. When he knew that this had been going on for four years, was his alarm to be called a vain alarm? On the 18th of November a ſet of Engliſhmen at Paris preſented an addreſs to the Convention, imploring their good offices in new modelling the Britiſh Conſtitution; and on the next day was paſſed the famous decree for encouraging rebellion in every country. Another ſociety had made a donation for carrying on the cruſade of French liberty, which the Convention was graciouſly pleaſed to accept, and promiſe in return aid and protection to its new ſubjects. He begged to diſclaim ſuch protection. He would not have Dumourier, powerful as he thought him, to protect the Britiſh Conſtitution. He would truſt rather to our own Miniſters, were his opinion of them ten times worſe than it was. Meſſrs. Cooper and Watt had preſented an addreſs, and carried the Britiſh colours in a proceſſion, and on what occaſion—the moſt infamous that ever diſgraced the name of Government. A ſet of ſoldiers had been tried by a court martial, and condemned to the gallies. Theſe were fit men for the republicans of Paris. They might be uſeful—though bad ſoldiers, they might be good murderers. They were releaſed in contempt of the aſſembly then ſitting, brought to Paris, and paraded in triumph through the hall.——On this deteſtable occaſion Mr. Cooper and Mr. Watt carried the Britiſh colours—They were locked in the fraternizing embrace—they received the fraternizing kiſs. They went from the hall of the aſſembly to the hall of the Jacobins, where they kiſſed the bloody cheek of Marat, the iron cheek of Pluto inſtead of Proſerpine. Yet under all the rigour of inquiſition now complained of—under the heavy hand of Miniſtry, was all this done with impunity. At Mancheſter a ſubſcription was opened for the widows of the Marſeillois who fell on the 10th of Auguſt. The maſſacre of the 10th of Auguſt was never called by its proper name; the murders committed on that day, which murdered the conſtitution, were not murders, but acts of national juſtice, of which all

were emulous to ſhare the glory. When Briſſot, Petion, and their party, had murdered or filled the priſons with their opponents, and obtained powers for themſelves, they became all of a ſudden great lovers of order; but when another party that wiſhed to ſupplant them murdered theſe very priſoners, which they were ſuffered to do unoppoſed, and were preparing to remove the new men in power, as they had removed their predeceſſors, then, and not till then, they exclaimed againſt the maſſacre of September as a thing totally different from the maſſacre of Auguſt, and in which the nation had no part. What was murder in one month was not murder in another—they reminded him of the directions in old almanacks—in ſuch a month let blood—in ſuch another take cooling phyſic. But the people were not quite ſo nice in their diſtinctions as the Convention. When the latter ordered that the murderers of September ſhould be proſecuted, the forty-eight ſections came with an addreſs, and ſaid theſe murders were our act, they too were national murders, we were all engaged in them, will you proſecute eight hundred thouſand people? They did not aſcribe theſe murders to the invaſion of the Auſtrian and Pruſſian armies, an excuſe firſt invented for them in that Houſe; they ſaid, that the perſons murdered were ariſtocrates, who had contrived to get themſelves crowded into all the priſons, from which, as ſo many forts, they might ſally forth on the Jacobins, the firſt convenient opportunity. What would the Honourable Gentleman who was ſuch a critic in plots ſay to ſo well deviſed a plot as this? Mr. Burke dwelt upon this topic for a conſiderable time, enumerating the prieſts and the women that were murdered—among theſe was the princeſs of Lamballe. It happened that her head was cut off, and it happened that next day M. Egalité got her jointure.

Mr. FOX by ſome geſture expreſſed his diſbelief of this.

Mr. BURKE haſtily aſked if it was untrue.

Mr. FOX ſaid, certainly, but not more untrue than much of what he had ſtated beſides.

Mr. BURKE ſaid, he ſtated nothing but on accurate inquiry, and with the proofs in his poſſeſſion; and any man that ſaid his aſſertions were untrue, without confuting them, and ſhewing how they were ſo, was a calumniator.

Mr. FOX called to order, and ſaid if the Right Honourable Gentleman meant to affront him perſonally, he would do that elſewhere. With reſpect to his aſſertions, ſix of them had been confuted in one day.

Mr. BURKE was again going on with the ſame ſubject. The Speaker reminded him that it had no relation to the queſtion before the Houſe.

Mr. Burke purſued his ſubject in the way of queſtion to Mr. Fox, and being again called to order, adverted to Mr. Sheridan's charge of bad taſte for introducing the trick of a dagger in a former debate; whoſe manner, he ſaid, ſeemed rather to be borrowed from his new connexions, than to be the natural growth of his old principles. He read a long letter from a manufacturer at Birmingham, giving an account of the order given by Dr. Maxwell for making daggers there, and ſaid, the only error he had committed in mentioning the buſineſs before, was in ſtating that 3000 were ordered, and 72 made; whereas, in fact, 10,000 were ordered, and 4000 made. He remarked on ſome publication by a Mr. Oſwald, now in Paris, who expreſſed his hopes that all government by repreſentation would ſoon be at an end, and that France would be freed from their iron yoke of property. This was now in agitation all over France. The old proprietors were pretty well got rid of by murder or confiſcation. Thoſe who had ſhared in the plunder were endeavouring to make a ſtand, but they would ſoon be overpowered. The ſovereignty of the people was the moſt falſe, wicked, and miſchievous doctrine that ever could be preached to them.—It was falſe becauſe they had no means of exerciſing their ſovereignty; and why was it broached? under a deluſion to ſtrip them of their natural guardians, to kill the ſhepherd and his dogs, and make way for the wolves. If the majority of the public was to be taken not by weight, but by tale, the moſt ignorant would elect, and none but the crafty and the wicked would be elected. It was ſaid to be dangerous to introduce an oppoſition of intereſt between the rich and the poor: was not this very oppoſition now the queſtion all over France and Flanders? The Right Honourable Gentleman who warned the Houſe of this danger ſaid, the man who poſſeſſed no property had as much intereſt in the conſtitution, and good order of ſociety, as the man who did. True, an intereſt viſible to every well informed man, but by no means ſo to the ignorant. The moment that equality and the ſovereignty of the people was adopted as the rule of government, property would be at an end, and religion, morality, and law, which grew out of property would fall with it. The Right Honourable Gentleman talked of deſertions from the party of which he was the leader, from wearineſs of travelling ſo long in the barren tract of oppoſition. The deſerts of Arabia had no charms for theſe deſerters: but perhaps, if a caravan travelling through theſe deſerts ſhould find that their leader, from paſſion or obſtinacy, had wandered from the right road, and that by following him they were in danger of being attacked by ſome plundering Sheik, they might be allowed to think a little of their own ſafety, and to take meaſures

for ſecuring it independent of the caravan baſhaw. He could ſay for himſelf that he had deſerted no party, and that of thoſe with whom he had been accuſtomed to act there was not one that diſſer,d from him in opinion on the preſent ſtate of affairs, or diſapproved of a ſingle vote he had given in the courſe of the preſent ſeſſion. Thoſe who had incidentally joined that party by the way had no claim upon him. He had a high opinion of the Right Honourable Gentleman's abilities, but he could not ſubmit his judgment implicitly to the abilities of any man. The Right Honourable Gentleman had learned from Dr. Price that kings might be caſhiered, but ſeemed to forget that the leaders of parties could do wrong. Yet if the leader ſhould ſeem to conſider the party as made only for him, inſtead of conſidering himſelf as but a part of it; if he ſhould adopt a line of conduct without conſent or conſultation; if he ſhould make ſpeeches and motions, as if he meant to ſay, you diſlike what I did to day, I will do more to-morrow; if you diſapprove of what I do to-morrow, worſe awaits you for the day after that; it might then be ſuppoſed that the party was at liberty to leave him. Mr. Burke purſued this alluſion to conſiderable length, tending to convey an idea that Mr. Fox had acted during the preſent ſeſſion without conſulting with his friends. Fears, the Right Honourable Gentleman ſaid, had made a Chancellor. In times of difficulty and danger, thoſe who ſaw the danger were meritorious in accepting offices of truſt and reſponſibility. In ſuch times every ſacrifice to the public good muſt be made by every good citizen.—The Right Honourable Gentleman himſelf had ſacrificed no intereſt to the value of a cat's whiſker. He was only ſacrificing to the vileſt idol that ever was ſet up. He concluded with diſcuſſing the difference between party and faction, and expreſſing his entire diſapprobation of the motion.

Mr. FOX ſaid, that with reſpect to his conduct on the opening of the ſeſſion the Right Honourable Gentleman was totally miſinformed, and totally miſtaken. Mr. Burke ſaid a few words in reply, and Mr. Fox repeated what he had ſaid before.

Colonel MACLEOD ſaid, the Right Honourable Gentleman had ventured to renew one of the moſt unconſtitutional propoſitions he had ever laid down, viz. that the living maſs of humanity did not enter into the conſtitution. With reſpect to the inſurrection in Scotland which had been much relied upon there, he quoted a recorded ſpeech by the preſident of the court of ſeſſion, expreſſing the ſurpriſe and concern of the court, on being informed of theſe inſurrections by the King's proclamation and the debates in parliament. Thus theſe inſurrections,

which had been ſtated as the cauſe of the late extraordinary meaſures, were totally unknown to the fifteen judges of Scotland, who reſided in or near the places which were the ſcene of the inſurrections, till ſignified to them by the proclamation, which they could not believe till confirmed by the debates in parliament.

Mr. SHERIDAN roſe to make a ſhort general reply. He expreſſed his ſurpriſe at the manner in which Mr. Burke had talked of the conduct of parties, who had long ſince ſtated that he was unconnected with any party, who had boaſted that he ſtood alone, who had gone from the living whigs to the dead, and whom having never accuſed of quitting the camp as a deſerter, he never ſuſpected of returning to it as a ſpy. He had borrowed no manner of debate from new connections, having never once departed from his original connections and principles —conduct which ſome gentlemen might not be very willing to hear ſtated, nor think entitled to any merit.

The SPEAKER reminded Mr. Sheridan that the indulgence of the Houſe entitled him only to reply to points immediately applicable to the motion.

Mr. SHERIDAN ſaid the gentlemen who oppoſed it had ſaid ſo little that was applicable, and that little tending rather to confirm than refute the propriety of it, that he had nothing to reply to. With reſpect to any harſhneſs of expreſſion imputed to him, no affectation of candour ſhould ever induce him to ſpare thoſe whoſe conduct ſeemed ſtudiouſly calculated to throw diſcredit on the principles he maintained, or the friends with whom he acted.

Major MAITLAND ſaid, it was the duty of every Member to correct miſrepreſentations of the conduct of perſons not members of the Houſe. He had no perſonal acquaintance with Dr. Maxwell; but he knew, from undoubted information, that the daggers ordered by him were intended for no ſuch purpoſe as had been inſinuated; but as a weapon for horſemen, armed with rifles. The ſame conſtruction might, with equal plauſibility, have been put upon the daggers of a company of light horſe, armed in the ſame manner in the American war.

The queſtion was put, and the motion negatived without a diviſion.

Adjourned at half paſt two.

MARCH 5.

No debate.

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS's reſolutions upon India affairs were again read and agreed to.

MARCH

MARCH 6.

The Houſe was called over; after which Mr. Secretary Dundas preſented to the Houſe a meſſage from his Majeſty, and which was read by the Speaker, the Members ſtanding uncovered; it is as follows, viz.

"GEORGE R.

"His Majeſty having judged it expedient to employ in the "ſervice of Great Britain a body of his electoral troops for the "purpoſe of aſſiſting the allies, the States General of the United "Provinces, and of proſecuting in the moſt effectual manner "the juſt and neceſſary war in which his Majeſty is engaged; "his Majeſty has directed an eſtimate to be laid before the "Houſe of the charge attending the employment of the ſaid "troops; and his Majeſty relies on the zeal of his faithful Com-"mons, that they will be ready to make the neceſſary proviſion "for maintaining the ſame."

The SECRETARY at WAR preſented the eſtimates, the titles of which having been read, Sir George Yonge gave notice that he ſhould move the ſaid eſtimates in the committee of ſupply on Friday (March 8.)

MARCH 7.

Mr. FOX preſented a petition from the inhabitants of Weſtminſter, ſtating the exiſtence of a local duty on coals, and praying ſuch relief from the duty, as ſhould appear fit to the Houſe. The Right Honourable Gentleman ſaid that he ſhould make no motion on the ſubject, underſtanding that a petition of a ſimilar nature was to be preſented from the city of London.

Mr. PITT ſtated that he meant to make ſome motion on the ſubject on Wedneſday next (the 13th), when it would appear that great miſapprehenſions had taken place.

Mr. FOX truſted that there would be a full attendance of Members on that day, the ſubject being of very great conſequence.

Mr. SHERIDAN moved that an account of the produce of the taxes to the 5th of January 1793 ſhould be laid before the Houſe.—Ordered.

He alſo wiſhed to know if Mr. Dundas would object to the production of all papers tranſmitted by the Marquis Cornwallis ſince the peace, relative to the revenues of India.

Mr. DUNDAS did not mean to ſay that he would object to ſuch production, though he wiſhed Mr. Sheridan to ſtate the particular papers.

Mr.

Mr. SHERIDAN ſaid, that he wiſhed for them, in order to afford him ſome information prior to the opening of the budget on Monday.

The report of the India reſolutions agreed to on the 5th was brought up. After it had been read a firſt time,

Mr. NATHANIEL SMITH (director of the Eaſt-India Company) declared, that it was with great pain he differed with the report. He did not conceive that the revenues of India could afford to contribute 500,000l. a year to the revenues of Great Britain. From the year 1786 to 1790, the produce of India would have been inſufficient to have defrayed the expences of India, but for the increaſe in the duty on ſalt. The Company had expended five millions to acquire and ſupport their territories, and they had not yet received any reſtitution.

Mr. LE MESURIER (a director) differed in opinion with Mr. Smith. He conceived the increaſed revenue on ſalt would not only be permanent, becauſe it reſembled the exciſe revenues of this country, but that it would increaſe in a progreſſive degree.

Mr. D. SCOTT conceived that the revenues of India would be adequate to the alienation of half a million for aſſiſting the revenues of this country.

Mr. HUNTER (a director) coincided in opinion with Mr. Scott.

Mr. DUNDAS lamented that he was compelled to differ from Mr. Smith, to whoſe integrity he bore the moſt honourable teſtimony. Mr. Smith's ſtatement was inaccurate; he had formed his calculations on the average eſtimate of the laſt ſix years; this was unfair, as the laſt two years were years of war, which were of courſe more unproductive than thoſe of peace. Upon a fair principle of calculation the revenues of the peace years would have amounted to 900,000l. He flattered himſelf that the Honourable Gentleman would, at a future period, retract his preſent ſentiments, as they differed from the majority of the directors, from himſelf, and from all intelligent perſons who had directed their attention to India affairs.

The report was then read and agreed to.

MARCH 8.

The order of the day being read for the ſecond reading of the Swakſtone canal bill:

Queſtion put that this bill be *now* read a ſecond time.

An amendment was propoſed by inſerting inſtead thereof (this day three months)

That *now* ſtand part of the queſtion.

House divided,

Ayes - -	62
Noes - -	50

Mr. Fiſher from the Exchequer was called in and preſented "An account of the total net produce of the taxes for one year, "ended the 3d day of January 1793."

The order of the day being read for the ſecond reading of the Hampton Gay canal bill,

Queſtion that this bill be now read the ſecond time.

Amendment propoſed by inſerting, inſtead thereof (this day ſix months)

Queſtion ſo amended, put and agreed to.

The Houſe proceeded to call over the names of ſuch Members as were abſent yeſterday at the commencement of the firſt ballot.

The firſt name which appeared upon the liſt of ſuch defaulters was that of Lord Kenſington.

Mr. T. GRENVILLE remarked, that it was on public ground, and not through diſreſpect towards any particular individual, that he meant to move for the puniſhment of ſuch Members as without a ſufficient excuſe had not obeyed the order of the Houſe, and attended the ballot yeſterday. He deſired the reſolution for taking into cuſtody all Members who ſhould be abſent without leave, on the 6th, 7th, or 12th inſtant, to be read; which being done, Mr. Grenville moved that Lord Kenſington be taken into the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms attending this Houſe.

Mr. FOX ſeconded the motion.

Sir WATKIN LEWES made ſome apology for Lord Kenſington's abſence.

Captain BERKELEY obſerved, that as he himſelf was a defaulter, as well as the noble Lord, he might be thought an improper perſon to urge any thing as an excuſe for his Lordſhip; however he truſted he might, without any impropriety, ſtate a matter of fact, which was, that the noble Lord had arrived in the Lobby yeſterday only a minute or two after his time.

Whilſt he was proceeding,

Lord KENSINGTON entered the Houſe, and the Speaker read to him the motion. His lordſhip roſe to plead his excuſe.

The SPEAKER repeated to the Houſe the apology, which was in ſubſtance the ſame that had been made for him by Captain Berkeley, with this addition, that he was far advanced in years, and, though ſhut out from the firſt ballot, he had been preſent at the ſecond. By direction of the Speaker, he withdrew whilſt the Houſe deliberated upon this caſe.

Mr.

Mr. M. A. TAYLOR was of opinion, that the excuſe offered by the Noble Lord ought to be received and deemed ſufficient.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER obſerved, that it was extremely deſirable that the order for attendance ſhould be ſtrictly enforced, and not evaded by excuſes, which, if admitted, would defeat the object of a call: for this reaſon he could not, for one, admit that the abſence of a member from the firſt ballot ought to be excuſed, becauſe he had been preſent at the ſecond. But the Noble Lord's excuſe reſted on another foundation—his age and perſonal infirmities; which appeared to be ſuch as to entitle him to the indulgence of the houſe.

The queſtion for taking the Noble Lord into cuſtody was at laſt put, and negatived without a diviſion.

The next defaulter was the Right Honourable Edmund Burke.

Mr. BURKE ſaid, that if the Noble Lord, whoſe caſe had juſt been determined, was allowed to plead his age, he alſo might urge the ſame plea, as he had arrived at that age when members were excuſed from ſerving upon election committees. He ſaid that when he entered the lobby, he found the door of the Houſe ſhut; but he could not take upon himſelf to ſay, how long. He declared it was mere inadvertence that had prevented him from being down earlier, and not any wiſh to ſhrink from an attendance, which he conſidered as a duty. He too had been preſent at the ſecond ballot; but would thoſe grounds be deemed inſufficient, he had rather ſuffer much perſonal inconvenience, than an inroad ſhould be made upon an election bill, which he looked upon as eſtabliſhing an excellent ſyſtem of judicature for conteſted elections. It was the work of an excellent man (the late Mr. Grenville), and the Honourable Member who had moved the call, ſhewed a kind of filial reſpect for a meaſure which had ſprung from his excellent father. Let what would be the deciſion of the Houſe with regard to him (Mr. Burke), he was ready to declare that he was perfectly convinced the Honourable Gentleman (Mr. T. Grenville) in giving force to the call, was actuated ſolely by public motives. Having ſaid this Mr. Burke withdrew.

Mr. T. GRENVILLE obſerved that, as the Houſe had already excuſed Lord Kenſington on account of age, which applied equally to be the caſe of the Right Honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, he would move that the Right Honourable Edmund Burke be excuſed. Mr. M. A. Taylor ſeconded the motion.

Mr. PITT would not allow that the caſes of Lord Kenſington and Mr. Burke were exactly alike: it was true indeed that each

each might plead his age, but he was extremely happy, and it was a moſt fortunate circumſtance, that the Right Honourable Gentleman did not labour under the ſame bodily infirmities which were ſo viſible in the noble Lord. The Houſe had of late ſeen the Right Honourable Member attend his duty, and diſplay as much energy, fire, and vigour of mind as ever had been exhibited within thoſe walls: and his country might rejoice that in her cauſe he had all the experience and maturity of age, united with the zeal, the activity, and the ſpirit which might be expected from youth. He was ſorry that the diſpleaſure of the Houſe, on the preſent occaſion, ſhould fall where it did; but even that would produce one good effect; ſince others would be the more cautious how they offended, when they ſaw that even ſo valuable a member was not ſuffered to eſcape puniſhment. On theſe grounds, he ſaid, he would reſiſt the motion; and if it ſhould be negatived, he intended afterwards to move, that Mr. Burke ſhould be taken into cuſtody.

Mr. SHERIDAN ſaid, that the Honourable Gentleman (Mr. T. Grenville) had not put on its true ground the indulgence ſhewn to Lord Kenſington; it was not ſolely on account of his age that he had been excuſed, but becauſe he had arrived in the lobby juſt after the door of the Houſe had been ſhut. This applied as ſtrongly to Mr. Burke, and therefore the latter had ſomething more to plead than his age. The fact was, that many gentlemen had been ſhut out, becauſe they imagined that the counting of the Houſe would have taken up much more time than it really had. The old practice was to call over the names of all who were preſent; but Mr. Speaker had introduced a new practice: he had counted only till he found 100 members were preſent, and then, without counting any more, he ordered the door to be locked. This practice, he ſaid, was certainly conformable both to the letter and ſpirit of Mr. Grenville's Act, and it had his hearty approbation. But ſtill it was a new mode, and as it had occaſioned the locking of the door earlier than uſual, thoſe who were excluded by it ought to be more readily excuſed. He wiſhed the Right Honourable Member (Mr. Pitt) would ſoften down his rigour, for he was pretty ſure the Right Honourable Gentleman who was the ſubject of the motion, would not be very much obliged to him for being complimented into the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER remarked, that there was this difference between the caſes of Lord Kenſington and Mr. Burke, reſpecting the time of their arrival in the lobby: that it was proved the former arrived within a minute or two after the door was ſhut, whilſt the latter ſaid he

could not take upon himſelf to ſay whether it had been long ſhut or not.

Mr. COURTENAY ſpoke a few words.

The Houſe at laſt divided on the motion for excuſing Mr. Burke, when the numbers appeared to be

Ayes - -	140
Noes - -	60
Majority	80

Mr. Burke was of courſe excuſed.

Another diviſion took place on a motion for taking the Honourable Captain Berkeley, another defaulter, into cuſtody; on which the numbers were,

Ayes - -	95
Noes - -	68
Majority	27

Motions were afterwards made by Mr. T. Grenville for taking Clement Taylor, Eſq. and Sir William Young, Bart. into the cuſtody of the ſerjeant.

Agreed to.

It was then reported that thoſe members who had been ordered into the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms, were now in his cuſtody.

Mr. SHERIDAN moved that Clement Taylor, Eſq. ſhould be releaſed from the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms on paying the fees. Ordered.

Similar motions were made reſpecting the other members, and ordered accordingly.

Adjourned to March 11.

MARCH 11.

Mr. SHERIDAN informed the houſe that he had received a great number of petitions from the inhabitants of the Royal Burghs of Scotland, which, by their deſire, he meant then to preſent: the firſt in order was from *Glaſgow*; to which, he ſaid, there were *thirteen thouſand* ſubſcribers: after having ſtated that the prayer of the petition was in general for a reform in the internal government, &c. of the Burghs, he moved for leave to bring it up. Leave was accordingly given, and the petition was brought up and read at full length. On the motion of Mr. Sheridan, it was ordered that it ſhould lie upon the table.

Mr. Sheridan obſerved that he had thought it proper that this petition ſhould be read at length, for the purpoſe of ſhewing the Houſe what was its real object and tendency; but as the others were to preciſely the ſame effect, he ſhould deſire no more

for

for the preſent than that their titles ſhould be read. The ſecond petition which he delivered was from the Burgh of *Lanark*. It was received and laid upon the table with the former.

Mr. Sheridan here remarked, that as the delivering the remaining petitions would take up much time, and the Houſe appeared to be impatient to hear the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the ſubject of the Revenue and Ways and Means of the country, he would not deliver any more, and the buſineſs of the budget ſhould not be impeded.

COLONEL MACLEOD ſaid he had a petition to preſent from a place, which had been repreſented in the courſe of the ſeſſion as the theatre of confuſion, ſedition, and diſloyalty; he hoped however that the Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Pitt) would not object to its introduction, though he had refuſed the ſanction of his Majeſty's name to a petition from Shields, which, for want of ſuch ſanction previouſly given, the Houſe could not conſiſtently with its forms conſent to admit.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER obſerved, that after the very ſingular deſcription which the Honourable Gentleman had given of the ſtate of the place from whence the petition came, the Houſe, before it could reſolve to receive it, would certainly expect to hear what was the prayer of it.

COLONEL MACLEOD ſaid the petition was from Dundee, and the prayer ſimilar to that which had juſt been preſented from Glaſgow.

After this explanation, the petition was received, and laid upon the table with the two former.

Mr. SHERIDAN begged leave to take that opportunity, there being then a full Houſe, to give notice, that he would on Monday fortnight make a motion founded on the ſubject matter of the petitions from the Royal Burghs of Scotland; and he hoped that a Right Honourable Gentleman oppoſite to him (Mr. Dundas) would in the interval ſeriouſly turn in his mind the claims of the petitioners, who were not purſuing wild theories, but complaining of great abuſes, which were allowed even by that Right Honourable Gentleman to exiſt, at leaſt in part; for the Lord Advocate of Scotland had laſt year moved for leave to bring in a bill, in which he was ſupported by the Right Honourable Gentleman, for the purpoſe of removing an abuſe, the exiſtence of which was admitted by both. Why the bill had been ſuffered to drop, he could not pretend to ſay; but this much he would ſay, that the Houſe, by what it had already done in the buſineſs, was actually pledged to grant the petitioners relief, at leaſt in that particular caſe. He knew that many perſons, who trembled at the very idea of reform, would tell

him that this was not the proper time for it: in return, he would tell them, that a meaſure could not be out of time which would remove complaints, put an end to diviſions, and unite a whole people: ſuch an union would be the more deſirable, as the country was then embarked in a war, and ſtood in need of the united exertions of all its inhabitants. He truſted the Right Honourable Gentleman would take ſuch a part in this buſineſs, as would enable him to recover that popularity in Scotland, which ſome people, wickedly no doubt, ſaid he had loſt, though he himſelf would have the world believe that he was ſtill in the full poſſeſſion and enjoyment of it.

Here the buſineſs ended for the preſent.

BUDGET.

The Houſe reſolved itſelf into a Committee of Ways and Means for raiſing the ſupply granted to his Majeſty.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER then roſe to lay before the Committee the general ſtate of the finances of the country, and the ways and means by which he propoſed to provide for the expences of the current year. He began by ſaying, that under the exiſting circumſtances of the country, when the nation was actually engaged in a war, it was impoſſible for the Committee not to be deeply impreſſed with the neceſſity of enabling government to proſecute it with vigour and activity. In ſtating the meaſures which he thought Parliament bound to purſue on this occaſion, he felt great conſolation, when he conſidered that the objects of the war had, after mature conſideration, been recognized and approved by the voice of Parliament and of the nation; theſe objects, which muſt be dear to every Engliſhman, were the ſecurity of his Majeſty's crown, the ſtability of the conſtitution, and the preſervation of our laws and our religion. The ſenſe of the Houſe and of the nation having been ſo ſtrongly and ſo ſeverally expreſſed on theſe points, that he did not feel it neceſſary for him to diſcuſs them again; but he deemed it his duty to ſubmit to the Committee his opinions reſpecting what ought to be the conduct both of government and of parliament on this occaſion. It was moſt adviſable that the executive power ſhould be furniſhed with the means of proſecuting the war with vigour and diſpatch, ſo as that it might be brought as ſpeedily as poſſibly to a happy and honourable termination; and then it ought to be expected that Miniſters ſhould account for the manner in which thoſe means were employed. It was extremely deſirable, he ſaid, that in all caſes, when the crown applied for ſubſidies, an eſtimate of the expence of the ſervice ſhould be laid before Parliament; but he

was

was aware that in ſome caſes this would be abſolutely impoſſible, for the amount of expence muſt often depend upon wants which could not be foreſeen. It was his intention, however, to lay this down as a rule to himſelf in the proſecution of the war, to give an eſtimate of every expence which could previouſly be aſcertained; and for ſuch extraordinary ſervices as could not be foreſeen or calculated, to apply for a given ſum, and afterwards account with Parliament for the expenditure of it. This he thought the beſt mode of proceeding, becauſe it would bring annually before the public ſuch a ſtatement of expences, as would enable them to form beforehand ſome idea of the probable amount of the expences of the year before they were actually incurred; and it would guard againſt the fatal deluſion of making the people think their affairs were better than they actually were, becauſe they did not ſee at once the whole of their expence. According to the old mode of proceeding, Parliament had not an opportunity of judging of the expediency or propriety of providing for an *intended* expence, but was called upon to vote money for defraying one that had been already incurred. Keeping back the extraordinaries was attended alſo with this, among many other inconveniencies, that it occaſioned an accumulation of unfunded debt, to the great depreciation, and conſequently to the great injury, of the public. For the purpoſe of guarding againſt this, he ſaid it was his intention to apply this year, and as long as the war ſhould laſt, for a ſpecific ſum, to defray extraordinary and unforeſeen expences: he did not mean to ſay that this ſum would always cover the whole of the extraordinaries; but as he ſhould take a conſiderable latitude in eſtimating it, he hoped it would not fall greatly ſhort of them.

Another object was the preſervation of a ſyſtem too ſacred in its nature to ſuffer even a momentary infringement. Whatever exertion the country might be called upon to make in defence of its honour, its conſtitution, and its independence, that with which public credit was intimately connected, the reduction of the public debt, muſt never be forgotten; he therefore hoped that not only the appropriation of the annual million to that purpoſe, but the plan which he had the peculiar good fortune of being able to open to the Houſe laſt year, viz. the application of 200,000l. a year, in addition from the ſurplus of the permanent taxes, would be perſeveringly maintained. Both theſe were provided for in the propoſitions which he ſhould have the honour of ſubmitting to the Committee. The next thing was to avoid the accumulation of unfunded debt beyond the ſum ſtated on the report of the laſt Committee of Finance. All ſuch accumulations ſhould in future be brought to a diſtinct account, and provided for ſe-

parately at the end of each year. And as the unfunded Navy Debt was now conſiderably above that ſum, he ſhould conclude in the ſupply 575,000l. for the immediate diſcharge of a part of it.

After theſe preliminary obſervations, he ſaid he ſhould now ſtate the amount of the ſupply already voted, and afterwards the ways and means by which he propoſed to raiſe it.

The firſt article of ſupply was the navy. For this 45,000 men had been already voted. It was to be obſerved that ſuch a number being voted for the year did not imply that it was the whole number which would at any time be employed in the courſe of the year, but that with ſome allowance for the uſual vote of 4l. per man per month not being perhaps ſufficient, and taking the average on the different numbers employed at different periods of the year, the whole ſum voted would cover the expence of the whole ſervice of the year, although the number of men in actual ſervice might ſometimes fall ſhort, and ſometimes exceed the vote. The whole expence, including 575,000l. for the diſcharge of navy debt, as before mentioned, was 3,971,000l. —making an exceſs, in conſequence of the war, of about 2,070,000l.

For the army 2,573,000l. exceeding the peace eſtabliſhment by 1,900,000l. To this was to be added the ſubſidy to the Hanoverian troops, 455,000l; and the expence of the militia and fencible regiments, 939,000l.—making in all 3,968,000l. and exceeding the peace eſtabliſhment by 2,300,000l.

Ordnance, 793,000l. exceeding the peace eſtimate by 420,000l.

Miſcellaneous Services, including the expence of New South Wales, 175,000l.; exceeding the peace eſtimate by 47,000l.

Deficiency of Grants 222,000l.

Deficiency of land and malt taxes 350,000l.

To be iſſued from the ſinking fund to the Commiſſioners for the reduction of the national debt, 200,000l.

Theſe ſums conſtituted the whole of the ſupply in the ordinary mode of eſtimate, to which was to be added, ſuch a ſum as the Committee might think proper to allow for the latitude of unforeſeen and unavoidable expence. Of this no very accurate eſtimate could, from the nature of it, be formed; what he ſhould propoſe, he hoped, would be found rather to exceed than to fall ſhort. In the eſtimate of the navy he had already made ſome allowance; but ſomething more for expence of tranſports, &c. might ſtill be neceſſary. If the courſe of affairs ſhould lead us to contract other engagements, to take part in a confederacy of the moſt reſpectable maritime powers in Europe; and if a favourable opportunity ſhould occur of preſſing on the common

enemy

enemy on all ſides, he took that opportunity of declaring, that although the Hanoverians were the only troops at preſent ſubſidized by us, he thought we ſhould avail ourſelves of the diſpoſition of other powers to combine with us, in order to render the war more vigorous and effectual. He had endeavoured to form ſome general idea of the ſum we might be called upon to provide for this purpoſe, but could not pretend to ſtate it with preciſion, being rather a matter of judgment than of calculation. The encampments at home was alſo an additional expence, for which no proviſion was yet made. The profits of the lottery, hitherto appropriated to the payment of the loyaliſts' debentures, would be conſiderably diminiſhed by the regulations introduced to prevent illegal gambling; but after thoſe regulations had been found effectual, it was to be conſidered as an eligible ſource of ſupply, and would afford a ſum adequate to the purpoſe. On all theſe heads, without pretending to pledge himſelf for the accuracy of the judgment he had formed, he ſhould propoſe 1,500,000l. to be granted to his Majeſty on a vote of credit by Exchequer bills; theſe bills not to be iſſued unleſs wanted; and to prevent the market from being overloaded, 1,500,000l. to pay off part of the Exchequer bills already voted. With this addition the total ſupply would be 11,182,000l.

He came next to the ways and means by which this expence might be beſt defrayed.

Land and malt 2,750,000l. The ſurplus of the conſolidated fund, which had defrayed the whole ſum for which it was taken laſt year, from April 1792 to April 1793, in three quarters only, viz. in January 1793, afforded a further aid. 435,000l. had been already voted; but if it ſhould produce the ſame ſum this year which it did in the correſponding quarter laſt year, it would bring an additional ſum, making with the former about 700,000l.

In eſtimating the permanent revenue, he ſaid, he had the ſatisfaction of finding, by the produce of laſt year, that he had hitherto always taken it conſiderably within the actual amount. He was ſenſible, that he ought not to depart from his former caution at this moment, when he conſidered how vain it would be for any man to calculate upon the fortune and effects of war. He ſhould attend to the rule which he had laid down laſt year. He then entered into calculation of the average of the permanent taxes for four years, which he made to be 13,816,000l. From this was to be deducted the permanent charge for the conſolidated fund, 11,631,000l. which would leave a ſurplus of 2,185,000l.

The committee would naturally expect, that he ſhould ſtate as a further reſource the continuation of ſome of the tempo-

rary

rary taxes, impoſed to defray the expence of the Spaniſh armament. Part of theſe, the additional tax on malt, had been given up laſt year, and this it was not his intention to renew. Of the reſt 255,000l. would have expired on the 5th of April; and theſe, as they had been found productive, and ſuch as might be borne without diminiſhing any other ſource of revenue, he ſhould propoſe to continue in preference to impoſing any new tax.

Another ſource was 500,000l. from the Eaſt India Company, as ſtated on a former occaſion by his Right Honourable Friend (Mr. Dundas). It had long been conſidered as chimerical to expect aid to the revenues of this country from the territorial revenue of India, and when the hope was thrown out by his Right Honourable Friend, it was treated with ridicule. That hope, notwithſtanding the war that had intervened, was now realized, and from the clear, accurate, and as yet unqueſtioned ſtatement of his Right Honourable Friend, he could look with confidence on ſuch an aid from the territorial revenue of India, not only for the year enſuing, but for future years.

All theſe articles by ways and means made a total of 6,649,000l. leaving a balance of 4,500,000l. to be otherwiſe provided for.

Of this a part muſt be conſidered as a loan; and by the act of laſt year, one per cent. in proportion to the ſum borrowed muſt be added to the ſinking fund, over and above the annual intereſt, as a proviſion for the gradual diſcharge of the principal. By a clauſe introduced in the bill for the reduction of the national debt, on the ſuggeſtion of a Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Fox), the commiſſioners were empowered to advance the money iſſued to them for a proportion of any new debt. The money which they had ſo to apply would reduce the whole ſum, for which it would be neceſſary to treat with individuals to ſomewhat leſs than 2,900,000l.——Reſpecting the terms, he meant not to make any obſervation; becauſe, when the ſubject that called for a loan was firſt agitated, the minds of men were ſo intent on the neceſſity of aſſiſting the ſtate, and the real ſituation of the revenue ſo little known, that we might have been inclined to borrow on diſadvantageous terms. But now, large as our demands were, he had the ſatisfaction of thinking that we ſhould treat on better terms. If the ſum to be borrowed could be had at 75 per cent. the intereſt, with the addition required by the act of one per cent. on the capital, would be altogether 240,000l. to be charged on the conſolidated fund.

To make good this, he propoſed to continue the additional tax on bills and receipts, and the additional game duty impoſed on account of the Spaniſh armament, making together 85,000l. a year;

a year; the addition of one penny per gallon on Britiſh ſpirits, a tax which experience had proved to be ſafe, and which, as far it could be done with ſafety, the Houſe would rather wiſh to increaſe than diminiſh, amounting to 112,000l. a year; and a third, which he did not propoſe to continue without regret, and only becauſe an exiſting tax was preferable to a new one, the additional 10 per cent. on the aſſeſſed taxes, which produced 90,000l. a year. Theſe made together 287,000l. a ſum conſiderably exceeding the additional charge on the conſolidated fund; but calculated, as all his other ſtatements were, with a view to guard againſt unforeſeen deficiencies.

Gentlemen would ſee that he had laid before them the ways and means for the current year, as well as the ſupply, on a principle of a conſiderable latitude; that he had not contented himſelf with providing for the real expences, but made large proviſion for future contingencies, for continuing the ſyſtem of keeping the funded debt in a ſtate of liquidation, and for preventing the accumulation of the unfunded debt. The total ſupply amounted to ſomewhat more than eleven millions ſterling; the part of it that might ſtrictly be called the expence of the war to ſomewhat more than ſix millions; and the ſum to be raiſed by loan to between two millions nine hundred and two millions eight hundred thouſand pounds. The committee, he truſted, would feel, that, however painful it was to him, he had conſulted his duty in propoſing theſe means to meet the exigency of the occaſion; and he wiſhed the Houſe and the public to know the extent of the expence at which our preſent and future ſafety was to be maintained. He did not imagine that he ſhould then be expected to ſay any thing on the event of the war. It would be preſumptuous and arrogant in him to pretend to foretel an iſſue depending on ſo many contingencies. Yet he did not think it totally uſeleſs to ſuggeſt ſome general obſervations on which he had formed his own opinion. He had taken the revenue on an average of four years, which was very much below what it had actually produced, and what he expected it to produce in future. Laſt year only it had produced 900,000l. above the eſtimate of a peace eſtabliſhment, and which, ſhould it continue, would be for the wiſdom of Parliament to diſpoſe of hereafter. It muſt afford great conſolation to gentlemen, that they had ſuch a fund to guard againſt accidents. But this was not all; for he was ſanguine enough to hope, from the appearance and the effects of the war on its outſet, that this ſurplus of revenue would not be much diminiſhed, even while the war continued. For although it was impoſſible to calculate the events of war, yet, if we had the ſame good fortune in its progreſs which had attended its commencement, he had every reaſon to hope that it would termi-

nate with honour, and that our revenue would not be diminiſhed. He might take the liberty of reminding gentlemen, that, in every war in which from the beginning we had an evident ſuperiority at ſea, the commerce of this country, inſtead of being checked, had uniformly increaſed. At the ſame time, if the event ſhould be otherwiſe in this, conſiderable proviſion had been made for that misfortune. Another conſolation was, that temporary taxes, which had been lately laid, had exceeded the amount which they were expected to produce, without depreſſing our commerce, or cramping the induſtry of our manufacturers. The committee would therefore ſee, that if the ſtruggle in which we were engaged ſhould continue for any great length of time, which he did not believe, we were not unable to ſupport it without having recourſe to burdens beyond what the country had already experienced.

He ſaid he had abſtained from alluding to the flattering ſtate of our finances at the time of the diſcuſſion of queſtions which related to the ſubject of the war in which we were engaged, and it was matter of conſolation to the committee, and of great ſatisfaction to himſelf, that theſe queſtions had been decided in that manner, for on ſuch occaſions he thought it extremely deſirable that the Houſe ſhould meet the queſtion upon its own grounds and merits, independent of the conſideration of our ability to bear the burthen, which it might eventually lay upon us, and that each member of that Houſe ſhould deliberately form his opinion, and he was confident that they not only ſpoke the language of their own hearts, but that they were alſo in uniſon with the voice of their conſtituents, when they agreed to addreſs his Majeſty, and aſſure him that they would co-operate in meaſures for the ſupport of the ſtate, againſt the aggreſſions of our enemies. Indeed upon that ſubject he was convinced there was no occaſion to call in aid of our ſpirit any particular circumſtance, for in a cauſe wherein every thing that was dear to us was at ſtake, we ſhould cheerfully give up any part for the purpoſe of ſecuring the quiet poſſeſſion of the remainder. This was the reaſon why he left the queſtion to the unbiaſſed good ſenſe of that Houſe, and the people of this country; and he had the ſatisfaction to feel that there was one general ſentiment and conviction upon the ſubject. Whatever might have been the opinions of ſome upon various wars, on this he believed there was but one general feeling.—It was a war in which we were ſpeaking the language of our hearts, when we ſaid it was different in its nature from every other we ever heard of—a war in which our fortunes, our liberties, our lives, the ſecurity of Europe, the cauſe of juſtice, humanity, religion, and the ſafety of the world, were deeply intereſted. Feeling it ſo, he ſhould be aſhamed of his country-

men

men to ſay he believed there was a man among us who would not uſe his utmoſt efforts in ſuch a cauſe, and upon the principles already mentioned. He could have wiſhed to make ſome contraſt between our ſituation at this moment and that of the power with which we were engaged. It was a contraſt of which he did not wiſh to ſpeak much at length, but he believed he might ſay there was not one man in that Houſe who entertained a doubt of the advantage we had on the contemplation of that contraſt, as applied to internal government and ſources of revenue. As there was no man who had on former occaſions taken more pains to explain that ſubject to the Houſe, nor any one more zealous in its ſupport, ſo no man could feel greater ſatisfaction than himſelf in its contemplation. It was not, however, his diſpoſition, nor did he believe it was the temper of the people of this country, to act upon the hope of the effect of ſuch apparent advantage, or to indulge to an extravagant length emotions of reſentment on that occaſion. He regretted, and he believed the people of this country regretted the preſent unhappy differences, but he was confident that we all felt the neceſſity of purſuing the preſent war with vigour. For, in the firſt place, he would venture to ſay it was a war to which the imagination of man could not find a parallel. It was forced upon us by a train of cauſes which we had not the power to avoid. It was a war for the dignity of the crown, and the honour of the nation. We had made war for the cauſe of honour; this was one in which we ought to follow that example, for he wiſhed to know if there was ever a cauſe in which honour was more engaged? We had made war for the purpoſe of ſupporting the cauſe of others, not only as our allies, but merely upon a ſyſtem of general balance. We had wars upon the conviction of policy, ariſing from the unſatisfactory conduct of another power, when its profeſſions were pacific. But here we had to contend with an enemy who began to explain a ſyſtem of neutrality by interference, and forbearance by an inſult. Who had avowed and publiſhed their hoſtility againſt us, and accompanied it with every mark of inſult againſt ourſelves, and contempt for our conſtitution. Who had endeavoured to arm our own ſubjects againſt us, to vilify our monarch, who had and who deſerved our gratitude and affection. Who had endeavoured, by inſidious arts, as well as the moſt daring effrontery, to ſeparate the king and his people, and to conſider them diſtinct in intereſt. Who had given every encouragement to every domeſtic enemy and ambaſſador of treaſon from this country. Whoſe inſults and aggreſſions towards us, and towards all Europe, could not be enumerated. He might ſafely ſay, there never was a war entered into by this country with ſo many rea-

ſons for its commencement. It was a war new in the annals of the world. We knew of wars in ſupport of the Proteſtant religion—this was not for the Proteſtant religion—for the Lutheran creed, or the Calviniſtic code—for religion itſelf againſt the principles of infidelity and the effect of perſecution. He had known us to be engaged in a war upon a conteſt for ſucceſſion to the throne: but now we were not engaged in a queſtion which family ſhould reign upon the throne, but whether we ſhould have a throne at all—not whether we were right or wrong in declaring a change in the ſucceſſion of our monarchy, but whether we ſhould have a monarch—not whether any particular act of Parliament was right or wrong, but whether we ſhould have any legiſlature to enact it.—We were engaged with a ſet of men who were at war with the whole world and every thing that was valuable in it—who had ſworn hoſtility to the whole fabric of our conſtitution. Theſe conſiderations he was ſure deeply impreſſed the committee, and the magnitude of the object, and the neceſſity of our meaſures, would enable him to confide in the good ſenſe and integrity of the committee, and to declare that, whatever propoſition was made that appeared to be neceſſary for the proſecution of this war, would be cheerfully adopted. But it was not the mere neceſſity of our exertion that we ſhould look at, in order to be juſtified in our entering upon the preſent war; we might derive hope of future ſucceſs by looking at our paſt exertions. We had ſtill a higher conſolation from the form of our government. What had happened in France was a touchſtone to us to try the value of order; to unite in the defence of that conſtitution by which it was ſecured, and to deteſt a ſyſtem which tended to ſubvert it. All circumſtances concurred to make it our duty cheerfully and with alacrity to proceed and to convince our enemies that we are not to be diſcouraged from our enterpriſe by its magnitude. Upon that ground it was that he ſhould hope for the concurrence of that Houſe, and the ſupport of the country. He then moved the firſt reſolution.

Mr. SHERIDAN began with ſaying that, whatever difference of opinion there had been reſpecting the neceſſity of the war, or the means by which, conſiſtently with good ſenſe and ſound policy, it might have been avoided altogether, yet the country being actually engaged in it, the Right Honourable Gentleman, he believed, had done but juſtice to the Houſe in aſſuming that his propoſitions that day would meet with their unanimous aſſent; and if exertion was to be vigorous, undoubtedly the ſupply muſt be liberal. The Right Honourable Gentleman had, however, called on the Houſe to watch the whole of the buſineſs with vigilance, and even with jealouſy. The call was not neceſſary

ceſſary to him (Mr. Sheridan), for he had uniformly acted on that principle upon all revenue queſtions, and without apologiſing for an eſſential act of duty, he would always continue to do ſo. Under this impulſe, although he gave the Miniſter credit for the fairneſs of ſome of his ſtatements, yet he muſt frankly ſay that he had felt the jealouſy recommended much awakened by the very extraordinary and ſudden appeal to the paſſions of the Houſe, with which the Right Honourable Gentleman had concluded his ſpeech. There was little novelty in it, except the novelty of introducing, in a day devoted to figures, all the arts of declamation. He had ſuddenly laid down his pencil and ſlate as it were, and graſping his truncheon, had finiſhed with an harangue, more calculated for the general of a heated army going to ſtorm a French redoubt, than a miniſter of finance diſcuſſing accounts in the ſober hour of calculation with the ſtewards and attornies of a burthened and patient people. Whenever he ſaw exertion and eloquence ſo miſplaced, he always ſuſpected there was ſome weakneſs to cover in the ſubject itſelf. He was the more led into the apprehenſion of ſome very alarming hints the Right Honourable Gentleman had dropped reſpecting new connexions ſtill to be formed—it ſeemed the expenſive corps of 12,000 Hanoverians were not the only foreign troops we were to pay—new ſubſidies, and foreign mercenaries were announced, and in a manner that ſeemed to avow that government were adopting the general principles and views of the Auſtrian and Pruſſian confederacy, which he had hitherto flattered himſelf had not been the caſe, whatever had been the wiſhes and arguments of ſome individuals in that Houſe. He had been in hopes that the war was undertaken on the general ground of oppoſing the dangerous increaſe of the French power; and on the principle of never permitting this country, for a moment, to hold its independence at the mercy or forbearance of any other power on earth; but he was ſorry to obſerve ſymptoms of adopting the contrary line now firſt appearing in the words and conduct of the Miniſters—he hoped he was miſtaken, for whatever was ſaid of the popularity of the war, he was confident that it was not intended by the nation to be a war of vengeance, that *bellum internecinum*, that cruſade for the extirpation of opinions, and of forms of foreign governments, which ſome had raſhly recommended, but to which the Miniſter had hitherto appeared too wiſe to commit himſelf.

Mr. Sheridan agreed that Mr. Pitt had not overloaded our average income, but he gave the moſt decided contradiction to his ſtatement, that if peace had continued, or whenever peace was reſtored, there would be a balance, after paying the peace eſtabliſhment and the ſurplus million of nearly nine hundred

thouſand

thouſand pounds; this Mr. Sheridan ſaid was proved by facts and figures to be a moſt groſs fallacy, and nothing was ſo dangerous as buoying up people's hopes, and making them careleſs of the conſequences of war by ſuch deluſions. He took the produce of laſt year up to the 5th of January, as ſtated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the papers on the table: including the land and malt, the total income of the year would be ſomething ſhort of 17,000,000l. This, ſaid the Right Honourable Gentleman, is 900,000l. more than neceſſary for a peace eſtabliſhment, and therefore we might reckon on 900,000l. whenever peace ſhould arrive.—What a mode of arguing! ten years had paſſed ſince the American war, and never had this year of peace eſtabliſhment arrived! not one ſingle year in which our expenditure had been leſs than ſeventeen millions—were we ever likely to ſee it leſs?—Were rigorous reduction in all our military ſervices likely to be the characteriſtic of a future peace? And when that peace was obtained, was another ten years interval to take place before the eſtabliſhments were to be affected by it?—To hold out ſuch hopes was trifling with the country, and not following the open dealing which the Miniſter called for and recommended.

The improbability of our revenue continuing at its preſent ſtandard was alſo a matter of ſerious conſideration. The more general the war, the more would all foreign merchants be diſturbed, and commercial capitals be with-held from their objects; and there was no town in Europe where many effects of this ſort would not interfere with the trade and manufactures, and conſequently the public revenues, of Great Britain.

Among the ways and means he objected to nothing but the ſum ſuppoſed to be forthcoming from the Eaſt India Company. This he dwelt on at ſome length, declaring that it ought not even to have been mentioned, but as it depended ſolely on the renewal of the charter.

That important queſtion ought to have been permitted to come hereafter, as it muſt come to the conſideration of parliament without any previous opinion having been in a bye manner obtained upon it, much leſs without government and that Houſe ſeeming to have already accepted the premium which was to be the price of the charter.

Mr. Sheridan concluded with a ſtrong recommendation to the Houſe, before they laid a new burthen of a ſingle ſhilling on the people, to enable themſelves, by a rigorous ſcrutiny into all uſeleſs places and reverſionary ſinecures, to look their conſtituents in the face, and aſſure them that before they applied to their pockets they had aboliſhed all unneceſſary expences and unmerited ſtipends. By doing this they would not only bring

to

to the public ſervice large ſums, wrung from the induſtry and labour of the community, but they would deſtroy the baits of corruption, and teach the government to look to its merits for its ſupport.

Mr. DRAKE highly approved both of the general conduct of the Right Honourable Chancellor of the Exchequer, and of the manner in which he had brought forward the important buſineſs of that day: he thought it had been well ſaid that Engliſhmen muſt be angry to fight well; and angry he was ſure every brave and generous Engliſhman muſt now be: he highly diſapproved of the obſervations made by the Honourable Gentleman who had juſt ſat down, that that part of the ſpeech of the Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Pitt) was improper and inapplicable to the buſineſs before the Houſe, and rather what might have been expected in the ſpeech of a general addreſſing his troops, when about to ſtorm a French redoubt, than from a perſon in the ſituation of that Right Honourable Gentleman, and on ſuch an occaſion. As to generals making ſpeeches—the true ſpirit of a man going to battle ought to be "to fight." The conduct of his brave countrymen on the preſent occaſion had afforded him the higheſt ſatisfaction, and he greatly applauded the ſubſcription ſet on foot for relief of the families of ſuch heroes as ſhould fall in the ſervice of their country, which he hoped would meet with liberal ſupport. Every thing was to be hoped for from the virtues, conduct, and intrepidity, of the royal duke who commanded our troops in Holland, and were he to figure that noble perſonage, addreſſing them on board the Syren frigate, he believed he would only ſay, "Fight on." Before he ſat down he would only ſay that, in ſo good a cauſe, he truſted to the protection and favour of Providence, and that the juſt and neceſſary war in which we were engaged would lead to an honourable and bleſſed peace.

Mr. FOX ſaid, that though the Honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt had laboured much to ſhew that part of the ſpeech of the Right Honourable Chancellor of the Exchequer, which his Honourable Friend (Mr. Sheridan) had conſidered as improper, would not have come well from a general about to ſtorm a French redoubt, yet he had brought forward no argument to ſatisfy the Houſe that it was proper to be introduced on the preſent occaſion, which was indeed the only queſtion to be conſidered. In what the Honourable Gentleman had ſaid towards the concluſion of his ſpeech, he was perſuaded he would be joined by every gentleman in that Houſe, and no gentleman could join more heartily than himſelf in praiſing the alacrity and bravery of our troops, or in pronouncing the juſt eulogum of the diſtinguiſhed perſonage who commanded them, in whom he knew that,

that, with good ſenſe, the virtues of bravery, honour, and humanity, were in an eminent degree united. He had come down to the Houſe not without anxiety, but it had afforded him the moſt ſincere pleaſure to learn from the Right Honourable Chancellor of the Exchequer, at the beginning of his ſpeech, that he meant to go on a large ſcale in providing for the vigorous proſecution of the war in which this country is actually engaged; and he alſo approved of reducing the unfunded debt; but it was ſurely rather ſingular that, while the Right Honourable Gentleman was propoſing to pay off 1,500,000l. of Exchequer bills, he was at the ſame time to iſſue Exchequer bills to that amount on a vote of credit.—He moſt ſincerely wiſhed that the Right Honourable Gentleman, inſtead of ſpeculating as he had done, had deigned to follow the advice which he had given in the laſt ſeſſions as to paying off the 4 per cents. Had he done ſo when the 3 per cents were at 95, a permanent reſource of no leſs than 240,000l. would have been gained to the public. Mr. Fox expreſſed in ſtrong terms his ſurpriſe and alarm at that part of the Right Honourable Gentleman's ſpeech, where he ſpoke of our entering into numerous alliances with foreign powers, beſides thoſe in which we were now engaged. He anxiouſly wiſhed to be informed what alliances were meant, as he dreaded much our being led into dangerous and improper engagements, for the proſecution of the moſt unjuſtifiable purpoſes. It muſt ſurely appear rather ſingular to bring forward, as a new and unforeſeen reſource, that which might ariſe from a continuation of the temporary taxes impoſed for defraying the expences of the Spaniſh armament; this muſt have occurred to every body, and the continuing theſe taxes after the period of their expiration was in fact the ſame thing as impoſing new taxes, though he did not mean to ſay that it was not better to continue taxes already exiſting, than to lay on the people any burden which they had not hitherto born. The Right Hon. Gentleman had aſſumed to himſelf much credit from refraining to ſay any thing on the flouriſhing ſtate of our finances in the diſcuſſions with reſpect to the war: he ſincerely wiſhed that a ſimilar conduct had been preſerved on the preſent occaſion, as it appeared to him not leſs improper to bring forward any declaration or obſervations as to the nature and objects of the war in a diſcuſſion with reſpect to *finance*. To do ſo, beſides being improper, he thought perfectly uſeleſs; for, if the war is ſo neceſſary as has been repreſented, involving in it every thing that is dear and valuable to this country, no matter what ſituation in point of finance, no object of that kind could have prevented our engaging in it; on the other hand, however proſperous and flou-

riſhing

riſhing the ſituation of our finances, if the war was not neceſſary, that ſurely could be no argument for engaging in it.

After the various diſcuſſions on the ſubject of the war that had taken place in that Houſe, it ſeemed ſingular that the Right Honourable Gentleman ſhould ſuppoſe that he could, by declamation, add any thing to what had been already ſaid: he has ſaid that he has heard of wars for honour, and wars for religion; and has aſked, if ever there was a war in which both honour and religion, and every thing dear to a nation, were ſo deeply implicated—a mode of reaſoning ſpecious enough to impoſe upon ſome people. But the anſwer he would give to it would be this—can we gain more by the event of war than might, in all probability, have been obtained by negociation? The relinquiſhment by the French of their conqueſts, the explanation or repeal of their offenſive decrees, the ſafety of our allies—all theſe, he thought, in the ſituation of this country, might have been procured by negociation. He would be told, however, that, ſuppoſing this to be ſo, what ſecurity could we have for the performance of theſe engagements on the part of the French? What better ſecurity, he would aſk, could we have after the war? unleſs, indeed, we are going to war, not for the purpoſe of forcing France to relinquiſh Savoy, and her other conqueſts, or of preventing the increaſe of her power, but for the purpoſe of interfering in the internal affairs of France, and of ſubſtituting, in room of the preſent, a new government, in which we might place greater reliance. This purpoſe of the war had been approved by ſome perſons, but had been uniformly and explicitly diſavowed by the Miniſter, and was ſo in the cleareſt and moſt expreſs terms, at the time he brought down his Majeſty's meſſage reſpecting the war. The language now held, and the declamation they had heard that day, called for a diſtinct explanation upon this moſt important point. The Right Honourable Gentleman had aſked why ſhould war diminiſh the revenue? But are not flouriſhing commerce and manufactures the greateſt ſupports of the revenue? Does the Right Honourable Gentleman mean to ſay, that the manufactures of this country will not be injured by war? Has he had any information of late from Mancheſter, Paiſley, Norwich, &c. which has induced him to form this opinion? If ſo, Mr. Fox declared that his information had been directly the reverſe; but this would not certainly operate in any degree upon his mind, did he conceive the honour and deareſt intereſts of this country to be implicated in the war to the extent which had been repreſented.—As the ſubject of war would not probably be again debated, he thought it right to ſay that he remained of opinion that it might have been avoided; and when the Right Honourable Gentleman talked of the proſperous ſtate

of this country laſt year, he could not but ſtill more condemn the putting that enviable proſperity to riſk without negociation. The Right Honourable Gentleman, by his declamation, had drawn from him thus much; and he could not conclude without ſaying a few words on the ſubject of our Eaſt India affairs. He had not yet given much examination to the papers laid before the Houſe relative to that buſineſs, but he had beſtowed ſome conſideration on it, and he ſtill wiſhed for a great deal of information; he joined with his Honourable Friend in being averſe to taking at preſent the 500,000l. ſtated as a reſource ariſing to this country from the revenues of India. The renewal of the charter of the Eaſt India Company was the greateſt commercial queſtion that had ever been conſidered by the legiſlature of any country: it involved a variety of objects of ſuch magnitude and importance, that, in competition with them, even this 500,000l. ought to be conſidered as *nothing*. He thought it therefore highly improper that the diſcuſſion of ſuch a ſubject ſhould be cramped or fettered in any ſhape. True, the Right Honourable Gentleman had ſaid that, by taking this 500,000l. at preſent into calculation, the Houſe would by no means be pledged to a renewal of the Eaſt India Company's charter; but he had alſo ſaid that the Houſe would not ſurely adopt any regulations with reſpect to India, from which the public would not derive at leaſt an equal profit. If the Houſe was to proceed on this ground, there could be no fair diſcuſſion; for whatever advantages, either immediate or eventual, and of how great importance ſoever might appear likely to ariſe from opening the commerce with India, if a revenue of 500,000l. ſhould not be immediately derived to the public they would be ſtopped by the *poſtulatum* which had been now laid down: for his part he could never think it right or prudent to go into the conſideration of a commercial queſtion of ſuch immenſe magnitude, cramped in the outſet by a *ſine quo non* of this ſort. To him the whole buſineſs bore much the appearance of Miniſters having taken upon them to pledge that Houſe and the public to a renewal of the Company's charter, in a manner diſgraceful to the country; and ſince the publication of the ſpeech of another Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Dundas) the opinion univerſally entertained was, that a renewal of the Company's charter was abſolutely determined on. He did not ſay that he had made up his mind as to the propriety or impropriety of renewing that charter; but it was a matter which ought certainly to be decided upon with the greateſt deliberation, and gentlemen ought to have their judgments and opinions totally unfettered and unbiaſſed.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER denied that Miniſters had pledged either that Houſe or the country to a renewal

5.

newal of the East India Company's charter. It was neceſſary to have a previous concert with the Company, in order to aſcertain what advantages they would agree to communicate to the public, in caſe a renewal of their charter ſhould be conſidered a proper meaſure. He had no heſitation in ſaying, that, when all the circumſtances were fully before the Houſe, he was confident that a renewal of the Company's charter would appear to be much for the intereſt of this country. It had been ſaid that, ſince the publication of the ſpeech of his Honourable Friend, every body believed that the charter would be renewed; and he was glad to hear that ſuch was the caſe, becauſe it could only ariſe from a public conviction, that a renewal of the charter, upon the terms and with the regulations on which the East India Company had agreed to accept it, would be much for the intereſt of this country in every point of view. It had alſo been ſaid, that it was unfair to bring forward this 500,000l. at preſent. But he begged gentlemen to conſider the ſituation in which he was placed.—He muſt, upon the principle contended for, have either withheld this 500,000l. from the public, or have delayed his Budget till the final diſcuſſion of that buſineſs. He had never meant to ſay that the 500,000l. was to counterbalance all objections that might ariſe to a renewal of the charter, unleſs, by any other propoſed regulations, an equal ſum was immediately to be derived to the public; but it would certainly be a circumſtance in the ſcale, and he begged leave to ſay, that in whatever way the trade in India was to be regulated, the public muſt unqueſtionably have a right to a participation in the *ſurplus* which had been acquired by the blood and treaſure of this country in conjunction with the company. But even on the ſuppoſition, though improbable in the higheſt degree, that this ſum ſhould not be derived to the public, in whatever way the trade to India may be eventually regulated, it would only be neceſſary that it ſhould then be withdrawn, and the amount provided for in ſome other way. As to that part of his former ſpeech that night, which had been found fault with as ſo unneceſſary and improper—it did appear to him that, when bringing forward a demand for large and unuſual ſupplies, it was highly relevant and pertinent to ſtate in ſtrong terms the urgency and importance of the occaſion which rendered theſe ſupplies neceſſary, and which ought to make them be ſubmitted to with cheerfulneſs. He admitted that, in doing this, he had in ſome degree begged the queſtion; but how had he done this?—founding it upon the decided and deliberate opinion of a great majority of that Houſe. He therefore conceived he had ſaid no more than was neceſſary, as well as juſt and proper, and intimately connected with the ſubject which he had brought forward.

Sir HENRY HOUGHTON could not conceive how the manufacturing towns in this country could be ſuppoſed to be averſe to the war, when in Mancheſter 1600l. had been ſubſcribed towards the raiſing of marines; he paid high compliments to the Right Honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to whom he ſaid he felt a great degree of gratitude for his high ſpirit and wiſe conduct on the preſent occaſion.

The ſeveral Reſolutions were then put and agreed to, viz.

Reſolved, That the ſum of two hundred thouſand pounds be granted to his Majeſty, to be iſſued and paid to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, to be by them placed to the account of the Commiſſioners for the reduction of the national debt.

Reſolved, That a ſum, not exceeding five hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand pounds, be granted to his Majeſty, towards paying off and diſcharging the debt of the navy.

Reſolved, That, towards making good the ſupply granted to his Majeſty, there be iſſued and applied the ſum of three millions two hundred and nine thouſand pounds out of the monies that ſhall ariſe of the ſurplus of the fund, called the conſolidated fund, from the 5th day of January, 1793, to the 5th day of April, 1794.

An ACCOUNT of the Total Net Produce of the TAXES for one Year, ended the 5th Day of January, 1793.

	£.	s.	d.
CUSTOMS - - -	3,857,743	7	10
EXCISE - - -	7,361,617	8	8
STAMPS - - -	1,206,842	0	10
	12,426,202	17	4

INCIDENTS.

Conſolidated Letter Money, 1787 -	156,000	0	0
Ditto — Salt - - - -	365,993	4	0
Seizures ſince the 25th of October, 1760	23,097	5	2
Proffers - - - ditto	637	19	8
Letter Money - - ditto	203,484	3	9
Allum Mines - - ditto	960	0	0
Compoſitions - - ditto	1	6	8
Fines and Forfeitures - - ditto	500	0	0
Rent of a Light Houſe - - ditto	6	13	4
Alienation Duty - - ditto	2,272	15	4
6d. Deduction on Penſions, 24th June, 1721	41,290	0	0

1s. Deductio

	£.	s.	d.
1s. Deduction on Salaries, &c. 5 April, 1758	32,117	1	4
Houſes and Windows, 10th October, 1766	381,276	3	4¾
Inhabited Houſes, 1779 - - -	148,328	18	4¾
Hawkers and Pedlars, 1710 - - -	3,130	0	0
Hackney Coaches and Chairs, 1ſt Aug. 1711	9,100	0	0
Ditto — 1784 - -	12,100	0	0
Male Servants, 1785 - -	98,372	9	5
Female ditto ditto - -	28,426	2	8½
Horſes ditto - -	125,932	14	8½
Four Wheel Carriages, ditto - -	153,896	14	2¾
Two Wheel ditto ditto -	34,259	15	4¾
Waggons — ditto -	13,589	1	10
Carts — ditto - -	8,015	13	1½
Shops — ditto - -	955	14	3½
Firſt Fruits of the Clergy - -	4,339	10	1½
Tenths — ditto - - -	9,902	14	3¼
Men Servants, 17-7 (Arrears) - -	4	13	0
Houſes and Windows 1747, 1762, and 1764, (Arrears) - -	1	2	0
	1,857,991	16	3

DUTIES, Anno 1791.

Sugars, Cuſtoms - - -	182,880	17	8½
Britiſh Spirits, Exciſe - - -	112,294	0	0
Foreign ditto - - - -	142,286	0	0
Malt - - - -	90,956	0	0
Bills and Receipts - - - -	196,552	12	5
Game Duty - - -	17,171	16	7
Ten per Cent. on Aſſeſſed Taxes -	90,619	8	3¾
	832,760	15	0¾
Total of Cuſtoms, Exciſe, and Stamps	12,426,202	17	4¾
Total of Incidents - -	1,857,991	16	3
Total of Duties, Anno 1791 -	832,760	15	0¾
Grand Total -	15,116,955	8	8

The above is the account laid before the Houſe of Commons, but a few days afterwards the following (*apparently by authority*) appeared in the public prints.

An

An inaccurate ſtatement having appeared of the amount of the Exciſe Duty for the laſt year, we are enabled to ſtate it accurately.

Paid into the Exchequer, between the 10th October 1791, and 10th October, 1792,			
England, - - - -	£.8,114,403	15	3¼
Scotland, - - - -	346,000	0	0
Total,	£.8,460,403	15	8¼
Paid into the Exchequer, between the 5th January, 1792, and 5th January, 1793,			
England, - -	£.8,031,026	8	8¼
Scotland, - - -	337,000	0	0
Total -	£.8,368,026	8	8¼

MARCH 12.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL gave notice that he ſhould to-morrow move for leave to bring in a bill for more effectually preventing traiterous correſpondence between diſaffected individuals in this country and the foreign enemy.

MAJOR MAITLAND objected to the bringing forward a motion of ſo important a nature on a day dedicated to private buſineſs.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL declared his readineſs to poſtpone the motion till the day following *(which, after the following ſhort debate, was agreed to)*.

Mr. SHERIDAN wiſhed the buſineſs to be put off till Friday, ſince a ſubject of ſuch importance ſhould not, in his opinion, be brought before the Houſe on a day when the queſtion of the Slave Trade was likely to produce ſo much diſcuſſion.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER obſerved, that the motion of his Learned Friend could not come forward too ſoon, as it was a matter of public ſafety. The ſubject of the ſlave trade no doubt had been allotted for Thurſday; but ſome circumſtances had induced him to think that it would not produce ſo long a diſcuſſion as might have been expected. He therefore was not for the poſtponement of a motion of ſuch importance, and to which he conceived no gentleman in that Houſe could have reaſon to feel any poſſible objection.

Mr. SHERIDAN thought that the debate on a ſubject of that

that kind would take place in the firſt inſtance, and therefore that the motion ſhould be brought forward on a day when the Houſe would be well attended, and the minds of the Members properly prepared. He truſted that Miniſters would produce and prove the facts which they had thought proper to make the grounds of ſuch a motion.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER did not think proper, at the preſent moment, to anticipate the debate which might take place on the ſubject. But thus much he would ſay—that if any facts could have been actually proved of traiterous correſpondence, his Learned Friend, inſtead of making them the ground of his preſent motion, would officially have proceeded againſt the perſons concerned for high treaſon. The object of the motion was to prevent ſuch correſpondence, and thus deſtroy an evil which had exiſted during former wars againſt France, when that country was a leſs dangerous enemy than at preſent.

Mr. GREY ſaid, that the objections which might be urged againſt the Learned Gentleman's motion aroſe from a conſciouſneſs that government was already veſted with power ſufficient for the proſecution and puniſhment of thoſe who entered into a traiterous correſpondence with the enemy. If any facts of that nature could be adduced, why were not thoſe powers vigorouſly exerted? The preſent meaſure, however, if he underſtood it right, went to create new and extraordinary powers for that purpoſe; and he thought that ſuch powers ought not to be created without the diſcovery of new and extraordinary grounds.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL ſaid, that he certainly ſhould feel it neceſſary, on the day of diſcuſſion, to ſtate the grounds of the meaſure which he intended to propoſe; and he hoped it would not be thought extraordinary that he had proved himſelf anxious, at the preſent critical juncture, to conſult the welfare of the country.

Mr. GREY ſpoke a few words in reply.

MARCH 13.

Mr. ALDERMAN CURTIS moved, that a petition preſented ſome time ſince in behalf of the citizens of London, praying that the duty laid on coals, in the reign of Queen Anne, might be referred to a Committee, that they might report their opinion thereon, as it ſhould appear to them, to the Houſe.

Mr. ALDERMAN ANDERSON ſupported the motion.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER ſaid, there were two points of view in which the petition might be conſidered. The one was a queſtion of policy, whether the duties in queſtion

queſtion ought to be repealed at the preſent ſeaſon? The other, whether the duties had been applied in the manner intended by the legiſlature? He entered into an hiſtory of this duty. In the reign of Queen Ann, the ſum of three ſhillings per chaldron was laid upon coals in the port of London, in addition to the ſum of five ſhillings upon all coals; this was for the purpoſe of building fifty-two churches. By the firſt of Geo. I. this duty was made applicable to the maintenance of the miniſters of theſe churches, as well as the building of them. By the 5th of Geo. I. the duty was declared to be continued for 32 years. By the 6th of Geo. I. the duty was made perpetual, and made part of a fund called the South Sea Fund, to charge annuities upon the South Sea Company. The conſequence of which was, that the whole of it had ſince been appropriated for public purpoſes; and by the 28th of Geo. II. it made part of the Conſolidated Fund. He then entered into general obſervations upon the nature of taxes, admitted this to be unequal, and to have been enacted for a local purpoſe; but did not think that any objection could fairly be made againſt its continuing to be carried to the ſervice of the public, after all the acts of Parliament declaring it to be ſo appropriated. As to the queſtion of expediency, he ſaid, it produced 130,000l. annually to the public ſervice, and he did not think that it ſhould now be taken off at the outſet of the war.

Mr. ALDERMAN CURTIS ſaid, that his conſtituents were not very ſanguine in their expectations on this ſubject.

Mr. FOX ſaid, he had no authority from his conſtituents, who had alſo preſented their petition upon this ſubject, to make a declaration ſimilar to that made by the worthy magiſtrate. He did not conceive that becauſe they had for many years ſubmitted to pay an unjuſt and unreaſonable tax, that therefore they ſhould ſuffer the injuſtice and oppreſſion to continue for ever, without making their complaint. The queſtion was, whether the Houſe ought now to enter into a conſideration of this duty, for that was all the motion went to.—As to the obſervation of being at war, the anſwer was clear. The petitioners knew nothing of that point, for they preferred their petition laſt ſeſſion of Parliament, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer calculated upon fifteen years peace, and when he was as little deſirous to enter into this ſubject as he was at preſent. This duty he was ſure ought to have been repealed laſt year, and that upon a principle which called for the repeal of it now. That it was a local duty, appropriated for a time to a local purpoſe, and that it had been changed afterwards to a public purpoſe, after the local one was at an end, was an injuſtice which time can never ſanction.

ſanction. He then took notice of the groſs injuſtice of continuing the duty, as it ſtood long after the purpoſe of impoſing it had been anſwered, and of changing it from a local and temporary tax into a public and permanent one. It was not only a hardſhip on the inhabitants of London, but upon all thoſe who were ſupplied with coals from the port of London, and who had no intereſt whatever in the original creation of the tax, Surrey, Oxford, and other counties. He hinted; that a ſhilling addition upon all places, or perhaps nine-pence, would anſwer this duty; he was ſure that would be leſs objectionable than the preſent mode, which was certainly partial and oppreſſive.

Mr. ROSE obſerved, that the citizens of London could not be ſaid to have been taken by ſurpriſe when this tax was made a public one, for in the year 1719 they preſented a petition on that very ſubject, and the petition was rejected.

Mr. SHERIDAN ſaid, if it could be proved that no mode could be adopted to ſupply the loſs of 130,000l. to the public, he ſhould vote againſt the preſent petition, becauſe he was ſure that we could not ſpare that or any other ſum at preſent; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer had ſaid nothing that could lead to a hope, that even when the war ſhall be concluded, that this tax ſhall be taken off or modified; all he ſaid had tended to lay an eternal bar againſt it. If a committee were to be gone into, the objection of leſſening the revenue might be anſwered by providing that the duty ſhould continue during the continuance of the war. Mr. Sheridan made ſeveral other obſervations tending to inforce the propriety of committing the petition to proper enquiry.

Sir WATKIN LEWES ſupported the motion.

Lord WILLIAM RUSSEL ſaid, it was with ſome ſurpriſe he heard that the citizens of London were not very ſanguine in this buſineſs; thoſe with whom he had converſed were very deſirous that attention ſhould be paid to the ſubject, and his conſtituents had ſuch hopes of ſucceſs, that they did not expect that the meaſure was to be oppoſed.

The Houſe divided.

For committing the petition,	35
Againſt it,	77

The Houſe then proceeded to call over the names of the defaulters on the ballot of yeſterday, and to receive excuſes for non-attendance.

A ſhort debate aroſe on the propriety of the excuſe offered by Lord Carhampton.—The Houſe divided

For receiving the excuſe,	17
Againſt it,	44

His Lordſhip was therefore ordered into the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms.—As were alſo Mr. William Lee Antonie and Mr. Harcourt, for not attending their duty in Parliament. They were ordered, on motion, to be diſcharged at the riſing of the Houſe, on payment of their fees.

MARCH 14.

The order of the day being read, and the Houſe having gone into a committee of the whole Houſe on Stewart's divorce bill, counſel were heard at the bar, and ſeveral witneſſes examined to prove the adulterous intercourſe, &c. After which, on the ſecond reading of the clauſe, baſtardizing all the iſſue born ſince December 1785; and the queſtion being put, that that clauſe ſhould ſtand part of the bill,

Mr. FOX roſe, and ſtated, that he had uniformly oppoſed clauſes of this kind in all divorce bills, on which he had been called upon to give his vote in that Houſe; and he ſhould moſt certainly continue to do ſo, becauſe it appeared to him to be contrary to the firſt principles of natural juſtice, to decide upon the rights of individuals who were not parties, and had no opportunity of being heard in their defence.—Whatever might be the impreſſion on the minds of gentlemen, from the teſtimony which had been juſt adduced—upon no principle of juſtice could it prove any thing, or be in any ſhape conſidered as evidence with reſpect to the children, who were not parties, and of courſe could have no opportunity either of croſs examining the witneſſes, or of redarguing their teſtimony by a contrary proof; and, in this particular caſe, the general argument on which he reſted his opinion might perhaps apply ſtill more forcibly, becauſe there was no party actually before the Houſe who appeared to have an intereſt to diſprove the teſtimony of theſe witneſſes.—Beſides, as this was a matter properly cognizable in courts of law, there could be no neceſſity for this extraordinary interference of the legiſlature;—with reſpect to the divorce the caſe was different; for the *vinculum matrimonii* could not be diſſolved, ſo as to enable the parties to marry again, except by act of Parliament.—Mr. Fox went at large into the ſubject, and concluded with giving his moſt determined oppoſition to the clauſe.

The Honourable Mr. ERSKINE differed entirely from his Right Hon. Friend, and ſupported the propriety of baſtardizing clauſes in divorce bills, both from precedent and upon principles. He was not prepared to charge the legiſlature with having violated, in a great variety of caſes, every principle of juſtice: on the contrary, it appeared to him both juſt and proper to relieve a man from the dreadful calamity of having a ſpurious race of

baſtards fathered upon him, and it was frequently of the greateſt importance both to the honour and intereſt and to the peace and quiet of families. In this caſe, he thought the evidence which the committee had juſt heard excluded the poſſibility of belief that the children were or could be the children of Mr. Stewart, and he would therefore ſupport the clauſe.

The Attorney and Solicitor Generals, Mr. Hawkins Browne, and Mr. Jenkinſon, ſpoke againſt the clauſe; and Mr. Anſtruther and Mr. Burke in favour of it.

The Houſe divided,

For the clauſe	86
Againſt it	30

The bill was then ordered to be read a third time on the 18th.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL ſaid, it had been intimated to him, that the queſtion which the committee had juſt determined ſhould be diſcuſſed before any other buſineſs; he did not bring forward the motion of which he had given notice reſpecting traitorous correſpondence, but he ſhould bring it forward to-morrow inſtead of this evening.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER ſaid, that underſtanding this ſubject was not likely to lead to very great length, he ſhould truſt the army extraordinaries ſhould be brought forward afterwards, and perhaps that the Houſe would think it deſirable that ſome regulation ſhould be made with regard to the remaining part of the petitions for conteſted elections. All the queſtions reſpecting the ſeats, except one, were now determined, the others were reſpecting the rights of election. He ſhould have ſomething to ſubmit on that ſubject.

MARCH 15.

Mr. BASTARD, as chairman of the ſelect committee for trying the merits of the Cricklade election, reported that Mr. Petrie, one of the petitioners, had been arreſted on a proceſs from the court of King's Bench, and another from the court of Common Pleas, and that he had applied to the committee, and claimed his privilege, to be relieved from theſe arreſts. Ordered, that the complaint be referred to a committee, to examine the matter thereof, and to ſearch for precedents; and that the ſelect committee have leave to adjourn to the 19th.

BILL FOR PREVENTING TREASONABLE CORRESPONDENCE.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL roſe to make his promiſed motion for leave to bring in a bill for preventing a treaſonable correſpondence with France, and for other purpoſes therein to be expreſſed, during the continuance. He ſet out with ſaying, that when he was about to propoſe the paſſing of a new law, he

felt it to be his indiſpenſable duty to ſtate the grounds on which he thought it neceſſary or expedient that it ſhould paſs, to the end that the Houſe, having the whole caſe within its view, might be the better able to judge whether his propoſition ought to be adopted or rejected. It was fit then that at the very outſet he ſhould explain what he meant by the word "correſpondence," and ſtate preciſely what it was he wanted to reſtrain or prevent. By correſpondence he did not mean merely the fact of letter writing, but any commerce, intercourſe, or tranſaction, with the King's enemies. The ſtatute which was conſidered as the ſtandard for deſcribing and defining the crime of treaſon, was the 25th of Edward the Third. The framers of that ſtatute might be thought by ſome to have ſo clearly and diſtinctly defined the different ſpecies of treaſons, as to make it meet every caſe that could poſſibly occur in times to come: it had ſo happened, however, that the legiſlature had frequently paſſed laws for explaining the meaning of the 25th of Edward the Third, and ſhewing what might be conſidered as imagining the King's death; what came within the meaning of the words "levying war againſt him;" and pointing out who were to be looked upon as ſuch enemies of the King, as that an adherence to them would be an act of high treaſon. Many new laws were paſſed ſubſequent to the 25th of Edward the Third, extending the penalties of treaſon to acts which by that ſtatute were not made treaſonable. Theſe laws were all repealed by the 1ſt of Philip and Mary, and the 25th of Edward the Third was left as the only one reſpecting treaſons. In the ſubſequent reign, viz. that of Elizabeth, the legiſlature judged it expedient to enact ſome new ſtatutes, annexing the penalties of high treaſon to acts therein ſpecified; and in the reigns of William and Mary and Queen Anne, ſome temporary laws were paſſed of the ſame nature and complexion; all of which might be conſidered as explanatory of the 25th of Edward the Third. Upon theſe various precedents he juſtified the meaſure which he intended this day to propoſe, viz. a bill which ſhould remove all doubts whether the ſtatute of 25th of Edward the Third did or did not extend to the various acts which he ſhould therein enumerate, by enacting that the perſon by whom they ſhould be perpetrated ſhould be adjudged to be guilty of high treaſon. He meant then to propoſe that the ſelling or ſending of naval or military ſtores by any of his Majeſty's ſubjects, reſident either in or out of his dominions, to France, or to or for the uſe of the perſons exerciſing the government of France, or for their armies or fleets, ſhould be prohibited under the penalty of high treaſon. This was a ſtep to which he could not foreſee the ſmalleſt poſſible objection. He next propoſed that all his Majeſty's ſubjects, whether reſident in or out of his dominions,

ſhould

ſhould under the ſame penalty be reſtrained from purchaſing lands in France, or ſtock in the funds of that country, or ſubſcribing to any loan opened or to be opened during the preſent war by the perſons exerciſing the government of France. Such a ſtep as this, he admitted, had never been taken at any period before the preſent; but then it muſt be allowed that no caſe had ever before occurred, in which it could be ſaid to have been neceſſary. He did not mean to ſay how the perſons actually exerciſing the government of France had acquired the lands which they were now putting up to ſale; that conſideration was foreign to his preſent purpoſe; all that it was neceſſary for him to ſay in defence of this part of his meaſure was, that the only reſource which thoſe perſons had for raiſing a fund for carrying on the war was the ſale of thoſe lands, &c. and therefore whoever became a purchaſer of them, contributed ſo far to the ſupport of the war; and ſurely it would be readily allowed that, if any of his Majeſty's ſubjects ſhould thus contribute to enable France to proſecute the preſent war againſt Great Britain, they ought to be puniſhed as traitors to their king and country. He meant alſo to propoſe that, during the preſent war, all inſurance of ſhips to, or from, France to any part of the globe ſhould be made penal in any of his Majeſty's ſubjects. If this propoſition ſhould be deemed too broad or too extenſive, the Houſe would have an opportunity of limiting it when the bill for which he intended to move ſhould be in the committee. The principle of this meaſure he conſidered as nearly ſelf-evidently juſt, as it would be abſurd in this country to ſuffer the trade of her enemy to be protected or covered from riſk by Britiſh ſubjects. He intended to introduce a clauſe for making it a miſdemeanor in any ſubject of the crown to go to France without his Majeſty's licence previouſly procured. To this clauſe he did not conceive that there could be any objection. But there was another which he meant alſo to propoſe, and which poſſibly might be deemed harſh or ſevere; and that was to prohibit any of his Majeſty's ſubjects actually in France, or who ſhall be within the territories of France during the preſent war, from returning to or landing in England without a paſſport from his Majeſty. The clauſe ſhould further enact, that if, notwithſtanding this prohibition, any ſuch ſubjects ſhould return without ſuch paſſport, they ſhould be bound to make a declaration in writing, containing an account of their names, an account of the buſineſs which had made them enter the French territories, &c. which declaration ſhould be delivered to the maſter of the veſſel on board of which they had returned, to be by him given to the chief officer of the cuſtoms of the port, to be tranſmitted to one of his Majeſty's Secretaries of State; and that until a paſſport ſhould be tranſmitted

mitted to them from the Secretary of State, they ſhould be bound to remain within ſuch limits as ſhould be preſcribed in the clauſe, except they ſhould in the mean time give ſufficient ſecurity to one or two neighbouring juſtices of the peace for their appearance when required, in which caſe they ſhould be at liberty to quit thoſe limits and repair to their reſpective homes. From the operation of this clauſe he meant to exempt all perſons employed in the public ſervice, and ſuch as ſhould have paſſed through France ſolely as travellers. If perſons of a different deſcription were to be affected by the clauſe; if perſons who might have left England for purpoſes by no means innocent in the eye of the law, it could not be ſaid that they were treated with hardſhip if they were prevented from returning during the war, or were ſubject to ſuch reſtrictions as might be for the ſafety and ſecurity of this country. In enacting the penalties of high treaſon againſt the different acts which he meant to include in his bill, he intended that theſe penalties ſhould be ſuch only as attached upon perſons convicted of that ſpecies of high treaſon, which came under the denomination of counterfeiting the king's coin; and which of courſe would not work any forfeiture or corruption of blood, deprive the heir of the eſtate of his convicted anceſtor, or the widow of her dower. After a variety of obſervations of this nature, Sir John Scott concluded with the following motion:

"That leave be given to bring in a bill, more effectually to "prevent, during the war, all traiterous correſpondence with, "or aid or aſſiſtance being given to, his Majeſty's enemies."

Mr. FOX ſaid he could not allow this meaſure to paſs, even through its firſt ſtage, without expreſſing his moſt marked diſapprobation of it, and declaring it to be, in his opinion, contrary to every principle of freedom and juſtice. The Learned Gentleman who made the motion had ſtated, that doubts had been entertained, whether the 25th of Edward the Third did or did not extend to certain acts, which might be conſidered as dangerous to the State: if that was the caſe, he might have moved for a bill for removing thoſe doubts, a meaſure to which he, for one, could have had no objection. But to a meaſure of the extent and complexion of that which was now propoſed, he muſt either give his moſt determined oppoſition, or renounce every idea of what he conceived to be his duty to his conſtituents and to the public. The Learned Gentleman had enumerated many temporary acts paſſed by former Parliaments, and ſtated them as precedents which governed his conduct on this occaſion; but he believed it would be allowed that at leaſt one part of his plan was without a precedent, and perfectly novel in the hiſtory of the Engliſh legiſlation; and that was the clauſe for preventing

ing Britiſh ſubjects from purchaſing lands in France, or ſtock in the French funds. The reaſon why no ſuch prohibition was ever thought of in this country before was very obvious, it was that property was held to be ſacred; and that one quality inſeparable from property was, that the proprietor ſhould be at liberty to diſpoſe of it according to his judgment or inclination, it being underſtood that he did not diſpoſe of it in ſuch a way as would expoſe him to the penalties of the 25th of Edward the Third. The meaſure he conſidered as repugnant to ſound policy as it was to juſtice. For ſound policy required that national funds ſhould be open to receive the money of perſons of all countries, and that property once admitted into them ſhould be held ſacred. England acting upon this policy, had never judged it expedient to prevent her own ſubjects from laying out their money either in the purchaſe of lands or ſtock even in an enemy's country. He remembered that report ſtated, that during the American war it was ſuggeſted to the Noble Lord who was then at the head of adminiſtration, that the ſtate of Pennſylvania, then actually in rebellion, and at war with us, had property in the Engliſh funds, and that it would be adviſable to ſeize and confiſcate it to the public uſe. The Noble Lord received the ſuggeſtion with indignation, and rejected the propoſed meaſure as one that was repugnant to national intereſt as well as to national character and honour. Indeed, ſound policy required that ſurrounding nations ſhould be impreſſed with the idea that men ought not to be deterred from ſubſcribing to the loans of countries with which they might ſome time or other be at war; and the nation whoſe credit and good faith ſtood the higheſt, would be the greateſt gainer by a ſtrict adherence to this policy. To that part of the bill which went to prohibit his Majeſty's ſubjects from ſupplying the French with naval and military ſtores, he did not mean ſeriouſly to object; and yet he was not clear that even this was ſound policy; for, as war was at preſent carried on, it was more a matter of revenue than of any thing elſe; revenue was almoſt its ſole object, and, conſequently, the ſale of arms, by which one nation would be a gainer, and by which the war might not be protracted a ſingle month, might be allowed with more advantage than would attend the prohibition. This however he gave merely as a private opinion, which he meant not to preſs upon the Houſe. As to the clauſe for prohibiting Britiſh ſubjects from inſuring French ſhips and property, he without the leaſt heſitation pronounced it to be highly injudicious and impolitic. Inſurance was a kind of trade, which, if it was not gainful, would not be carried on; and as in trade in general it was to the balance that men looked for the profit, and not to this particular branch or that, ſo if the

balance

balance upon the whole of the insurance was in our favour, it must follow that France would be a loser by just as much as we should be gainers; and consequently it would be impolitic to check or prohibit the means by which a gainful commerce or speculation was carried on by our merchants, to whom, on account of their superior wealth and good faith, all the other traders of Europe looked up, and who were therefore in the possession, almost exclusively, of the trade of insurance, from which England derived annually a very considerable balance. With respect to the clause for preventing any of his Majesty's subjects from going to France during the war, he did not consider it as objectionable on any other ground than this, that it was very unnecessary, as it was not likely that in the present state of that country Englishmen should feel any temptation to trust themselves to the hazards necessarily attendant upon a residence there during the existing crisis. But to the clause for preventing the return of his Majesty's subjects without a passport from a Secretary of State, allowing them to come home, he was determined to give every opposition in his power, because such a clause would leave at the mercy of the King's ministers a very considerable number of British subjects, and put it in the power of the crown to keep out of England during the war any person with whose political opinions ministers should happen not to be pleased. If the Secretary of State was bound to give the passport when it was asked much of this objection would be done away; but, as it was left entirely to his discretion to grant or refuse it, he would not consent that every one of his fellow subjects should be exposed to the effects of the whim, caprice, or malignity of any servant of the crown. Upon the whole the bill appeared to him calculated to establish for a time measures which were either unnecessary and impolitic, or unjust and oppressive; and therefore it should meet with his decided opposition, even in that early stage.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL said, that if any thing were wanting to convince him of the necessity of the present motion, that conviction would be amply supplied by an evident consciousness of soreness on the part of the Right Honourable Gentleman, which could not exist without some consciousness of truth. It was surprising that the Honourable Gentleman should deem it unnecessary for the Attorney General to have given any explanation of the precise meaning of the word correspondence, since he had himself been personally asked by several members for an explanation of that very term. Mr. Mitford then proceeded to reply to the several objections which had been urged against the intended bill. With regard to the prohibition of the sale of articles to the French, if those articles were

were advantageous to the purpoſes of war, the queſtion became a queſtion of policy, and was neither more nor leſs than this: will the gain to the country thus ariſing from an acquiſition of money, overbalance the danger of ſupplying our enemies with arms? That wars were wars of revenue only was, generally ſpeaking, true: other wars had been wars of revenue, but this was not ſo. The preſent meaſure therefore appeared to him to be both expedient and wiſe, though its expedience and wiſdom would be beſt diſcuſſed at the time of bringing in the bill. Another ground of objection was the clauſe intended to prohibit the loan of money on the ſecurity of landed property in France; and the inſtance of the refuſal of a late Miniſter to act on the principle of that clauſe, during the American war, was adduced in ſupport of that objection. With regard to the American war, however, one grand reaſon of our failure was the private intereſt which many individuals in this country felt in ſo unhappy an event. But the danger in the preſent inſtance was, France had no other means of carrying on the war than by ſelling her whole ſubſtance: and to whom was ſhe to ſell it? to herſelf? No: to individuals of this country; by which means ſhe would derive reſources to carry on the war, and weaken the force of her enemies, by engaging a part of them to feel an intereſt in her cauſe. No advantage could ariſe to us from the principle of allowing ſuch a loan, ſince it was not likely for the French to feel themſelves equally capable to purchaſe in our funds. Let gentlemen conſider the danger of an intercouſe, juſt now, with France, and then decide for what good purpoſe to this country Engliſhmen could feel an inducement to reſort thither! The requiſition of their not being permitted to quit France without a licence, or a paſſport, from his majeſty, was condemned: but was it not neceſſary, at ſuch a time, to know who and what they were from whom the circumſtances of the moment led us to feel ſuch apprehenſions? The object of that part of the bill was not to impute to every Engliſhman paſſing to and from Paris any charge of diſaffection; but there were ſome characters in that capital whom it was neceſſary to guard againſt, and the object of the bill was, by blocking out a few, to ſecure the welfare of the whole who reſided in this country. Mr. Mitford then adverted to ſome other particulars, and concluded by obſerving, that during former wars acts of Parliament had been paſſed affording againſt ſimilar offences the ſame ſpecies of proviſion; and that the meaſure had received the ſanction of our anceſtors, and for that reaſon he ſhould give it his cordial aſſent.

Mr. MARTIN obſerved, that he had originally been againſt the preſent war, but that, as we were now involved in it, he

wiſhed us to get out of it as ſpeedily as poſſible. The accompliſhment of that object appeared to be intended by the preſent bill, which being calculated to prevent the French from carrying on the war, ſhould meet with his hearty ſupport. He thought it fair, however, to ſay, that he felt it his duty, at the ſame time, to hold ſome reſervation on his own mind, till he ſhould ſee the bill, leſt any thing ſhould be contained in it oppreſſive to the rights of the natives in this country.

Mr. ERSKINE ſaid, the learned gentleman who had made the motion was certainly miſtaken, if he imagined that the gentlemen on the oppoſition ſide of the Houſe were not as heartily attached as he was to the cauſe of their country, and as well diſpoſed as any ſet of ſubjects in the king's dominions to concur in every meaſure neceſſary for the defence or ſecurity of the ſtate. The preſent meaſure however did not appear to him to be of that deſcription; and he moſt earneſtly recommended it to gentlemen, in the interval between this day and that on which the bill ſhould be brought in, to read Lord Hale's pleas of the crown, in which they would find the moſt marked diſapprobation expreſſed by that able lawyer of thoſe various temporary ſtatutes of treaſon to which the learned gentleman had alluded. He was happy that he was able to quote ſo great an authority on this occaſion, an authority to which the profeſſion would bow with reverence. He ſaid, he rejoiced that his own experience had not enabled him to make himſelf much acquainted with the law of treaſon; he knew little more of it than what he had read whilſt he was a ſtudent; for, to the honour of this country, he could ſay that, during the fifteen years he had been at the bar, he had never ſeen more than one trial for treaſon againſt the ſtate. Previous to the 25th of Edward the Third, the law reſpecting treaſon was ſo looſe and vague, that no man could define it, and conſequently no man could be ſure of his life or property: the enacting therefore of the above ſtatute was an extraordinary benefit to the people, and ſo great an acquiſition was it deemed, that the Parliament which paſſed it was called a *bleſſed* Parliament. However, in proceſs of time, judicial expoſitions of that act took place which carried the conſtruction beyond the *letter* of the law; and various ſtatutes were alſo made which extended the penalties of high treaſon to acts by no means within either the letter or ſpirit of the 25th of Edward the Third. By the 1ſt of Henry the Fourth thoſe ſtatutes were all repealed, and, to the great joy of the nation, the 25th of Edward the Third became once more the only ſtatute defining treaſon. The ſeeds however of extenſions of that ſtatute were ſoon after ſown, and produced a plentiful crop of bloody acts from that time to the death of Henry VIII.—

They

They were once more ſwept away by the 1ſt of Philip and Mary, upon whom Lord Hale beſtowed the higheſt praiſe for having conſented to ſimplify treaſon, and confine it again to the 25th of Edward the Third. Since the days of Philip and Mary the doctrine of conſtructive treaſons had increaſed to a prodigious degree, and had been carried to an extent which he was ſure would ſurpriſe Lord Hale were he now alive, who would probably ſtare, as at ſomething new, were he to hear that to meet for the purpoſe of pulling down *all* turnpikes, or *all* bawdy-houſes, was by conſtruction a levying of war againſt the king, and an act of high treaſon within the 25th of Edward the Third. He objected to a parliamentary expoſition of that ſtatute, becauſe he knew that conſtructive explanations would be given of it by the judges; and that the evil ariſing from judicial conſtructions of the ſtatute itſelf would be doubled by the judicial explanations of the parliamentary expoſition of the ſtatute; and thus the evil would be increaſed by the very mode that was propoſed for removing it. It was his very earneſt wiſh that guilt ſhould be made to attach not upon the mere act of a man, but upon his *intention*; and that the proof of the act ſhould not be deemed a proof of the guilt. A man might be doing what he might conceive to be innocent; and yet for that very act he might afterwards be found guilty of conſtructive treaſon. The caſe of Lord Preſton would elucidate his meaning. That Lord was found on board a veſſel going to France, and on him was a paper containing a plan for an invaſion of England by Kind James the Second. Here it was evident, that the intention of Lord Preſton was to levy war upon the king (William the Third), and the paper found upon him, and the act of going with it to France, were overt acts of that intention, and given as ſuch in evidence. The ſame might be ſaid of the caſe of Crowder, who ſaid that if ever he went to England he would kill the king; he afterwards arrived in England, and this arrival was given in evidence, not as an act of high treaſon, for it was not, but of an intention to kill the king, which was treaſon within the ſtatute of Edward the Third. The act of Lord Preſton going to France, or of the other coming to England, were not in themſelves criminal; but were the proofs of an intention which each knew to be treaſonable at the time. The caſe was the ſame with reſpect to many circumſtances which were adjudged to be within the meaning of the 25th of Edward the Third. Thus to endeavour to put the king into one's power, or to confine him, was not within the *letter* of imagining his death. But the courts of law, judging that the ſpace was uſually very ſhort between the priſons and graves of kings, and a late melancholy event had proved that they judged but too

ſoundly on that head, had ruled it that ſuch acts were within the purview of the ſtatute, and amounted to treaſon. In a caſe even where the law was doubtful, he could without regret ſee a man condemned to die, if it was for an act which the convict muſt have known at the time to be a wicked and a criminal one, though he ſhould not happen to know the penalty that was annexed to it by law: thus, for inſtance, he would not regret the execution of a man who ſhould furniſh the enemy with military ſtores, although it ſhould be a doubt whether ſuch an act came within the meaning of the 25th of Edward the Third, becauſe the man muſt have felt at the time that he was doing an injury to his country. But he would confine this opinion to caſes in which the act done might be ſaid to be *malum in ſe*; he would never conſent to extend it to any that was only *malum prohibitum*. Having made theſe general obſervations reſpecting treaſons and parliamentary explanations of the ſtatute of 25th of Edward the Third, he adverted to the meaſure actually under conſideration. As to the clauſe for forbidding his majeſty's ſubjects to ſupply the French with military ſtores, he deemed it wholly unneceſſary, as he was decidedly of opinion that ſuch an act would amount to high treaſon within the ſtatute of the 25th of Edward the Third, and conſequently there was no occaſion for a new ſtatute to make that law which was law already. With reſpect to the clauſe prohibiting the purchaſe of lands or ſtock in France, he conſidered it as ridiculous and nugatory; becauſe in the preſent ſtate of that country it would be abſurd to ſuppoſe that any man would be mad enough to think of laying out his money where there was no government, no ſtability, no protection. He did not mean to ſay the ſame reſpecting the clauſe prohibiting the inſurance of French ſhips. Such a meaſure might perhaps be proper; but then it ſhould have taken place before the war; for at preſent the riſk was ſo great on the part of the French, that the premium for inſurance was extravagantly high, and the gain, upon a balance of profit and loſs, muſt be very great indeed to our underwriters. He viewed in the ſame light with Mr. Fox the clauſe for preventing the return from France, without a paſſport from our Secretary of State, of ſuch Britiſh ſubjects as ſhould happen to be in that country. He thought it would be ſound policy to encourage and facilitate their return, inſtead of impeding it, that they might, by telling what horrors and anarchy they had witneſſed, make their countrymen ſtill more and more enamoured of their own happy conſtitution. But inſtead of this they were to be haraſſed at their landing; and, by being confined to certain limits till they ſhould have heard from the Secretary of State, or until they ſhould have given bail for their appearance, be diſguſted with their own government at the very time when perhaps they were ready to embrace

embrace it with redoubled affection. If a Secretary of State was bound to give a paſſport when it was called for, if the application of it was a mere form, and that a *mandamus* might be iſſued to compel him to grant it, the objection would not be very ſtrong; but this not being the caſe, he muſt oppoſe a meaſure which would leave men at the mercy of Miniſters, who might keep them out of the country during the exiſtence of the war. It had been inſinuated, he obſerved, by the Solicitor General, that the ſoreneſs manifeſted by ſome people ſhowed that they felt uneaſineſs at the idea of ſeeing any ſtep taken to cut off all intercourſe with France. The Learned Gentleman had afterwards ſaid, that he did not allude to any one in that Houſe; to whom then did he allude? Did he know of any perſons who carried on an improper correſpondence with France? He believed he did not; for he was ſure the Learned Gentleman would have the manlineſs to name them, if he knew them. Upon the whole he objected to the propoſed bill, as it would lead to puzzle the law of treaſon ſtill more and more, and introduce greater uncertainty into that which was but too uncertain already.

Mr. FREDERICK NORTH ſupported the motion. He ſaid that the alluſion made by a Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Fox) to a ſuggeſtion made to a late noble relation of his (the late Earl of Guilford, his father) was certainly founded on a fact with which he had a better opportunity than moſt men to be well acquainted; but he muſt ſay that it did not by any means apply to the caſe then before the Houſe; for no one could ſay that not to ſeize the property of an enemy actually in our hands, was preciſely the ſame thing as to prevent our own people from lending their money to the enemy. In this caſe we had the advantage of being the bankers; in the other the enemy would be made our bankers, and enabled to employ our own money againſt ourſelves. He deemed it ſound policy not to ſuffer Britiſh ſubjects to purchaſe lands in France during the preſent war, which was not applicable to any other war in which we had ever been engaged: this was not a war for revenue, but for exiſtence; the only means that France had of carrying it on was the ſale of her lands; and if ſhe could not find purchaſers, ſhe muſt give up the conteſt. To allow a ſubject of ours to purchaſe land in France under ſuch circumſtances, or, indeed, under any circumſtances, would be impolitic, for in that caſe the purchaſer, having a permanent intereſt in France, muſt have an intereſt in promoting her proſperity, even to the injury of England. The ſame applied, though perhaps not in equal degree, to purchaſers in the French funds, the transfer of ſtock being eaſier than that of lands; the intereſt was leſs permanent, it was true, but whilſt continued it had the ſame effect upon the proprietor. As to the inſurance of ſhips, he thought that it ought

not

not to be allowed at all, however painful it might be to individuals amongſt us; for as we were the only people who could inſure for the French, if we declined it they muſt give up their trade, and ſuch a ſtep would be the ruin of their navy.

Mr. CURWIN ſaid, he had highly diſapproved of the preſent war; at the ſame time, now that we are actually engaged in it, he was certainly as much inclined as any man to give every ſupport that might be neceſſary for carrying it on with vigour and effect. The propoſed bill, however, going to an extenſion of the laws relating to treaſon, which he thought a matter of great delicacy indeed, he was decidedly of opinion that it was previouſly neceſſary to have laid before the Houſe ſome good reaſons for ſo ſtrong a meaſure. He had heard of none ſuch; and he ſhould therefore think it his duty to oppoſe the preſent bill in every ſtage.

Mr. YORKE was of opinion, that in the preſent early ſtage of the bill, the only queſtion before the Houſe was, whether the principle of the bill ought to be entertained at all? As to which, under the preſent circumſtances, he thought there could hardly be a doubt:—it ſeemed to him prepoſterous to be now debating on the particular clauſes of the bill, which, in fact, were not before the Houſe; he would not, therefore, enter upon that ſubject till the bill ſhould be brought in, and that the clauſes ſhould come regularly to be debated.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL ſaid, that he was not diſpleaſed the debate had gone into greater length than might perhaps have been expected in the preſent ſtage of the buſineſs, becauſe ſome uſeful hints had been thrown out; and he was anxious to receive every information, as it was no doubt a matter of the higheſt importance, and deſerving the moſt ſerious conſideration. He proceeded to take notice of ſeveral arguments and obſervations which had fallen from his Honourable and Learned Friend (Mr. Erſkine), many of which appeared to him to be unfounded; and, after endeavouring to obviate ſome objections which had been thrown out againſt ſome of the propoſed regulations of the bill, he ſaid that Mr. Erſkine ſeemed to proceed on the idea, that the ſtatute of the 25th of Edward III. is the only Treaſon Law exiſting at this day: but, is there not an act now in exiſtence, declaring it High Treaſon to aſſert that the King, Lords, and Commons, have not power to regulate the ſucceſſion to the crown? Have not ſome perſons, at this day, gone, in fact, much further? Have they not even written what, *in truth*, amounts to this, that we ſhould have no *King* at all in this country? *Though not preciſely in ſuch a way that they could be laid hold of.* Upon the whole, he conceived the bill, under the preſent circumſtances of the country, to be abſolutely neceſſary in its principles,

principles, whatever objection there might be to any part of the detail of its regulations; but he truſted he had ſaid enough to ſatisfy the Houſe that leave ought to be given to bring in the bill, that it may at leaſt be looked into, and may not be decided upon till after a full and deliberate diſcuſſion.

Mr. FRANCIS begged to aſk of the Honourable Gentleman, whether he had received any information of money having been remitted from this country to France in order to be inveſted in the French funds, or to be employed in the purchaſe of lands there?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL ſaid, that he did not find any thing either upon the affirmative or negative of the queſtion put by the Honourable Gentleman.

Leave was given to bring in the bill, without a diviſion; and the Attorney General ſaid, that he hoped to be able to bring it in on Monday next the 18th.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER moved, that the orders now ſtanding for balloting for Committees on four queſtions remaining to be tried, reſpecting rights of election, ſhould be poſtponed till next ſeſſion.—Ordered.

Mr. SHERIDAN and Mr. FOX ſtated the neceſſity of bringing forward a bill in the preſent ſeſſion, containing regulations for preventing the delays that at preſent take place in determining on election petitions under Mr. Grenville's act; the urgency of which behoved them to preſs upon the Houſe, from the circumſtance which had juſt occurred of ſeveral petitions being left undetermined till the fourth ſeſſion of the preſent Parliament.

ARMY EXTRAORDINARIES.

The Houſe reſolved itſelf into a Committee.

The SECRETARY at WAR moved the firſt Reſolution, viz.

The expence of the Hanoverian troops, ſubſidized for the aſſiſtance of Holland.

LORD FIELDING ſaid, that this requiſition ought to have come three months ago; and he charged Miniſters with the moſt criminal negligence in delaying to give any aſſiſtance to the Dutch. There appeared ſuch a general lethargy in all the operations of Miniſters, that it was ſcarce poſſible to believe we were at war. His Lordſhip went into a long detail on this ſubject, and blamed in ſtrong terms the delay in ſubſidizing the Hanoverian troops; he ſaid, that Miniſters had ſent only a handful of troops from this country to Holland, and that, from the improper delay that had taken place in embarking them, they had been met by a ſtorm which had occaſioned the moſt ſerious alarm for their

their ſafety, and that of the Royal Duke who commanded them. His Lordſhip then adverted to the progreſs of the French armies, and to the check which had been given to them by the Auſtrians and Pruſſians raiſing the ſiege of Maeſtricht; and ſaid, that if this country had afforded to the Dutch ſuch timely aſſiſtance as we ought to have done, the taking of Breda, and the other previous ſucceſſes of the French, might have been prevented; it was ſurely the duty of Miniſters to ſtate ſome cauſe for ſuch blameable remiſſneſs.

MAJOR MAITLAND ſaid, that what had fallen from the Noble Lord who had juſt ſat down deſerved undoubtedly ſome anſwer from Miniſters; for much of what the noble Lord had ſaid was extremely well founded. Miniſters had explicitly acknowledged that on the 17th of Dec. they conſidered the French as an enemy in a ſtate of hoſtile preparation. They knew the defenceleſs ſtate of the Dutch, and the danger that threatened them, and yet they did not enter into any negociation for ſubſidizing the Hanoverian troops till February 22; and the guards did not ſail till the 23d of February. Was this an exertion becoming a great and powerful nation at ſo critical and important a criſis? Theſe guards he would not call a handful of troops, as the Noble Lord had done; they were 1700 of the fineſt and beſt troops he believed in Europe, under the command of an illuſtrious branch of the Royal Family; but, ſpeaking as a profeſſional man, he would aſk if they had been ſent with any proſpect of victory? or whether they had not run the moſt imminent riſk of being ſacrificed, had not the progreſs of the French been providentially checked, and the ſiege of Maeſtricht raiſed by the Auſtrians and Pruſſians? —a matter with which Miniſters could not, at the time, be acquainted, and from which they could claim no credit.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER ſaid, that though he was ſomewhat ſurpriſed at the mode of diſcuſſion that had taken place, he was happy to find that he was not to meet with any oppoſition proſpectively, and that no objection would be made to the reſolution now under the conſideration of the Committee. With reſpect to any retroſpective view of the meaſures which his Majeſty's Miniſters had thought neceſſary, and been enabled to adopt, he did not ſuppoſe the Committee would deſire to hear any detail of them; but he was anxious to make a few obſervations upon ſome queſtions that had been put to him. The Honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt deſired to know why no ſteps had been taken to ſubſidize the Hanoverian troops till the 22d of February. To this he would anſwer, that ſteps had been taken long before that time for the purpoſe of arranging matters ſo as to bring theſe troops into the ſervice of this country, though their pay is only ſtated from that time. With reſpect to

to the troops ſent from this country, he begged leave to ſay, that conſidering the ſeaſon, and the ſmall army eſtabliſhment always kept in this country in time of peace, he could not conceive that there was any backwardneſs on the part of government, if a body of near 2000 troops had been raiſed immediately on the firſt accounts of the attack upon Holland, which had ſailed in a few days afterwards. In fact, the States General themſelves are of opinion, that they have received from this country a vigorous, ſpeedy, and timely ſupply, and which did arrive in time to render them very eſſential ſervice. Indeed, this would be found to be a great exertion on our part, if compared with what we had been able to do at the commencement of any former war. The Honourable Gentleman ſeemed to think that Miniſters were endeavouring to take credit from what had been effected by the Auſtrians and Pruſſians: this they certainly by no means do; at the ſame time the exertions of the Auſtrians and Pruſſians on behalf of the Dutch may not probably have been altogether unconnected with the preparations which they ſaw the government of this country were making, and the confidence they had in its determination to give the moſt vigorous aſſiſtance to its Allies the Dutch. On the ſubject of the alarm with reſpect to the ſafe landing of the Guards, he would only ſay, that undoubtedly they had been overtaken by very tempeſtuous weather, which unqueſtionably his Majeſty's Miniſters could neither foreſee nor prevent. As to the tranſports, he knew of nothing to be remarked, with reſpect to them, except their having been fitted out with unexampled diſpatch.

MAJOR MAITLAND ſaid, that the Right Honourable Chancellor of the Exchequer, by inſinuating that 1700 men ſent from this country had excited the exertion of the Auſtrians and Pruſſians, had certainly ſhewn every diſpoſition to take credit to Miniſters for the effects of that exertion. He begged leave alſo to ſay, that the Right Honourable Gentleman had totally miſunderſtood him in ſuppoſing that he had alleged that no ſteps had been taken for ſubſidizing the Hanoverian troops till the 22d of February; but it muſt be recollected that, prior that time, more than two months had elapſed from the period at which Miniſters had conceived France to be in a ſtate of hoſtility againſt this country, which was ſurely more time than could be required for ſuch a negociation.

Mr. FOX ſaid, that, notwithſtanding his anxious deſire to provide for the moſt vigorous proſecution of the war in which this country is engaged, he behoved to feel much reluctance in giving his vote to taking money from the pockets of the people, which was to be placed under the diſpoſal of men who had uniformly, upon every occaſion, exhibited ſuch diſgraceful remiſſneſs and in-

activity, as his preſent Majeſty's Miniſters. It was evident, from the ſilence and concealment obſerved about a matter which behoved to be of public notoriety, that theſe Hanoverian troops have not yet been brought forward, and that their action is only to be future; although Miniſters, as far back as the 17th of December, had explicitly declared France to be an enemy to this country, in a ſtate of hoſtile preparation. How ſtrange that a negociation with the Elector of Hanover ſhould be a matter of ſuch difficulty! But it ſeems the ſupineneſs of Miniſters, in this inſtance, is to be made up by their activity and exertion with reſpect to ſending over the Guards to Holland.

Mr. Fox ſaid, he had expected to hear that the Guards had been ſent as ſoon as the war was declared; but no, he had watched the Right Honourable Gentleman's words, which were, that they had been ſent as ſoon as Holland was invaded. On ſome occaſions indeed three weeks is a ſhort time; but he believed that in no æra of hiſtory could ſo ſhort a ſpace of time have been of ſuch importance as on this occaſion. If it is poſſible, as has been ſaid, that our troops, arriving at ſo late a period, have, in fact, wrought wonders; had they arrived at an earlier period they would have ſaved Breda and Gertrudenberg. The Right Honourable Gentleman had ſaid that the ſtorm could not be imputed to Miniſters; ſurely not—but from the improper delay, which was imputable to them, the ſtorm was encountered.—The report was generally believed that the tranſports had been delayed for want of ballaſt; and he had it from ſtill better authority, that they were delayed from want of their field pieces, notwithſtanding the large ſums voted for the Ordnance. It had been anſwered, the troops were ſent as ſoon as Holland was attacked; but Miniſters muſt be conſidered as children, if they had not foreſeen the attack upon Holland; and yet they delayed ſending to the relief and aſſiſtance of their allies, a reinforcement which they acknowledged to have conſidered as a material defence to them, for no leſs than three weeks after the declaration of war. In the mean time Breda and Gertrudenberg were taken, a matter of the utmoſt importance to the enemy. Another anſwer is ſtated, that the Dutch are ſatisfied; but is it not a very poſſible caſe that the Dutch, being in ſo defenceleſs a ſtate as not to dare to ſtate their alarms at the hoſtilities of their enemy, might hardly dare to find fault with thoſe who proved to be their friends. Mr. Fox ſaid, that, in his opinion, the Right Honourable Chancellor of the Exchequer had brought forward all his *warlike preparations* into the debate in that Houſe: his *negociations* too had been *warlike*—his *preparations for war* were alone *pacific*. Though he had objected to the war in the ſtrongeſt terms, he wiſhed, as he believed every gentleman

gentleman did, that it ſhould now be carried on with vigour; he only regretted, that the conduct of a war ſo intereſting to this country ſhould be in the hands of men who had, on every former occaſion as well as on the preſent, proved themſelves totally unfit for ſo very important a truſt.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER ſaid, that in the preſent ſtage of the war he had formed his reſolution upon two points--to be ſatisfied with the conſciouſneſs of having omitted nothing that his duty called upon him, and the ſituation of the country enabled him to do, and not to be provoked by any invective to enter into details for his juſtification, which both the time and the circumſtances made unfit to be diſcloſed. If the Right Honourable Gentleman thought the mode he had now adopted of ſupporting the war in which the country was engaged a proper mode, and if he thought that by the ſort of argument he had choſen to purſue, that he had made an advantageous impreſſion upon the Committee, let him enjoy in the privacy of his own reflections the ſatisfaction of having done his duty. Did the Right Honourable Gentleman imagine, that after war was declared, with the very narrow military eſtabliſhment to which this country had always confined itſelf, miniſters could ſafely ſend any part of the troops on that eſtabliſhment, without a careful review of the general diſtribution of the land forces for internal defence? or did he ſuppoſe that ſuch an examination of the general and local force could be made in a ſhorter time? If the Committee did not feel this to be a ſufficient anſwer to all the Right Honourable Gentleman's charges of delay, they might then believe that thoſe charges were well founded; if they did, they would acquit his Majeſty's Miniſters, and give them credit for having made every exertion in their power to vindicate the honour of the nation, and protect our injured allies.

Mr. FOX ſaid, his ſupport of the war, now that we were engaged in it, was as ſincere as that of his Majeſty's Miniſters, although on very different grounds. He wiſhed it to be ſupported with vigour, becauſe by a vigorous war we ſhould moſt ſpeedily obtain adequate and honourable terms of peace. Of thoſe terms he had formed a clear and definite idea—Miniſters had not, or at leaſt had never condeſcended to ſtate any idea on the ſubject to the Houſe. He certainly did not think ſupporting the neglect or the blunders of Miniſters the beſt mode of ſupporting the war: for he knew that they, and all other Miniſters, would do their duty better by being carefully watched than implicitly truſted. Let the Miniſter ſhew that there would have been any danger in ſending 2000 men to Holland in the beginning of February, inſtead of keeping them till towards the end of it, and then his ar-

gument might be good for ſomething. Would he call to his aid thoſe plots and inſurrections which had been ſo much talked of, but never ſeen, as a pretext for three weeks delay? Thoſe plots, he imagined, had done their duty, and were diſmiſſed from the ſervice, to be preſſed into it no more.

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS ſaid, he had hoped the favourable change in the aſpect of the war would have produced a degree of good humour in the mind of the Right Honourable Gentleman. The Right Honourable Gentleman took credit to himſelf for ſupporting government in carrying on the war. For ſuch ſupport as he had that day given, neither the government nor his country would feel much indebted to him. It was aſked why the men that were ſent to Holland were not ſent three weeks ſooner. Could Miniſters have ſent 2000, or 4000, or any conſiderable number of troops out of the country, before they knew the rapid ſucceſs of the meaſures they had taken for recruiting and augmenting the army? Did the Right Honourable Gentleman imagine that the Dutch were to do nothing for their own defence; that they were to truſt entirely to this country? After they made a requiſition for military aid, there was not an hour's delay in ſending it. He defied any man to produce an example of greater diſpatch; and very ſeaſonably, and with the happieſt effect, in the hour of their greateſt danger, had it come to them. In the ſame manner, when they called for a naval aid, the ſhips were at the place of their deſtination almoſt before they could have hoped that the order for them was given. For the readineſs which his Majeſty had ſhewn to ſuccour them, the Dutch expreſſed the higheſt gratitude; and to repreſent our preparations as dilatory and inadequate, was rather to encourage the enemy than to plead the cauſe of our allies.

Mr. SHERIDAN ſaid, the general argument, that men were acting againſt the intereſts of their country, when the marked miſconduct of Miniſters was what every Member of the Houſe ought to reprobate—this would be a plea for a general indemnity to Miniſters, however weak or wicked might be their conduct. Support, with a vigilant obſervation of their conduct, was a ſupport for which the preſent Miniſters would be as little diſpoſed to thank any other gentleman as his Right Honourable Friend. The ſupport which they wanted was of another ſort, lately deſcribed in the Houſe—a ſupport that ſhould increaſe with their demerits—a confidence that ſhould increaſe as they ſhewed themſelves leſs worthy of it. When the Chancellor of the Exchequer laſhed the errors of Adminiſtration in the American war, which his Right Honourable colleague (Mr. Dundas) defended, he did not think that he was ſupporting the enemies of his

his country. But the ſentiments of the Right Honourable Gentleman were very properly changed with his ſituation. To ſay that Miniſters had not done all they could, was not giving encouragement to the enemy. It was to ſay, that whatever opinion they might have been led to form from the neglect and delay of Miniſters, the country poſſeſſed great vigour, and great reſources, capable of being brought into action when Miniſters were made to do their duty. They themſelves had admitted, that early in December they ſtopped the French ſupplies of corn, as a meaſure of precaution againſt an enemy in a ſtate of preparation for war. Could they produce any reaſon to ſhew that it was not as proper to begin preparations of defence as to interrupt the preparations of the enemy? On the very firſt day of the meeting of Parliament he had ſaid, that if we were to have a war, it ought to be a war of activity and vigour, and had Miniſters but acted as they talked, ſo it would have been. But they ſeemed to have exhauſted the whole ſpirit, to have unbraced the whole energy of their minds in declamation in Parliament; and when the ſeaſon for action came, to have been incapable of acting. He hoped the leſſon they had now received would prevent the neceſſity of another of the ſame kind. He truſted that they would not be found as backward in their naval as in their military preparations, and that if, as was reported, a French fleet had ſailed from Breſt, there was a Britiſh fleet to meet it, whatever might be its deſtination.

Mr. DUNDAS endeavoured to explain that his declaration of the reaſon for ſtopping the French ſupplies of corn, did not mean that they were then conſidered as an enemy.

Mr. SHERIDAN replied, and requoted the preciſe words.

CAPTAIN BERKELEY ſpoke in ſupport of the conduct of his Majeſty's Miniſters. In proceeding to reply to the obſervations of a Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Fox) he uſed the words, "his *friend*, General Dumourier;" on which

Mr. SHERIDAN roſe, and indignantly required the Honourable Gentleman to ſtate on what ground he had thought proper to apply to his Honourable Friend ſo offenſive an expreſſion. His Honourable Friend did not deſerve the imputation; and he claimed that it ſhould be retracted.

CAPTAIN BERKELEY ſaid, that when he had called M. Dumourier the Right Honourable Gentleman's Friend, he did not mean to apply the expreſſion more to the Right Honourable Gentleman in particular than to other Gentlemen on that ſide of the Houſe.

Mr. GREY called on the Honourable Member to *name* the perſon to whom the application was meant.

CAPTAIN BERKELEY ſtated, that there was nothing offenſive

offenſive in his intention. He had merely applied the expreſſion which had been deemed ſo, becauſe General Dumourier had been repreſented as a friend to that general liberty which the Right Hon. Gentleman ſo much admired.

Mr. FOX ſaid, he ſhould not have ſtopped the Hon. Gentleman. He ſhould have aſked him in another place what he meant by the expreſſion. If he meant the private friend of Dumourier, he did not know that there was any harm in any Member of that Houſe having been the private friend of the General of an enemy's army, before the war broke out. He was not, in that ſenſe, the friend of Dumourier, for he had never ſeen him. If it was uſed in another ſenſe, it meant ſomething exceedingly injurious, and as unfounded as injurious.

CAPTAIN BERKELEY explained that he had not meant any thing perſonal.

MAJOR MAITLAND ſaid, that the Honourable Gentleman, inſtead of mending the buſineſs, had made it worſe by explanation. He had at firſt made a charge apparently perſonal, and then thrown it on all the Members who ſat on that ſide of the Houſe.

Mr. DUNDAS roſe for the purpoſe of conciliation.

Mr. GREY obſerved, that no man felt leſs inclined to inſiſt on an unguarded word than he did; but he thought that the Honourable Gentleman ſhould acknowledge that the word was unguarded. He had, however, appeared to throw the imputation among the Gentlemen on that ſide of the Houſe, and he wiſhed to know whoſe friend General Dumourier was?

CAPTAIN BERKELEY ſaid he muſt acknowledge, on recollection, that it was an unguarded expreſſion, for when the debates which he at firſt thought authorized it took place, Dumpurier was not an enemy. He then added a few words on the queſtion in debate.

Mr. COURTENAY ſaid he knew, from indiſputable authority, that the tranſports were not ready to receive the artillery of the Guards when they were ſent to Holland. They not only ſailed without their artillery but without their cartridges—a moſt convincing proof to the Dutch of the hurry in which they had been diſpatched to their aid; and a circumſtance of expedition on which the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Secretary of State might congratulate one another.

Mr. N. G. EDWARDS ſaid, he had come down to the Houſe with an intention of voting with the Miniſtry if there ſhould be a diviſion, becauſe he wiſhed them to be ſupported in conducting the war; but from the extreme flippancy with which they had managed the debate, if there were to be a diviſion, he

ſhould

ſhould now vote againſt them. He thanked the Right Hon. Gentleman, Mr. Fox, for the ſeaſonable leſſon he had given them. If that Right Honourable Gentleman had been Miniſter of this country three years ago, it would not have been in this dangerous ſituation.

The queſtion was put on the reſolution, and agreed to.

The other reſolutions were paſſed without any debate. Adjourned to the 18th.

The following is an exact Copy of the Reſolutions.

Reſolved, That a ſum not exceeding two hundred and thirty-eight thouſand two hundred and fifty-three pounds fourteen ſhillings and eight pence, be granted to his Majeſty, for defraying the charge of a corps of Hanoverian troops taken into the ſervice of Great Britain from the 22d day of February, 1793, to the 24th day of December following, both incluſive, being three hundred and ſix days.

Reſolved, That a ſum, not exceeding two hundred and ſeventeen thouſand five hundred and ninety-eight pounds, be granted to his Majeſty, for defraying the charge of levy money, camp equipage, and other expences, attending the Hanoverian forces in the ſervice of Great Britain on their taking the field.

Reſolved, That a ſum, not exceeding one hundred and nine thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-two pounds ſixteen ſhillings and nine pence, be granted to his Majeſty, for defraying the charge of one regiment of foot, of ſeveral fencible regiments in North Britain, and of a corps of fencibles in the Iſle of Man, from the 26th day of March, 1793, to the 24th day of Decem- following, both incluſive, being two hundred and ſeventy-four ber days.

Reſolved, That a ſum, not exceeding, upon account, one hundred and forty thouſand pounds, be granted to his Majeſty for defraying the charge of cloathing for the embodied militia for the year 1793.

Reſolved, That a ſum, not exceeding three hundred and thirty-ſeven thouſand eight hundred and ſixty-five pounds one ſhilling and two pence, be granted to his Majeſty, towards defraying the extraordinary expences of his Majeſty's land forces, and other ſervices, incurred from the 25th day of December, 1791 to the 24th day of December, 1792, and not provided for by Parliament.

Reſolved, That a ſum, not exceeding fifty-nine thouſand and ſixty-ſix pounds three ſhillings and ſeven pence, be granted to his Majeſty for defraying the charge of an augmentation to the firſt regiment of dragoon guards, from the 24th day of January, 1793, to the 24th day of December following, both incluſive, being

being three hundred and thirty-five days, and of the charge of accoutrements, &c. for the augmentation to the cavalry and infantry.

Reſolved, That a ſum, not exceeding two hundred eighty-one thouſand and ſeventy-nine pounds eighteen ſhillings and eight pence, be granted to his Majeſty, for the further charge of the office of Ordnance for land ſervice, for the year 1793.

Reſolved, That a ſum, not exceeding twenty-ſix thouſand pounds, be granted to his Majeſty, to make good the like ſum iſſued to Thomas Cotton, Eſq. at the receipt of the Exchequer, out of his Majeſty's civil liſt revenues, for defraying the expence of allowances for the relief of American civil officers and others, who have ſuffered on account of their attachment to his Majeſty's government.

Reſolved, That a ſum, not exceeding fifteen thouſand ſix hundred and forty-three pounds four ſhillings and ſix pence, be granted to his Majeſty, to make good the like ſum iſſued to Thomas Cotton, and William Chinnery, Eſqrs. at the receipt of the Exchequer, out of his Majeſty's civil liſt revenues, for defraying the expences of removing of black people to the ſettlement of Sierra Leona.

Reſolved, That a ſum, not exceeding three hundred and eighty-ſix pounds fifteen ſhillings and ſixpence, be granted to his Majeſty, to make good the like ſum iſſued to William Chinnery, Eſq. at the receipt of the Exchequer, out of his Majeſty's civil liſt revenues, for defraying the expence of purchaſing proviſions for the relief of ſix hundred and fifty emigrants from the Highlands of Scotland, who arrived at Nova Scotia from Glaſgow in great diſtreſs, and for other ſervices.

Reſolved, That a ſum, not exceeding one thouſand and ſixty-eight pounds and four ſhillings, be granted to his Majeſty, to make good the like ſum iſſued to Joſeph White, Eſq. at the receipt of the Exchequer, out of his Majeſty's civil liſt revenues, for paying the aſſeſſments upon the ſalaries of the commiſſioners for auditing the public accounts and their officers, for land tax, for the years 1788 and 1789.

Reſolved, That a ſum, not exceeding five thouſand eight hundred ninety-ſeven pounds and five ſhillings, be granted to his Majeſty, to make good the like ſum iſſued to Charles Goddard, Eſq. at the receipt of the Exchequer, out of his Majeſty's civil liſt revenues, to ſatisfy a bill drawn by Sir Morton Eden, his Majeſty's Envoy Extraordinary and Miniſter Plenipotentiary to the King of Pruſſia, for money diſburſed by him at Berlin for the uſe of his Royal Highneſs Frederick Duke of York.

Reſolved, That a ſum, not exceeding one thouſand one hundred and forty-ſix pounds and eight ſhillings, be granted to his Majeſty,

Majeſty, to make good the like ſum iſſued to William Pollock, Eſq. at the receipt of the Exchequer, out of his Majeſty's civil liſt revenues, to reimburſe expences incurred by the commiſſioners appointed to enquire into the ſtate and condition of the Iſle of Man.

Reſolved, That a ſum, not exceeding thirteen thouſand eight hundred pounds and fifteen ſhillings, be granted to his Majeſty, to make good the like ſum iſſued to ſundry perſons, at the receipt of the Exchequer, out of his Majeſty's civil liſt revenues, to be applied towards charitable gratuities and paſſage money to ſundry American loyaliſts deſirous of becoming ſettlers in Upper Canada, and other ſervices, for the uſe of the ſaid ſettlement.

Reſolved, That a ſum, not exceeding two hundred twenty-five thouſand three hundred twenty-five pounds two ſhillings and four pence, be granted to his Majeſty, to make good the deficiency of the grants, for the ſervice of the year 1792.

Reſolved, That a ſum, not exceeding thirteen thouſand pounds, be granted to his Majeſty, to be employed in repairing, maintaining, and ſupporting the Britiſh ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa.

Reſolved, That a ſum, not exceeding three thouſand pounds, be granted to his Majeſty towards enabling the truſtees of the Britiſh Muſeum to carry on the execution of the truſts repoſed in them by Parliament.

Mr. Henry Hobart (according to order) reported from the committee of the whole Houſe, to whom it was referred to conſider further ways and means for raiſing the ſupply granted to his Majeſty, the reſolutions which the committee had directed him to report to the Houſe; which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the table, where the ſame were read, and agreed to by the Houſe, and are as followeth, viz.

Reſolved, That, towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his Majeſty, the ſum of two millions be raiſed by loans or Exchequer bills, to be charged upon the firſt aids to be granted in the next ſeſſion of Parliament; and ſuch Exchequer bills, if not diſcharged, with intereſt thereupon, on or before the 5th day of April, 1794, to be exchanged and received in payment, in ſuch manner as Exchequer bills have uſually been exchanged and received in payment.

Reſolved, That, towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his Majeſty, the further ſum of two millions to be raiſed by loans or Exchequer bills, to be charged upon the firſt aids to be granted in the next ſeſſion of Parliament; and ſuch Exchequer bills, if not diſcharged, with intereſt thereupon, on or before the 5th day of April, 1794, to be exchanged and received in payment,

ment, in ſuch manner as Exchequer bills have uſually been exchanged and received in payment.

Reſolved, That the charge of the pay and cloathing of the militia in that part of Great Britain called England, for one year, beginning the 25th day of March, 1793, be defrayed out of the monies ariſing by the land tax granted for the ſervice of the year 1793.

MARCH 18.

The order of the day was the ſecond reading of the Dudley canal bill.

Sir EDWARD LITTLETON moved that it ſhould be read on this day three months.

The Houſe divided,

Ayes	-	-	31
Noes	-	-	32

Amendment to inſert this day three months,

Ayes	-	-	31
Noes	-	-	30

That the queſtion thus amended, ſtand part of the motion,

Ayes	-	-	32
Noes	-	-	31

Mr. HOBART reported the reſolutions come to in the committee of ſupply on the 15th.

The ſame were read and agreed to.

The reſolutions come to in the committee of ways and means on the 15th were reported, read, and agreed to, and a bill or bills ordered to be brought in.

Mr. ELLIOT ſtated, that the ſubject on which he ſhould trouble the Houſe was a matter of the utmoſt importance. It was diſcovered that a club had exiſted at Stockbridge, conſiſting of electors, who admitted none but their own body, and caballed for the moſt venal and corrupt of purpoſes. They ſettled the *quantum* which they were to receive as the price of their votes, employed agents of their own for the tranſaction of this buſineſs, and made a requiſition that the money ſhould be paid down, or lodged in a banker's hands, previous to a compliance with the terms of their diſgraceful bargain. Whether they would meet puniſhment for ſuch conduct, was a matter totally independent of the preſent queſtion. The object of the bill which he ſhould bring in was merely to prevent a repetition of the evil; and for that purpoſe he ſhould read the reſolutions of the committee, and move for leave to bring in a bill "for the preventing bribery "and corruption on the election of members to ſerve in parlia- "ment for the Borough of Stockbridge, in the county of "Southampton."

The

The reſolutions having been read, leave was given to bring in the bill.

Mr. DUNDAS roſe to give notice that, as he ſhould not bring forward his reſolutions relative to Indian affairs, without the concurrence of thoſe who were materially intereſted in the ſubject, his intention was to defer moving his reſolutions concerning the government of India, and thoſe which related to commerce, to the 26th. He ſhould then move that they be printed, in order that gentlemen ſhould be prepared for the diſcuſſion of both ſubjects on the firſt day after the Eaſter holidays.

(*Good Friday was March* 29.)

MARCH 19.

No debates.

MARCH 20.

The order of the day was for the ſecond reading of the Aſhby de la Zouch canal bill. It was moved to put off the ſecond reading to that day three months; upon which the Houſe divided. Fifty-two were for reading the bill *now*, and thirty againſt it. The bill was then read, and committed.

Mr. J. P. BASTARD brought up the report of the committee, to whom it had been referred, to examine the report of the ſelect committee on the Cricklade election petition, reſpecting the caſe of Mr. Petrie. The report was read; the arreſt of Mr. Petrie by a ſheriff's officer, under two writs, was ſtated with great minuteneſs, and the ſteps which the ſelect committee had taken in conſequence of the ſame. The committee ſtated that they had ſearched for precedents, which would be found in the appendix to the report; but as it was a matter which involved ſo much conſequence, they did not venture to form any opinion of their own on the ſubject, but thought it better to leave it to the deciſion of the Houſe.

Mr. Baſtard deſired that the tenth of the king ſhould be read; as ſoon as it was read he obſerved, that that act was preciſely calculated to prevent the delay of juſtice.

Under the impreſſion of that truth he was ſenſible that it would apply to interruption, which the ſelect committee had experienced in conſequence of the impriſonment of Mr. Petrie. Public juſtice was the great object of the ſelect committee, an object not merely confined to that Houſe, the public at large were deeply intereſted in it.

If the courts of law were inveſted with a power to protect ſuitors, he was ſenſible the ſelect committee were entitled to the ſame powers. The act ſtated that Members of that Houſe ſhould be privileged from arreſts, for the beſt reaſon, that the public

buſineſs ſhould not be impeded by their abſence; it alſo went to protect the menial ſervants of Members, as thoſe ſervants were neceſſary to their attendance. But the words of the act, which in the preſent inſtance, in his opinion, claimed the attention of the Houſe, were, *and others claiming* the privilege of parliament.

Mr. Baſtard conceived that thoſe words would cover Mr. Petrie's caſe; he therefore moved that Mr. Petrie be diſcharged from the cuſtody of the ſheriff of Middleſex.

Mr. PITT joined Mr. Baſtard in opinion. It was clear, he ſaid, from the act which had been juſt read, that Members and menial ſervants were privileged; and that the clauſe extending that privilege to others would apply *pro re nata* to Mr. Petrie's caſe; for, taking the whole tenour of the act, it was eaſy to ſee that it was intended to prevent any impediment to the buſineſs of the public in that Houſe; and if it was thought proper to extend that privilege to menial ſervants, and deny it to a petitioning Member, it would be extraordinary indeed.

The motion was then put and carried.

Mr. ELIOT brought in a bill for preventing bribery and corruption in the election of Members to ſerve in parliament for the Borough of Cricklade.

Mr. SALISBURY went into a detail of the bribery and corruption practiſed at Stockbridge, which, in his opinion, demanded the moſt ſerious attention of that Houſe. The majority of the voters were involved in thoſe crimes. They had formed committees for the purpoſe of carrying their ſchemes into execution with the greater effect. He had drawn out a liſt of the names of thoſe perſons who ought to be puniſhed. Having dwelt for ſome time on the propriety of following up the report with ſpeedy puniſhment, he moved for leave to bring in a bill to incapacitate certain electors of the Borough of Stockbridge therein named, from voting for Members to ſerve in parliament for that Borough.

Mr. POWYS thought the motion too general; he wiſhed for ſome time to examine the minutes of evidence taken on the occaſion by the ſelect committee, in order to ſee how far the guilt applied to each perſon intended to be named in the bill.

Sir F. BASSET thought ſome meaſure ought to be deciſively taken—it gave him pain to ſpeak, and he was ſure the Houſe was in as much to liſten to him. But he would only ſay, that Stockbridge was famous this century paſt for bribery. It certainly was not fair to viſit the ſins of the fathers upon the children; but if the children trod in the ſteps of their fathers, they ought to be ſtopt as ſoon as poſſible.

An

An Honourable Member under the gallery, whoſe name we could not learn, ſaid, that an Honourable Member had aſſerted that the majority of the voters were involved in the crime.

Mr. SALISBURY replied, that the whole number of elected amounted to 140, of whom 63 ſtood charged with bribery.

Mr. POWYS ſaid, he had no objection to a bill that would puniſh the guilty, but he wiſhed for a little time to meaſure the guilt of each.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL thought that ſome time ought to be given for that purpoſe.

Mr. W. ELLIS wiſhed to puniſh the guilty, but not to touch the right of ſuffrage. Leave was given to bring in the bill.

Mr. YORKE moved, that leave be given to bring in a bill to explain and amend an act paſſed in the 7th and 8th years of King William III. entitled, an Act for the further regulating Elections of Members to ſerve in Parliament; and for the preventing the irregular proceedings of ſheriffs and other officers, in the electing and returning ſuch Members, ſo far as relates to the publication of notices of the time and place of election. Leave was given.

MARCH 21.

Mr. WILBERFORCE moved the order of the day for the ſecond reading of the bill for preventing the working at canals during the corn harveſt; which was read a ſecond time, and ordered to be committed to a committee of the whole Houſe.

Mr. POWYS begged to call the attention of the Houſe to a ſubject, with reſpect to which he had been already unſucceſsful, both in a committee up ſtairs, and in a committee of the whole Houſe; he meant the queſtion as to limiting and applying the produce of the tolls in canal bills. His object was to prevent the granting unlimited profits to adventurers in canals, and for an unlimited period, as was at preſent the caſe; which he conſidered to be unfair to the public, and to be attended alſo with bad conſequences. This had, in his opinion, no analogy whatever to the caſe of mercantile adventurers, acting upon private ſpeculation, for he thought, that whenever parliament was called upon for the interpoſition of its authority, it had a fair title to limit the right which it conferred, in ſuch manner as might appear proper. It appeared to him highly material to put a ſtop to a ſpirit of ſpeculation with regard to canals, which ſeemed to have gone to an alarming height; and he therefore thought the Houſe ought to conſider, and to aſcertain how far private benefit might be made to go hand in hand with public advantage;—there were two ways of doing this, either by a limitation as to the extent of the

the profits, or as to the period of their duration.—Mr. Powys ſaid, he would propoſe that the regulations ſhould attach upon all canal bills in dependence, and which had not actually paſſed; and he concluded with moving, for leave to bring in a bill for limiting, regulating, and applying the produce of tolls in bills, for making and maintaining navigable canals.

Mr. GILBERT and Sir CHARLES MORGAN made each a few obſervations.

Sir GEORGE YONGE thought it irregular to re-agitate a queſtion which had been already determined upon during the preſent ſeſſion.

The SPEAKER ſtated that, in point of fact, there had been no deciſion whatever upon the queſtion in the Houſe; nor had it indeed been decided upon in the committee.

The Maſter of the Rolls, Mr. Drake, jun. Captain Berkeley, Mr. Serjeant Watſon, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, ſupported the motion; which was oppoſed by Mr. Hawkins Browne, Sir John Sinclair, Mr. Huſſey, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Windham, and Lord Sheffield.

The Houſe divided on Mr. Powys's motion.

Ayes	-	-	93
Noes	-	-	57

Mr. WHITBREAD, jun. roſe to expreſs his fears from what had already happened this year in the Houſe of Commons, on the ſubject of the ſlave trade, and the late period which the other Houſe had fixed for proceeding to the conſideration of it, and the examination of witneſſes reſpecting it, that nothing effectual would be done this ſeſſion for aboliſhing it, and that the trade would continue at leaſt for another year to diſgrace this country. He requeſted the Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Wilberforce) who had hitherto taken the lead in this important buſineſs, not to ſuffer his zeal to abate, but on the contrary, to purſue, with double vigour, an object which in all times to come muſt ſecure to his name the gratitude and veneration of all true friends to humanity. He wiſhed the Honourable Gentleman would be ſo good as to ſtate to the Houſe what were his intentions on the ſubject; and aſſured him, that if he was ſtill determined to preſs for the abolition during the preſent ſeſſion, he ſhould be ſupported by him and his friends to the utmoſt of their power.

Mr. WILBERFORCE returned the Honourable Gentleman his thanks for this recent aſſurance of ſupport; an aſſurance on which he could the more firmly rely, as in every ſtage of this buſineſs, from the very commencement, the Honourable Gentleman had uniformly and unequivocally ſupported him. He was extremely ſorry that a Right Honourable Gentle-

man (Mr. Dundas), who had taken ſo conſiderable a ſhare laſt year in the queſtion of the ſlave trade, had not thought proper this year to purſue even his own plan; and he was equally concerned that the Lords had put off the conſideration of it till after the Eaſter holidays. Theſe two circumſtances, he ſaid, were certainly unfavourable to the idea of effecting the abolition this year; however he was not without ſome hope that, though the preſent ſeſſion was already ſo far advanced, it would ſee an act paſſed for the total abolition of the ſlave trade, every day of whoſe exiſtence was a diſgrace to the nation, and injurious to humanity.—Here Mr. Wilberforce was called to order by

Mr. CAWTHORNE, who obſerved that there was no queſtion before the Houſe, and that conſequently the Honourable Gentleman was irregular in entering then into a diſcuſſion of the ſlave trade: the irregularity, he ſaid, was the more ſtriking after the intimation which the Houſe had not long ſince given of its opinion on this ſubject, when it negatived a motion for going into a committee on that trade on the day ſpecified in the motion, and put off the ſitting of ſuch committee to that day ſix months; in other words, after the Houſe had poſtponed all further conſideration of the buſineſs for the preſent ſeſſion.

Mr. LAMBTON requeſted that he would be ſo good as to anſwer him one queſtion, which was, whether in caſe he ſhould deſpair of carrying the meaſure of abolition this year, he would bring forward ſome plan for regulating the ſlave trade, as long as Parliament ſhould think proper to ſuffer it to continue?

Mr. WILBERFORCE ſaid he did not like to give a direct anſwer to the Honourable Member's queſtion, becauſe, were he to give notice of any plan for regulating the trade, it would be conſidered as a proof that he deſpaired of the abolition, when in reality he did not deſpair of it, but entertained hopes that he ſhould at laſt be ſo happy as to effect it. Could he bring himſelf to fear that thoſe hopes were ill-founded, he certainly would be glad to regulate what he could not aboliſh. Here the Speaker interfered, as there was no motion before the Houſe; Mr. Wilberforce ſat down, and here the buſineſs dropt.

The order of the day was now read, for the ſecond reading of the bill more effectually to prevent, during the war, all traiterous correſpondence with, or aid or aſſiſtance been given to, his majeſty's enemies.

Mr. CURWEN roſe and ſaid, that he had already troubled the Houſe on this ſubject, when the Attorney General moved for leave to bring in the bill: he could not help riſing again to expreſs his moſt hearty diſapprobation of a meaſure, which to him appeared to be unneceſſary in its object, ineffectual in its means for

for attaining it, and oppreſſive and impolitic in many of its proviſions. To prove theſe poſitions he went through the ſeveral clauſes, and deſcanted upon them as he proceeded. The firſt clauſe, he maintained it, was unneceſſary, becauſe the ſupplying of the King's enemies by any of his ſubjects with naval or military ſtores came within the 4th ſection of the 25th of Edward the Third, and as it was already treaſon by one law, it would not be neceſſary to declare it to be ſo by a new ſtatute. The ſecond clauſe for preventing any ſubject of his majeſty from purchaſing lands in France, or ſtock in the French funds, was in one point of view abſurd and in another dangerous, inſtead of being beneficial to England. Never could it have been ſo preposterous to endeavour to prevent an Engliſhman from ſpeculating in the purchaſe of French lands or French ſtock, as at a time when his own country afforded him every ſecurity for his property that human wiſdom could deviſe, and when there was in France no government, no regard for property, and no ſecurity for the enjoyment of it: under ſuch circumſtances, could any man in his ſenſes think of laying out his money in France rather than in England? What occaſion therefore could there be for prohibiting what was never likely to happen? The prohibition could not do any good; but it might be productive of very great injury to this country; for no doubt, it would make the French Convention enact a law for preventing the natives of France from placing their money in our funds, a law, which would be the more prejudicial to our intereſts, as in the preſent ſtate of affairs, the leſs ſecurity there was for property in France, the more the monied people there would feel themſelves diſpoſed to place their money in our funds; and therefore the prohibition which we were going to enact by this clauſe would neceſſarily operate againſt ourſelves, and in favour of France, who by a counter prohibition, the conſequence of this, would be able to prevent the French capital from being inveſted in our funds, and to keep it at home: the clauſe therefore would furniſh the Convention with the means of carrying on the war, though its avowed object was to do directly the reverſe. The clauſe which was for preventing Britiſh ſubjects from inſuring French ſhips, though intended to operate againſt France, would in reality prove to be a precaution againſt our own proſperity. Inſurance was a trade, and a gainful one too; its annual profits in England in former wars were eſtimated at 100,000l. and he believed that at the preſent period it might be ſet down as likely to produce a balance to this country of at leaſt 300,000l. a year. In ſupport of his opinion, that it would be found policy to ſuffer the trade of inſurance to be carried on during the war, he quoted the authority of Lord Mansfield, who had firſt declared in favour of

that

that policy in the year 1747; and to ſhew that the Noble and Learned Lord had not changed his mind upon that ſubject, he cited a caſe which was tried by Lord Mansfield in 1784, in which the Noble Judge ſaid, that inſurances of ſhips ought to be encouraged, as they promoted ſpeculation, and often led to diſcloſe the views of the enemy in the time of war. The clauſe for preventing any of his majeſty's ſubjects from going to France, or returning home during the war, he conſidered as a violation of juſtice; particularly as to the ſecond part of the clauſe: it ſurely muſt be a ſtrange doctrine to lay down, that merchants, for inſtance, who in the legal purſuit of their buſineſs might have been obliged to go to France, ſhould be prevented from returning home to their own country, and made exiles at the will or caprice of a Secretary of State. For all theſe reaſons he was of opinion, that the bill ought not to paſs into a law; and therefore he felt it to be his duty to his conſtituents and to the people at large to give it his decided negative.

The Honourable FREDERICK NORTH ſupported the bill as a meaſure called for by neceſſity, juſtified by precedent, and conſonant to the rules of ſound policy. The oppoſition which he found given to this bill, he feared, he muſt look upon as an extinction to the hope which he had fondly entertained of being able to act with that patriotic band of gentlemen, who in every ſituation, in miniſtry and in oppoſition, in popularity and in unpopularity, had from the year 1783 down to the preſent ſeſſion, nobly maintained the cauſe of the conſtitution. He had come into Parliament with the ſtrongeſt prepoſſeſſions in their favour, more indeed from a coincidence of ſentiments and principles, than from much perſonal intercourſe with them. The preſent queſtion, he conceived, could only reſt on the peculiar exigency of our preſent ſituation, and of our relative ſituation with reſpect to France. He entered into a hiſtory of the reſources and expenditure of France, to ſhew that the latter greatly exceeded the former, and ſtated that they had ſupplied their deficits by confiſcation. In ſuch a ſituation he would aſk, if we were ſupporting the war by voting ſupplies, and naval and military force, &c. without making any regulations for preventing money from being drained from this country and ſent to our enemies? And he conſidered this to be a war againſt our King in his perſon, and in his government,—a *bellum internecinum* for the purpoſe of overthowing the conſtitution. As to the clauſe reſpecting inſurances, he adverted to what Mr. Curwin had ſaid; and, although he had the higheſt reſpect for the authority of Lord Mansfield, he thought he might fairly oppoſe to it the authority of the legiſlature.—He ſaid, the clauſe impoſing regulations and reſtrictions as to the return of Britiſh ſubjects to

this country appeared to him to be juſtified by the preſent circumſtances, although, perhaps, ſomewhat more objectionable than any of the others.—When Britiſh ſubjects happened to be in any of the French dominions, engaged in commercial buſineſs, their being allowed to remain there was an act of favour on the part of the French, and it was ſurely to be regretted that they ſhould meet with any obſtacle on their return to their native country; but he believed there had been no inſtance of any paſſports being refuſed under the alien bill, unleſs to ſuch perſons as government had juſt reaſon to ſuſpect, and he was perſuaded that there was no danger of paſſports being refuſed to any perſons of the deſcription he had juſt been mentioning. As to another claſs of Britiſh ſubjects who had adopted French principles, and may probably, and perhaps ignorantly, have incurred the penalties of treaſon, the regulations of the preſent bill will in truth operate as a mitigation, rather than an extenſion, of the laws at preſent in force, by guarding them againſt incurring a danger of which they might not be aware. He concluded with ſaying, that he was prevented from going into the ſubject ſo fully as he wiſhed, from the confuſion he was in when he roſe to deliver his ſentiments, and in which he ſtill remained.

MAJOR MAITLAND ſaid, he did not intend to have troubled the Houſe in the preſent ſtage of the bill, becauſe he meant to have reſerved his objections for the committee. But as gentlemen on the other ſide of the Houſe had thought proper to obſerve that ſtubborn ſilence, which they almoſt uniformly did on every important queſtion, he found himſelf induced to ſay a few words at preſent.—As to the ſubject of the extenſion of the law of treaſons, he would ſay nothing upon it, as he did not pretend to underſtand it ſufficiently.—One great and avowed purpoſe of the preſent bill he underſtood to be, to prevent the capital of this country from being carried to France;—he would beg leave to aſk of the Honourable Gentleman (the Attorney General), whether he meant to include, under the regulations of the bill againſt purchaſing in the French funds, ſuch natives of France as are reſident in this country under the alien bill? Or, whether he meant thoſe regulations to extend to Britiſh ſubjects who have at preſent property in the French funds, and who cannot bring the intereſts ariſing therefrom into this country, except at a loſs of 60 per cent. ſo as to prevent them from applying theſe intereſts in purchaſing in the funds of France?—With reſpect to the clauſe altogether, it was indeed prepoſterous to ſuppoſe, that Engliſhmen, having here the beſt and moſt permanent ſecurity for their money, would ſend their capital to France, where they could have no ſecurity at all;—it was alſo moſt impolitic, becauſe the French would undoubtedly wiſh to

ſend

ſend their capital here; but if ſuch a regulation as this is adopted by us, it might well be ſuppoſed that France would do the ſame; and beſides, we would be giving the government of France the moſt material ſervice by forcing Frenchmen to employ their own money. He would not, he ſaid, follow the Honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt in his arguments as to the reſtrictions impoſed on Britiſh ſubjects returning to this country, becauſe, if that argument were well founded, it would go entirely againſt the reaſon of this bill, which would then operate as a mitigation rather than as an extenſion of the preſent law.

He concluded with highly diſapproving of the bill, and again putting preciſely to the Attorney General the two queſtions ſtated at the beginning of his ſpeech—As to French aliens reſident here, and as to Britiſh ſubjects having at preſent property in the French funds.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL, in reply to Major Maitland, ſaid, that he felt no difficulty in declaring that he meant to extend the operation of the bill to all aliens in England; whether it ſhould extend alſo to ſuch natives as had property at preſent in the French funds, might be a matter of diſcuſſion in the committee.

The queſtion for the ſecond reading was now put, and carried without a diviſion.

It was next moved and carried that the bill ſhould be committed, and to a committee of the whole Houſe.

Laſtly, it was moved by the Attorney General, that it ſhould be committed to-morrow.

Mr. FOX upon this expreſſed his ſurpriſe, that the Learned Gentleman ſhould wiſh to carry with ſuch precipitation through the Houſe a bill which, he did not heſitate to ſay, was an attack upon the fundamental liberties of Engliſhmen, and a meaſure equally ineffectual, impolitic, and tyrannical. An Honourable Gentleman had differed from him on this ſubject, but had been ſo candid as to ſay, that thoſe who now oppoſed this bill had, ever ſince the year 1783, maintained the moſt conſtitutional principles. It was an adherence to the ſame principles which made them now expreſs their diſapprobation of a meaſure which every good whig, as a whig, muſt heartily reprobate. Time ought to be allowed for diſcuſſing it; the precipitation with which he ſaw it was now to be hurried through the Houſe could anſwer no other end than that of preventing diſcuſſion. It was impoſſible that it ſhould paſs before the Eaſter receſs; for though it ſhould be committed to-morrow, and reported on Monday (March 24), it could not be read a third time till Tueſday, and on Wedneſday it would reach the Lords, that was to ſay, the day before the adjournment (Friday being Good

Friday). He truſted that gentlemen on the other ſide of the Houſe would not be quite ſo precipitate, but would allow ſome little delay This bill affected the nation at large; it was fit, therefore, that time ſhould be given for the people to expreſs their opinion upon it; and he believed that their opinion would be found to be extremely unfavourable; for, by what he could learn, no bill had ever been brought into Parliament which was more unpopular, as far as it had yet reached. He declared that there was not a ſingle clauſe in the bill to which he would not in the committee give his diſſent, unleſs he ſhould find ſomething ſtronger in favour of the clauſes than had yet been advanced in ſupport of them. To the clauſe for making it neceſſary for Engliſhmen to procure paſſports from the Secretary of State to return to their country, he was determined to give the moſt ſteady oppoſition; for by that clauſe Engliſhmen would find themſelves placed in the moſt degraded ſituation, when obliged to aſk a Secretary of State's leave to return to their country and their homes: for his own part he ſhould deſpiſe himſelf, if he could ſilently ſuffer himſelf to be placed in a ſituation in which he ſhould be obliged to apply to a ſervant of the crown as a favour, for leave to return to England or to his own houſe. For the purpoſe of procuring a delay of ſome days, he moved, by way of amendment, that the word "to-morrow" ſhould be left out of the motion, and that the words "Tueſday next" ſhould be inſerted in its ſtead.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER ſaid, the oppoſition to the motion of his Learned Friend did not go to the queſtion whether the bill now before the Houſe ſhould or ſhould not paſs into a law, but whether it ſhould be inveſtigated in a committee of the whole Houſe, and to conclude it in that Houſe before the holidays; and for the delay propoſed, the arguments appeared to him to be curious. The queſtion for the Houſe now was, whether thoſe who thought this bill, as the Right Honourable Gentleman had been pleaſed to deſcribe it, either ineffectual, impolitic, or tyrannical, were at this time prepared to give their ſentiments upon it: he, for his part, thought that no delay was neceſſary for that purpoſe; for ſurely gentlemen, who were pleaſed to ſpeak their ſentiments ſo deciſively, wanted no time to make up their minds, unleſs the Houſe were inclined to adopt the ingenious and epigrammatic mode of alteration of an Honourable Gentleman, who had ſaid that the only good thing he thought could be found in the bill was the clauſe which enabled Parliament to reviſe, alter, and amend the bill in the preſent ſeſſion. Now, what ſort of a bill that was to be which had the whole of its proviſions expunged he ſhould not attempt to explain.—If indeed there was an

ſerious objection to the principle of the bill, how were gentlemen who pretended to have ſuch objection to account for their conduct this night, after having ſuffered the queſtion for the ſecond reading to paſs *nemine contradicente*.—[Here there was a great cry of No! No!] He ſaid, he did not hear any perſon object to the queſtion; but ſurely they who pretended to oppoſe the bill, either thought it was not ſuch as ought to be further diſcuſſed upon the general principle and merits—or that they muſt think that their arguments were ſuch as had been already urged, and that it was needleſs to repeat them, for that the Houſe had already aſſented to the general principle of the bill, by the ſanction given to the ſecond reading. The principle being thus diſpoſed of, the queſtion then was, whether there were any clauſes in the bill which could not be diſcuſſed in the committee to-morrow, and whether gentlemen were not prepared for that purpoſe. The Right Honourable Gentleman ſaid, that all the clauſes were either ineffectual, impolitic, or tyrannical. If he knew that to be the character of them, there could be no difficulty in his proving that in a committee to-morrow as well as on Tueſday. Indeed he ſaw no reaſon for delay; in the courſe of this meaſure there had been ample time given to conſider it. His Learned Friend had given notice of his motion for leave to bring in the bill, poſtponed it, and on the day he brought forward the motion he had ably opened the general proviſions of the bill, on which there was conſiderable diſcuſſion, and many objections ſtarted, which, in his opinion, were fairly and fully anſwered. The bill had for its object proviſion upon general points. The one for preventing any perſon from going abroad without licence, &c. [Here he repeated the ſubſtance of the bill under diſtinct heads.] The objections were general, and the leading one, in a conſtitutional point of view, was, that it added to the offences already declared to be treaſon, at a time when there was not any reaſon to apprehend any danger to this country; that it was not under any circumſtances which required any extraordinary exertion in that particular. He differed entirely upon that point, and it was on that difference which he thought it was neceſſary to amend the law of treaſon. There often had been mentioned two claſſes of men, who were ſuppoſed to have oppoſite principles—whigs and tories. There often had been thoſe who called themſelves whigs, but who in principles were tories, and afterwards proved to be ſuch.—[A prodigious cry of hear! hear! hear!]—He knew how often it had happened that tories had availed themſelves of the popularity of the character of whig, and had therefore aſſumed the title without the principles—[Another loud cry of hear! hear! hear!]—Whatever might have been thought of

thoſe

thoſe perſons to whom we could with propriety refer as a ſtandard for pure conſtitutional principles in this country, he alluded to thoſe who were the moſt active in bringing about the revolution, the very ſentiments profeſſed by thoſe perſons upon the law of treaſon were much more rigorous than any part of the bill now before the Houſe. The very clauſe moſt complained of was nothing but a mitigation of the law of treaſon as defined by the authors of the revolution. If therefore the danger which the wiſdom and the vigour of our anceſtors removed, was ſuch as appeared to them to require ſuch laws, he was ſure that the preſent time was not leſs ſo, and conſequently the ſame proviſion ought to be made; for great as were the arms of France, and the dangerous practices and ſpirit of ſeditious individuals in this country, theſe were not all the evils for which the preſent bill was to provide a remedy. He ſhould contend that theſe proviſions were proper when the bill went into a committee, and he ſhould alſo contend, that the bill, in ſome parts of it, only explained the law, and on theſe parts the queſtion would only be, whether that which was clearly law already, ought not to continue ſo. He then entered into ſome particular parts of the bill, and defended them in general, and concluded with oppoſing a further delay of the committee.

Mr. FOX ſaid, he never underſtood that to be carrying a queſtion *nemine contradicente*, when ſeveral Gentlemen had ſaid no to it. It was a new faſhion of conſidering, that a gentleman can have no objection whatever to any part of a meaſure, if he did not take the ſenſe of the Houſe by a diviſion. His ſentiments were already known upon this bill, and the reaſon why he did not call for a diviſion upon the queſtion upon the ſecond reading was, that he underſtood many gentlemen approved of the principle of the bill, but object to many of the clauſes, and that a diviſion upon the ſecond reading would produce no good effect, but that ſomething might be done in the committee. The reaſon why he wiſhed for a delay until Tueſday was not ſo much for himſelf (for he was ready to debate it now), as for the opportunity of having ſome knowledge how a bill of ſuch immenſe importance to the rights of Engliſhmen was thought of out of that Houſe.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL denied that the bill was in the ſlighteſt degree ineffectual, impolitic, or tyrannical. He felt himſelf included among thoſe who were cenſured as having favoured proviſions that were inimical to the principles of civil liberty; but he truſted that if ſuch had been his conduct, the gentlemen by whom he was ſupported on the preſent occaſion would have conſigned him to that ſentence of ſelf-condemnation which he ſhould ſo amply have deſerved. He could not think that

that the bill was tyrannical becauſe it impoſed ſome reſtraint on the conduct of thoſe ſubjects who might return from France; for if it ſhould appear that ſuch reſtraint was unneceſſary, the perſons concerned had power to apply to the neighbouring juſtices of the peace, his Majeſty's judges, or to the Secretary of State, in their own behalf. With regard to the popularity of the bill, Gentlemen could only judge from the ſentiments of thoſe perſons without doors with whom they had been in the habits of familiar intercourſe; and if he might judge from what *he* had heard, and ſuch circumſtances, the bill certainly was by no means likely to become unpopular. He was as little inclined, the Attorney General ſaid, to believe that the bill would prove impolitic and ineffectual, as that the public would conſider any of its proviſions tyrannical. It had been ſaid, that the clauſe prohibiting the purchaſing of lands in France was a wild one; but that ſuch a clauſe had been highly neceſſary he was conſtrained to believe from the fact which had lately come under his knowledge, of a land-ſurveyor having written a letter to a gentleman to excuſe his attendance on particular buſineſs, as he was engaged to go over to France to look over ſome lots of land which were abſolutely on ſale. If the National Convention had diſtinctly confeſſed that the means of carrying on the war were to ariſe from the ſale of lands, ſurely a clauſe which prevented Engliſhmen from parting with their money on the ſecurity of ſuch lands, was a deprivation to France of the means of carrying on the war.—As to the charge which had been thrown on government of having libelled the people of this country, by the implications in which they had involved them by the terms of the preſent bill, he had flattered himſelf that that ſubject had been dropped long ſince. It had been ſaid at the beginning of the ſeſſion that the loyalty of the people of England was libelled by the preparations of government, and he did not imagine that the charge would have been renewed on the preſent occaſion. It was a fact that the moſt dangerous doctrines had gone forth; doctrines, the operations of which could not be checked but by declaring them liable to the penalties of treaſon. In former times, at the period of the revolution, the doctrine that the King, Lords, and Commons, could not regulate the ſucceſſion of the crown, had been declared to be treaſon, and were not the ſame, or more dangerous, doctrines held out at this moment? The meaſures which govenment had adopted had met the approbation of nine tenths of the people without doors, and of a conſiderable majority in that Houſe; and, when thoſe meaſures had been diſapproved, the gentlemen who diſapproved them had been the only libellers; they had been the libellers of the majority both of that Houſe and of the people

people without doors. The Attorney General next contended that the clauſe prohibiting inſurance was neither impolitic nor ineffectual. It might be aſked, ſince many of the facts ſpecified in the bill were treaſonable by the ſtatute of Edward the Third, why make them ſo again? To this queſtion he ſhould only reply, that the repetition had not been made without the ſanction of many examples on ſimilar occaſions. One reaſon, indeed, why he thought that the progreſs of the bill ſhould not be delayed, was, that much the greater part of the declaration of the bill had been ſpecified as high treaſon already, and ſubject to ſevere penalties; which penalties were ſtill capable of being enforced previous to the paſſing of the preſent bill.

Mr. ALDERMAN ANDERSON declared it to be his opinion, that the preſent bill ought to paſs with all poſſible expedition. He profeſſed his confidence in the vigilance of adminiſtration, and of our naval commanders, which had already been manifeſted by our capture of ſo many French veſſels; and was convinced that, whatever exception might be made to ſome of the clauſes of the bill, no property belonging to the French ought to be inſured in this country.

Mr. SHERIDAN ſaid, he did not mean to follow the Learned Gentleman through all his obſervations to-night upon the queſtion now before the Houſe, for the Learned Gentleman ſeemed to him to have forgotten the queſtion entirely; had he been either a little more ſlow or more alert in his thoughts, he might perhaps have met the ſubject of debate, and have argued upon it.—The queſtion was, whether, upon the diſcuſſion of this important bill, the ſhort ſpace between this and Tueſday next ſhould be allowed to endeavour to underſtand the clauſes of the bill. The Learned Gentleman of courſe having ſtudied the ſubject, muſt underſtand it perfectly, but he had not ſaid one word why other Gentlemen, in order to underſtand it alſo, ſhould not have time as well as himſelf. Upon the former ſtage of this bill, the Learned Gentleman ſaid nothing preſſing upon the point of time; indeed nobody could ſuppoſe that ſuch expedition was thought of; for war had been declared againſt us long before any notice was given of any intention of bringing in this bill.—There was another reaſon for ſome delay, and one which had been preſſed a good deal by the learned Gentleman himſelf when he opened the bill—he meant the aſſiſtance of Gentlemen of the long robe, particularly that of a learned and moſt able Member of that Houſe, and ornament of his profeſſion (Mr. Erſkine) that aſſiſtance could not be had if the Houſe went into the committee to-morrow. As to the bill being in ſome parts of it tyrannical, Mr. Sheridan obſerved, that part of the ſubject had not been fairly treated by the advocates for the bill; they ſaid

there was no evil in it for which there was not a remedy. If a man came from France, and was taken into cuſtody for not complying with certain capricious diſtinctions, he might apply to the Secretary of State to be diſcharged, and he ſhould have his liberty.—How?—If the Secretary of State pleaſed, but not otherwiſe. Could any thing be more tyrannical than ſuch a meaſure?—As to the libel on the people of England, that they were many of them diſpoſed to ſedition, that the preſent times are full of danger, and that the bill in queſtion is only a mitigation of the law of treaſon as formed by the founders of the revolution, there was the moſt groſs miſapplication—at the time when the alterations were made in the act of Edward the Third, and quoted as a ſpecimen, there was indeed reaſon to apprehend ſedition and rebellion; that was a law in conſequence of the petition of the people praying for it, and it was carried againſt the influence and in direct hoſtility to the crown.—Indeed, Mr. Sheridan ſaid, it was matter of aſtoniſhment to him, that Gentlemen could ſhew their faces to the people of this country, and tell them gravely, that there is treaſon and ſedition in this country; and that there are the ſame reaſons at this day for the bill in queſtion, as there was at the time of the revolution; that the preſent moment required the ſame reſtraints as when there was a plot againſt the ſafety of the ſtate; that the people, when they were quiet, muſt ſubmit to be treated as traitors; and that at this hour the ſame rigour in principle was to be obſerved.—Men were brought daily to the block when there was a plot for the aſſaſſination of King William. To ſay that theſe were times ſtill more dangerous—upon his honour, he was aſtoniſhed at the effrontery of ſuch obſervations. He was ſure the charge of ſedition on the people of this country was a foul calumny upon them. Let the Attorney General produce his proofs. Let him tell that Houſe that he would take up one man in the kingdom for treaſon. Let him name one man whom he ſuſpected. Let him charge one man with a ſeditious view. But whenever theſe queſtions were aſked, inſtead of ſhewing the exiſtence of the evil, Miniſters contented themſelves with producing a remedy. Did we aſk for proof of ſedition? Look at the alien bill, was the anſwer. They proved the diſtemper, by inſiſting on providing a remedy. Like a phyſician ſaying to a perſon who knew himſelf to be well, "You want phyſic;" or, "You muſt be bled to-day."—If the anſwer is, "I am well, I do not want your aſſiſtance;" then the doctor would affect a reſolute tone, and inſiſt on bleeding his patient to-day; and if he did not then find himſelf ill, to put him in a ſtrait waiſtcoat to-morrow.—With reſpect to what the Right Honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer had ſaid upon Whigs and Tories, Mr. Sheridan did

not doubt his ſkill. He did not know any perſon ſo well ſituated to prove that a man may affect to be a Whig, and be a Tory in his heart; he did not know a man who had greater reaſon to feel what he ſaid upon that ſubject, or to underſtand it better. However, he believed that if the Right Honourable Gentleman meant any thing by what he ſaid on that ſubject, he meant to convey a ſentiment, and eſtabliſh a doctrine the moſt pernicious of all to public liberty—that public profeſſion of principle is altogether a piece of deluſion upon the people of this country.—This was done by the Miniſter with a view of bringing all public ſpirit into contempt, to deſtroy all diſtinction between the friends of freedom and the friends of deſpotiſm, and to build his own power upon the ruin of both: but, whatever he might think, there was too much good ſenſe in the people of this country to be impoſed on by ſuch ſtale attempts; they began to ſee the difference between their friends, and thoſe who wiſhed to deceive them. Mr. Sheridan made many other obſervations, and concluded with ſaying, he had no doubt but that Miniſters began to feel that the ſeditious ſtory, and all the trade of the alarmiſts began to flag, and therefore this bill was brought in to revive the deluſion; but the people might be ſaid to be like thoſe who are ſworn at Highgate, they never would take any counterfeit, while they could have the reality.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER obſerved, that the Honourable Gentleman had conſidered the danger of the preſent period as not worthy of compariſon with that with which this country was threatened at the time of the revolution. But he thought far differently; and the preſent danger appeared to him to be much greater than that at the revolution, as the principles which were aſſiduouſly promulgated were broader, more daring, and pregnant with greater miſchiefs to mankind than any which had ever been avowed by the Jacobite party. I what he had ſaid relative to the verſatility of language between Whigs and Tories was conſtrued into a diſbelief and conſequent diſregard of all public principle, he diſclaimed ſo unjuſt an imputation with the utmoſt diſdain. He had ſpoken with reverence of the aſſertors of Whig principles at the time of the revolution; and he had only oppoſed thoſe living Whigs who claimed them as their excluſive right, and had attacked as tyrannical a bill which was founded on thoſe very principles.

Mr. SHERIDAN ſaid, whether the Right Honourable Gentleman diſdained the imputation he did not care, only the more he diſdained the more Mr. Sheridan thought he had put the point aright. The Right Honourable Gentleman ſaid he was not one of the living Whigs, or thoſe who lately called themſelves ſo.—Indeed Mr. Sheridan ſaid he did not hear him name

any living Whigs, but obſerved that he ſeemed to allude to ſome dead ones. I wiſh, ſaid Mr. Sheridan, he would take ſome of our Whig *principles* from us, inſtead of Whig *Members*.

Mr. S. THORNTON aſked if the preſent meaſure went to affect bills of exchange, or the receipt of dividends from money already in the funds?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL ſaid, he did not mean any ſuch operation to this bill, and promiſed to attend to the ſuggeſtions of the Honourable Gentleman who made the hint when the bill came into the committee.

Mr. S. THORNTON ſaid that he had aſked the queſtion in conſequence of ſuch an alarm having gone abroad.

Lord JOHN RUSSEL oppoſed the principle of the bill.

Mr. MARTIN ſaid, that nothing was more dangerous and unparliamentary than the haſte with which the bill was to be precipitated through the Houſe. He thought, however, that the proviſions might be neceſſary, in conſequence of exiſting circumſtances: he ſhould therefore vote in favour of the bill. He agreed in the opinion which certain gentlemen had profeſſed, that, whatever might be thought of the original juſtice of the war, yet, when it was once entered into, we were bound to cooperate with government in its proſecution; and he hoped that thoſe gentlemen would recollect their word, and, conſidering that we were now actually at war, would not throw obſtacles in the way of it.

Mr. WHITBREAD declared that he had, for one, profeſſed his intention of ſupporting the war if it was once entered into; but he did not conceive that ſuch profeſſion had pledged him to the unqualified ſupport of every meaſure of adminiſtration. He thought the conduct of Miniſters in the preſent inſtance highly indecent; and ſtrenuouſly urged the propriety of deferring the commitment of the preſent bill.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL explained.

Mr. T. GRENVILLE oppoſed the ſpeedy commitment of the bill.

The Houſe divided on Mr. Fox's amendment.

For it	- -	37
Againſt it	- -	127

MARCH 22.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL moved the order of the day, which was, that the Houſe go into a committee on the bill for preventing traiterous correſpondence with his Majeſty's enemies; and ſtated his intention of propoſing ſeveral modifications.

Mr. FOX ſaid, he was happy to hear that thoſe who brought in the bill began to think that it was not quite perfect, and that it might want ſome modification.—For his part, he thought the proviſions of the bill to be ſuch as ought to meet the deteſtation of the people of this country. He ſhould attend to whatever modifications ſhould be offered; but the beſt modification he knew would be that of expunging all the clauſes out of the bill.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER recommended moderation of temper in the diſcuſſion of this buſineſs.

Mr. FOX ſaid, he wanted to prevent the progreſs of a bill which the imagination of man could hardly think of without aſtoniſhment and abhorrence—a bill which perhaps was never equalled in the deſpotiſm of its principle.—And he knew that thoſe who brought it in could not, without conſiderable vigilance from others, be prevailed upon to pay any attention to the conſtitution of this country.

The Speaker having left the chair, and the Houſe gone into a committee, the Solicitor General moved, "that the preamble of the bill be poſtponed."

Mr. GREY roſe to object to the motion. He thought that facts ought to be ſtated, as the foundation of a bill which went to veſt government with ſuch extraordinary powers. The proviſions of the bill he conſidered as not bearing out the title, and therefore he ſhould vote againſt the poſtponement of the preamble.

Mr. SOLICITOR GENERAL ſtated, that the object of the bill was more accurately to ſpecify thoſe acts which conſtituted treaſon. The ſtatute of Edward III. condemned as treaſonable all perſons who gave aid to the King's enemies in time of war, and the proviſions of the preſent bill went to prevent them from giving ſuch aid. The Solicitor General ſaid, that he had heard much of public virtue and patriotiſm from gentlemen on the other ſide of the Houſe; but he truſted that there exiſted as much public virtue and patriotiſm among thoſe who brought in the bill as among thoſe who oppoſed it.

Mr. GREY roſe to reply. In the courſe of his ſpeech he adverted to what had fallen from an Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Martin) as to his promiſe of ſupporting the war, when once entered into, and ſaid that he did not feel himſelf conſequentially pledged by ſuch a promiſe to ſupport every meaſure of adminiſtration. He had ſupported the war by a liberal grant for that purpoſe; but no ties of duty demanded that he ſhould ſupport thoſe acts of government, in the proſecution of it, which might appear to him to deſerve cenſure.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL denied that the title of the bill was at all irrelative to the ſubject of its proviſions. The title

did not ſpeak of preventing *traiterous correſpondence* only, but likewiſe uſed the words "aid and aſſiſt his Majeſty's enemies." He then entered into the reaſons of the different proviſions of the bill, all of which went to the prevention of ſuch aid and ſuch aſſiſtance. It was neceſſary however to explain, that the clauſe which affected thoſe perſons who might remain in France was not meant to imply any impeachment of the motives of thoſe who had already gone, but to prevent others from going who might be induced to do ſo for treaſonable motives and purpoſes.

Mr. MARTIN roſe to ſtate the meaning of what had fallen from him in the courſe of a former debate on the ſubject of the ſupport due to government in the proſecution of the war. He ſaid that he meant nothing more than that gentlemen ſhould give that candid and honourable ſupport which might as truly proceed from the ſide of oppoſition, as from thoſe who were in the habits of conſtantly approving and ſupporting the meaſures of Miniſters.

Mr. HAWKINS BROWNE replied to the objections which had been made to the poſtponement of the preamble of the bill. It had been ſaid that the preamble was not proper, becauſe all parts of the bill did not go to prevent traiterous correſpondence; but the Honourable Gentleman who had urged that objection ſeemed to have forgot that the preamble had likewiſe uſed the words "aid and aſſiſtance to his Majeſty's enemies." Mr. Hawkin's Browne conſidered the danger to the conſtitution of this country exiſting at the time of the revolution, and that which exiſted at preſent, as eſſentially different; and much more terrible in the latter caſe than in the former. He was proceeding to ſpeak of the different factious clubs which had been eſtabliſhed, when

Mr. BOUVERIE called the Honourable Gentleman to order, and deſired that the queſtion might be read; which was done accordingly.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER defended the Honourable Gentleman from the charge of having been diſorderly, and condemned the nature of the oppoſition to the preſent bill.

Mr. SHERIDAN agreed that the Honourable Gentleman oppoſite to him (Mr. Browne) had been perfectly in order; but it had been ſaid that his Honourable Friend had been diſorderly in his oppoſition to the poſtponing the preamble, which he could by no means admit. It might be true that in many caſes it was uſual and proper to poſtpone the preamble; but, in this caſe, where the aſſumptions in the preamble afford the only juſtification of the enactments of the bill, to deſire of gentlemen

to

to poſtpone the preamble, without requiring any proof of theſe aſſumptions, was in truth deſiring them to agree to all theſe enactments, of ſuch a new and alarming nature, without requiring the ſmalleſt evidence that there is any ground of neceſſity for them whatever.

Mr. ANSTRUTHER wiſhed to know if the Honourable Gentleman who had oppoſed the preſent motion, meant to ſay, in contradiction to the aſſertion contained in the preamble of the bill, that it was not expedient to prevent aid and aſſiſtance being given to his majeſty's enemies? It was ſaid no; ſhew me the facts by which the bill can be eſtabliſhed, and I will readily admit of its expediency: but were facts expected to be aſcertained previous to the bringing in of a bill, or was it neceſſary that they ſhould have occurred when that bill was a bill of prevention? The purchaſe of lands and inſurance of ſhips were actually going on, and it was time to check evils which, however innocent in their attention, did aid the purpoſes of France. He therefore did think, that the prevention of either of the three things ſtated in the preamble of the bill was abſolutely expedient.

Mr. POWYS recalled the attention of the committee to the real queſtion then before them, viz. whether the preamble of the bill ſhould be poſtponed?

Mr. FOX was decidedly of opinon againſt poſtponing the preamble, and inſiſted that, before acceding to a propoſition ſo new and alarming, it ſhould at leaſt be juſtified by a clear proof of an urgent neceſſity. The Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Anſtruther) had quibbled on this preamble in a moſt extraordinary manner, and had been obliged to ſtate it unfairly in order to ſupport his deduction: he has aſked whether it can be denied that it is expedient to prevent correſponding with his majeſty's enemies, &c. but the words of the preamble are, that it is expedient more effectually to prevent ſuch correſpondence, &c. and he would aſk, on the other hand, whether, without any knowledge of the inſufficiency of the exiſting laws, or of any dangerous and extraordinary urgency, you would think it right to go on to the enacting of ſuch dreadful proviſions as ſome of thoſe which compoſe this bill? Gentlemen talk of what had been done at the revolution; let them follow the example of thoſe who acted at that time, by ſhewing evidence of the neceſſity of the preſent meaſure: he could not agree with much that he had heard that night; for, upon the principles now aſſerted, if a handful of men, however inſignificant, or however ſmall in number, ſhould happen to entertain opinions ſubverſive of the eſtabliſhed conſtitution, this alone would be held ſufficient to juſtify the inveſting government with the moſt arbitrary powers,

powers, though there exiſted, in fact, no real danger. An Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Browne) had ſaid that, if he was a Jacobite, he would not take the part even of his favourite monarch, if impoſed on by the power of France; for his part, if the conſtitution which he ſo much venerated was to be deſtroyed, he did not care whether its overthrow ſhould come from France, or originate at home. He would ſupport Miniſters in carrying on the war, but he would not agree to undermine the conſtitution; and he would not give his concurrence to the proceeding one ſtep further in the preſent bill, without evidence of ſome great and urgent neceſſity. It had been hinted that inconveniencies had ariſen during the American war, from improper intercourſe with the enemy; for his part he had never before heard of it, and he was ſure no ſuch thing had ever been proved. He believed that, during the war which begun in 1756, and ended in 1762, leſs reſtrictions had been impoſed than in any other war, and he would ſubmit it to gentlemen, without any obſervation, whether this had been attended with any bad conſequence.

Lord BEAUCHAMP thought that no parallel could be drawn between the war of 1756 and the preſent. This war had peculiar features belonging to it, which ſet at defiance all attempts at compariſon with former wars. In every former war the countries engaged reſpected the conſtitutions of each other; but in this, our enemy ſeemed ſatisfied with nothing leſs than the complete deſtruction of our whole political eſtabliſhment. The bill which was about to come under the diſcuſſion of the committee, appeared to him a neceſſary meaſure, and therefore he ſaw no reaſon why they ſhould deviate from the uſual ſyſtem of poſtponing the preamble of the bill. As to the articles which were prohibited from being exported to France; the neceſſity of prohibition was very plain, for France had paſſed a decree containing a ſimilar prohibition with regard to imports from this country, with the exception of the very articles ſpecified in the bill. As to thoſe articles in the ſale of which a man, it was ſaid, might be innocently engaged, it was no matter whether men's intentions were innocent or treaſonable, if the conſequences of the act were equally pernicious to the public.

Mr. BURKE ſaid, that if we looked to the period of the revolution, when the conſtitution had juſt been purified, we ſhould find, along with the bill of rights and ſeveral acts for ſecuring and preſerving our liberties, an act to enable his Majeſty to take up any perſons whom be ſuſpected of diſaffection. In fact, in all laws of civil polity it was founded on the nature of things, that ſome portion of the liberty of individuals muſt be ſacrificed in order to ſecure and protect general liberty and good order. In this country five acts reſtraining liberty had all paſſed under

the

the adminiſtration of whigs:—but, in truth, neither whigs nor tories, according to the true ſenſe of theſe terms as he underſtood it, were direct enemies to the conſtitution; for they were both attached to the government by King, Lords, and Commons; only, in a doubtful queſtion betwixt prerogative and privilege, the whigs would incline to the ariſtocratic and democratic party, while the tories would lean to the ſide of the crown: both were ever ready to join againſt any foreign enemy of their country, and this muſt always be the caſe with every honeſt Engliſhman. With reſpect to the bill now under conſideration, the truth was, that the rigour of the law had relaxed in practice, and can it then be improper, at ſuch a time as the preſent, to recall to the minds of the people and to give fair warning how the law, in its rigour, actually ſtands? As ſleep, though a total ſuſpenſion of all the faculties of man, is abſolutely neceſſary, in the animal economy, for recruiting vigour and activity, juſt ſo it is with free countries, eſpecially in times of convulſion; they muſt reſtrain or ſuſpend a portion of their liberties, in order to preſerve and invigorate the whole fabric of their general liberty, and of their conſtitution and government. We have now a foreign enemy who have attempted to form a domeſtic faction in favour of their views, and have in part ſucceeded. [Here there was a loud cry of No, no, no.] Mr. Burke repeated what he had ſaid, and aſked whether, in ſuch a ſituation, we ſhould not provide againſt the danger by ſuch a bill as this, for fear of giving up a part of our liberties?—As well might it be ſaid that he impriſoned himſelf, were he to put bolts and bars on his doors in order to guard againſt houſebreakers. It was no doubt true that any fortreſs is nearly allied to a priſon, and the queſtion muſt altogether depend upon the danger of attack from an enemy: if a man, without any ſuch danger, locks himſelf up in a fortreſs like Louis XIth, he muſt be looked upon as a madman. Mr. Burke next deſcanted on the object of the French at preſent in making war; and ſaid, that when M. Dumourier, at the head of his barbarians, over-ran Flanders, his conduct was a model of their ſyſtem and object in war, and ſhewed that it was not ſo much directed againſt the power as againſt the government of the countries with which they were at war. In the late caſe of Holland, which came ſtill nearer to us, the ſame Dumourier, before he began his attack, had actually, by a declaration, depoſed the Stadtholder, and overturned the whole eſtabliſhed government of that Republic. They have declared the war to be general, and we have no reaſon to ſuppoſe that their object, with reſpect to this country, is at all different. In ſuch a ſituation, he conceived the regulations of the bill to be highly neceſſary and proper: indeed, ſo far as it explains preciſely what is already

already treaſon, it is a kind law; and it only follows out the directions of the act of Edward III. ſo far as it declares what is treaſon in caſes that may be doubtful. But it alſo enacts certain new poſitive regulations; and here it adopts a principle which is eſſentially neceſſary for effecting the purpoſe of its enactment, and upon which the whole ſyſtem of all police laws muſt be founded, viz. the making a ſubſtantive crime what is, in itſelf, no crime, for the purpoſe of leading to the prevention of actual crimes. Thus a veſſel of a certain burden and conſtruction found loaden with particular articles, and in certain ſituations, is liable to ſeizure and confiſcation for the purpoſe of preventing ſmuggling; and though maſquerading is, in itſelf, no crime, a particular puniſhment is inflicted on perſons appearing with blacked faces, &c. A Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Fox) had ſaid that, if the conſtitution is to be overthrown, he would think it a matter of little conſideration whether he ſhould be obliged to ſurrender it to Miniſters or to foreigners: for his part he did not like to ſtate a caſe on the ſuppoſal that he was to ſurrender them at all; but, if he was to be ſubdued, he confeſſed it was his opinion that, placed in the ſituation of Brutus, he would rather give up to Cæſar—or as Cæſar, he would rather give up to Brutus, than have ſubmitted to the yoke of the great monarch of Perſia:—but God forbid that he ſhould ſurrender or weaken any part of the conſtitution of his country! The French, he ſaid, though ſtill retaining ſome degree of their outward politeneſs, had abandoned every feeling of ſenſibility; and the houſes of private individuals were entered, as by houſe-breakers, under the ſpecious title of *viſites domiciliares*. He inſtanced alſo the Tribunal Revolutionaire, and ſaid that no tyrannies could equal what are now practiſed in that country:—he had been himſelf denounced, and proſcribed there; in proof of which he read, from a newſpaper, a paragraph ſtating, that the time was not yet come for bringing before that tribunal *the Oreſtes of the Britiſh Parliament, the furious Mr. Burke*; it alſo mentioned Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville, and ſaid that they would all be preſently *on their knees before the ſtatue of Liberty to expiate their crimes with their lives*.—Mr. Burke again reverted to the bill in queſtion, and ſaid it did not occur to him to be a meaſure of that kind, which a general engagement to ſupport the war would pledge gentlemen to ſupport; but, for his part, he voted not upon general ſupport, but as ſupporting rationally and politically, in this particular inſtance, that kind of war in which we are at preſent engaged; and he concluded with obſerving, that although he thought it neceſſary at preſent to give to Miniſters ſuch diſcretion as was propoſed to be entruſted to them by the preſent

bill, yet he certainly conceived that they would be reſponſible for any groſs abuſe of that diſcretionary power.

Mr. SHERIDAN ſaid, that the Right Honourable Gentleman who had juſt ſat down, had, as he uſually did, made a very able and very eloquent ſpeech, and, as uſual alſo, applied his wit, his mirth, and humour, upon ſubjects which did not perhaps call for either—wars, treaſons, murders, and maſſacres. He ſhould not follow the Right Honourable Gentleman upon all he had ſaid, becauſe that would be entering into the diſcuſſion of points ariſing out of the clauſes of the bill, which, in his opinion, ought to be reſerved for diſcuſſion in the committee. The Right Honourable Gentleman had begun with ſaying he was always deſirous of appealing to the Houſe, on the ſenſe of what he called the good times of the conſtitution. Mr. Sheridan ſaid, he ſhould be glad to join in that appeal, if he ſaw it done with an honeſt intention, or if he did not ſee that this was done by gentlemen who only referred to thoſe times when they had to introduce any ſubject which had for its object the increaſe of their own power hereafter, and took references from times of danger, for the purpoſe of quoting the degree of confidence which was then thought to be neceſſarily repoſed in the officers of government; and thus the better to prepare the people at this time to the ſame confidence, when the ſame danger did not exiſt, and conſequently where there could not be the ſame reaſon for ſuch confidence and power. Here the Right Honourable Gentleman's deception began. He ſaid, that immediately after the declaration of rights, and the bill of rights, came a power by which the King was enabled to order any perſon to be taken up, and that on ſuſpicion only of being an enemy to the ſtate. Having advanced thus far, the Right Honourable Gentleman then came to a concluſion directly, that what was done on that occaſion ſhould certainly, by the faireſt reaſon, be done on this; for, ſaid he, would you not do now what the wiſdom and virtue of your anceſtors prompted them to do under ſimilar circumſtances? The anſwer was plain and ſhort. The circumſtances are not ſimilar. We were at the time that the Right Honourable Gentleman alluded to, at the æra of a revolution. Was that the caſe with this country at this moment?—Did the Right Honourable Gentleman, or did they who pretended to agree with him, mean to ſay, and to perſevere in it as an argument, that we are now in an equal degree of danger as we were at the time of the revolution?—If this was anſwered in the affirmative, than there might upon that anſwer be an end entire to every barrier which the ſubject ever had againſt oppreſſion; for if we were now in a ſtate as alarming as at that period, the argument would go to the ſuſpenſion of the habeas corpus act,

and to place the whole kingdom under martial law.—But it ſeemed that the preſent time was to be conſidered ſimilar to that of the revolution to a degree on—to a degree—to what degree?—If two or three factious perſons could be named in this country, was that to be conſidered as ſimilar in ſuch a degree to the time of the revolution as to render it neceſſary to introduce the ſame meaſure of precaution as at that period?—But who were theſe very factious perſons? Upon this, however, the Right Honourable Gentleman had come to ſomething like a pledge that he would name certain perſons of that deſcription at ſome future day—A prodigious cry of hear! hear! hear!—"I now challenge him to name thoſe perſons when he pleaſes," ſaid Mr. Sheridan, "for painful as theſe obſervations are for me to make them, I muſt repeat to that Right Honourable Gentleman that I expect to hear his liſt of names and his proofs, but then let me tell him what ſort of proof I ſhall require of him." He meant not to be ſatisfied with the Right Honourable Gentleman's reiterating his charges vaguely, or even of his naming any particular men, and calling them traitors, becauſe we all knew the facility with which that could be done. Nor did he mean to ſay he ſhould be contented with hearing general aſſertions of our danger. He ſhould expect of the Right Honourable Gentleman the names of the conſpirators, and what they were; and what meaſures they had taken to manifeſt their intentions, and conſequently to juſtify the Right Honourable Gentleman with loading them with the black appellation of traitors. He ſhould expect alſo of all the ſupporters of the bill in queſtion, as a matter of neceſſity, and as a meaſure juſtified by precedent, ſome proof of that neceſſity. If they failed in this, then he muſt declare them the calumniators of the people of this country. At the time which was now ſaid to be ſimilar to the preſent, he meant the revolution, ſomething like evidence was given of the neceſſity of the meaſures which parliament adopted. A plot had been formed againſt the king's life, and the King himſelf came to parliament and informed them of the diſcovery of the plot in a ſpeech which he delivered from the throne: the ſpeech began with ſtating—here Mr. Sheridan read the ſpeech of King William to the Parliament—the ſubſtance of which was, That there was a plot to aſſaſſinate his Majeſty [would the Right Honourable Gentleman aſſure us that his preſent Majeſty had made ſuch a declaration to him, even in private?] that there was a plan laid for the ſudden invaſion of the kingdom [of which there ſurely could be no danger while we had ſo vigilant and active an adminiſtration]; that ſome of the conſpirators were already in cuſtody, and that care had been taken to have the others diſcovered.—Now, to be plain with gentlemen who ſaid this bill

was neceſſary, he muſt ſay that he wanted proof, ſomething like this. Now, what was the caſe in the preſent moment, and how ſtood facts with reſpect to ſedition in this country? Why, he believed there was one editor of a newſpaper who had been frightened by Miniſters, and had ran away; an attorney was under proſecution on a charge for which he had given bail, and a bill-ſticker was in jail! Theſe were the mighty proofs of the whole country being in a ſtate of inſurrection!——But to come nearer to the Right Honourable Gentleman's doctrine, and the conſiſtency of his conduct—he had, in the courſe of the diſcuſſion of this ſubject, maintained the right of the legiſlature to alter the ſucceſſion, and to ſupport the principle of puniſhing thoſe who aſſerted a contrary doctrine; and yet, if the Right Honourable Gentlemen was to be judged by his firſt pamphlet on the French revolution, he would be the firſt to incur that penalty.—Having ſaid this, he returned to what appeared to him to be the real ſpirit of treaſon, and he deſired the Learned Gentlemen on the other ſide to refute him, if they could.—The true way of defining treaſon, was by the intention of the party, and that the overt act was only evidence of the intention. As to the obſervations of the Right Honourable Gentleman on the neceſſity of rights remaining in a ſtate of inaction for a long time, that they might require new vigour, and the ſimile of ſleep to the body natural being the ſame as inactivity for a time to the body politic, there was no doubt of its being beautiful enough, and applicable too, for the Miniſter had often ſung a ſort of lullaby to the conſtitution, and that perhaps ſome perſons might expect to make it better than it was before. But as ſleep was the ſiſter of death, and yet relieved the human body from the wearineſs of labour, ſurely there was no juſtice in comparing it to the affairs of human life, and the benefit of civil rights, for although a human being might ſleep to recover his health, there was no neceſſity for rights in ſociety to be ſuſpended in order to be preſerved. The only objection he had to the figure was, that it had no truth for its foundation, for there was none of the wearineſs which required reſt to any of the rights of the people of this country. The Right Honourable Gentleman had made ſome alluſions to a fortreſs, and ſaid, that it was in ſome degree like a priſon; but it became ſo only in conſequence of a ſiege. Here again truth was not attended to in the figure, and upon this occaſion he could not help coming to ſome facts well known to the public. This he did not ſhew, that there was not any ground for alarm in this country, and when he had done ſo, he truſted he ſhould have anſwered the Honourable Gentleman upon his obſervation of a fortreſs, evidently deſigned to prepare the people of this country for ſlavery, by comparing

paring the iſland to a beſieged fortreſs; then he muſt aſk, whether there was any real cauſe for alarm when the Duke of Richmond converted the Tower into a fortreſs, and gave it all the appearance of a place preparing to hold out againſt an attack? Was there any information of deſigns being formed for the taking it? —Were there any well-grounded apprehenſions of any danger to happen to it? If there were, then the precaution of the Noble Duke was right—If not, he muſt ſay, that this was part of the ſyſtem adopted by Miniſters for a well underſtood purpoſe; and they raiſed an alarm which themſelves did not believe. The Right Honourable Gentleman ſaid, it was not neceſſary, in all caſes, to prove the exiſtence of the crime before he produced the remedy. Here again Mr. Sheridan ſaid, he muſt obſerve, the Right Honourable Gentleman was wrong in principle; it was the eſſence of juſtice never to enforce a hardſhip without a proof of its neceſſity. As to the Right Honourable Gentleman's obſervations upon a law which prohibits a certain number of people going together with blacked faces, which he inſtanced as a proof that the law prohibits a thing perfectly innocent in itſelf, for the ſake of preventing an evil that might poſſibly attend it, he muſt ſay, that here again the Right Honourable Gentleman was wrong, for this very act was not paſſed without proof of there being a number of perſons who frequently had diſguiſed themſelves in that manner for miſchievous purpoſes, and this was enacted to prevent further miſchief. However, he was far from ſaying that a man ſhould never make uſe of any art in ſupport of his virtuous intentions. If any perſon carried a concealed dagger for the purpoſe of aſſaſſination, he was amenable to the law, but if he only brought it with him concealed, and made uſe of it for the purpoſe of heightening the effect of an oratorical attitude in the delivery of a ſublime ſpeech, he was not. Again, the Right Honourable Gentleman had alluded to the act of parliament which prohibited ſhips of a certain ſize and form from being employed in certain parts of commerce in which the revenue was intereſted.—An act, Mr. Sheridan ſaid, which was harſh enough, and ſuch as he did not approve of, but yet it was not paſſed before there had been proof laid before parliament of the evils exiſting which this act was propoſed to remedy. Thus far he had choſen to follow the Right Honourable Gentleman on his own ground, that laws were made againſt things in themſelves entirely innocent for the purpoſe of preventing miſchief. The truth, Mr. Sheridan ſaid, was certainly ſo. But then the Right Honourable Gentleman forgot to add a few words a little eſſential to the ſenſe of the maxim—"after ſome proof was given of the neceſſity of ſuch a law;" the whole of this had been totally neglected by the Right Honourable Gentleman, and all the advocates

advocates for the preſent bill. The Right Honourable Gentleman ſaid, that, as to the deſtruction of the conſtitution, he had no apprehenſion of it, and that he had no thought of giving it up; and then he launched out, as uſual, into bitter invectives againſt the *new* affairs of France. Mr. Sheridan ſaid, he had no objections to our avoiding to imitate the French, and to act for ourſelves in every thing. He wiſhed that French principles, *old* as well as *new*, ſhould be avoided; but if, in reſiſting the new, we inclined to imitate the old ſyſtem of government in France, we ſhould have no reaſon to congratulate each other upon our prudence. The old ſyſtem of that country united all things that were hateful to a lover of liberty. It was peopled and kept up by the moſt abominable mode that was ever known in any part of Europe—by military inſolence, inſtead of civil law—by extraordinary truſt and confidence in the King's Miniſters, inſtead of watchfulneſs and jealouſy—by tame acquieſcence in all his meaſures, inſtead of reſiſting or examining any part of them; he wiſhed, therefore, that as we rejected the new ſyſtem of politics in France, we ſhould take care not to fall into any imitation of the old one. As to what the Right Honourable Gentleman had ſaid upon giving up, if that became inevitable, the liberty of his country, and of the obſervation made upon the Roman empire, he had ſaid that were he Brutus, he ſhould rather yield to Cæſar, or were he Cæſar, he ſhould rather yield to Brutus, than to the great monarch of Perſia. Mr. Sheridan ſaid that the ſituation of this country was not ſo bad as to make it neceſſary to enter into the imagination of any man that there was any danger to be apprehended to us from any diſputes between individuals to any number, much leſs between any two individuals. But there might be danger in placing ſuch confidence in any one, ſo as to be blind to the tendency of his meaſures, and ſuffering him to proceed without oppoſing them. For when Hannibal penetrated Italy, and arrived at the gates of Rome, after all that devaſtation Rome recovered. After the Romans were attacked and ſacked by the Gauls, Rome recovered. But after Cæſar had the dominion it never recovered.—Nor ſhould he think this country ſafe if any man in it, whatever his ſtation might be, ſhould be ſuffered to proceed proudly, haughtily, and arrogantly, as if he were above the law; and ſhould afterwards, by raiſing a falſe alarm among the people, by ſaying that the conſtitution was in danger, that there were traitors in the country, ultimately obtain his object—the placing himſelf in his ſituation with an eſtabliſhment of deſpotic power.—The next point to be conſidered was, that of the charges againſt the Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Burke) in the National Convention.—That Right Honourable Gentleman

Gentleman had taken upon himſelf, on that occaſion, to make uſe of the *viſites domiciliares* as practiſed in France, as a proof of their violation of the principles of juſtice.—It was certainly harſh enough; but upon this point the Right Honourable Gentleman might find ſome at home that would very worthily employ his wit, if he pleaſed; for to him the grievances and diſtreſs of mankind were ſubjects for his mirth. He might ſee in this metropolis the *viſites domiciliares* thriving wonderfully under the auſpices of Mr. Reeves, and the ſociety of which he was ſo worthy a preſident; as alſo under Mr. Luke Ideſon, and alſo Sir Joſeph Banks; theſe gentlemen, by themſelves and agents, particularly the latter, had entered into a great number of houſes, and had called upon the occupiers of them to give in a particular deſcription of all their inmates—the ſex—the age—the ſtature—the colour—the complexion.—In ſhort, Sir Joſeph particularly had examined into theſe circumſtances with all the curioſity of a naturaliſt, and he muſt ſay that, unleſs we abandon this practice, we ſhould complain with an ill grace of the *viſites domiciliares*.—As to the danger to which the Right Honourable Gentleman alluded, and ſaid that he was expoſed, "Unleſs that he has more apprehenſion of it than I have for him, ſaid Mr. Sheridan, he will be pretty eaſy under that conſideration. But, indeed, if he had not, ſaid he quoted from the *Moniteur*, I ſhould have thought that he was ſpeaking from his own mind, and for himſelf, as the whole of the matter is perfectly like the ſubſtance of his own ſpeeches upon the affairs of France."——As to the gold to which the Right Honourable Gentleman had alluded, certainly he had been a little public in the declaration as well as the circumſtances with which he had accompanied it; he had indeed in the hints he had thrown out upon that ſubject, and the poſſible effect of it, reminded Mr. Sheridan of the practice in the trial of Sir Robert Walpole, when Gentlemen in that Houſe uſed to cry out Places! places! places! —But as to places, whether it was that Gentlemen had lately gone over to the Miniſter in ſuch numbers, that there was not room for them all, or that, in the language of John Bull, they had eat up all the corn already, he knew not, but he believed that, all circumſtances conſidered, there was a tolerable ſecurity, at leaſt for a time, for the independence of the Right Honourable Gentleman. As to the obſervation of the Noble Lord, that in all other wars between this country and France, the two countries had reſpectively paid attention to the conſtitution of each other, he wiſhed to know whether the Noble Lord thought the fact ſo when that power wanted to force us to accept of a pretender to the throne? and whether, if the French do not again receive Mr. Froſt with an addreſs, and if they have another king,

king, that we ſhall then be in a ſtate wherein we ſhall have nothing to fear?

Mr. BURKE explained.

Mr. HARDINGE ſaid, that if he could ever be arrogant enough to think of anſwering the Honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt but one (Mr. Sheridan), it was become impracticable to-night, upon other grounds beſides thoſe of his general fear to encounter him. For moſt of his argument having conſiſted in a direct attack upon the Right Honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt (Mr. Burke), a perſon of ſo elevated a character, and who had ſo convinced the Houſe by his eloquence, any formal efforts to vindicate him, though even by the firſt abilities, would be injurious to the rank which he filled in the country, and the particular impreſſion which he had recently made; but he would explain to the Houſe upon what grounds he approved the expediency affirmed in this preamble, *i. e.* the expediency of preventing with more effect all treaſonable correſpondence and aſſiſtance to the King's enemies. He thought it expedient in every war, firſt, to declare doubtful caſes of treaſon; ſecond, to make treaſons that were clear, in point of law, better and more generally known; third, to enact new treaſons if the exigency of the caſe naturally pointed them out. He ſaid, the Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Sheridan) had ſaid that he hoped the new treaſons would not be adjudged by the mere act, but would be determined by the purpoſe; that he hoped in God they would not, in mercy, to the individuals warned againſt the offence, and in ſound policy for the public. If the legal criminality of theſe acts were to depend upon proof as to the purpoſe, it would be a death's blow to the policy of the bill, and would enſnare the individuals, leaving them at the mercy of a looſe interpretation upon the motives. He applied himſelf here (and very forcibly) to the acts of Parliament which made the return to this country penal, and in times that gave to us thoſe famous whigs the Cavendiſhes, the Bentincks, and the Ruſſels. In theſe acts, the return to the country being conſtituted the offence, offenders were tried and pleaded the purity of their motives. Lord Holt, the moſt enlightened of all judicial men, reſiſted their plea; and, after commending the policy of theſe new laws, aſſumed the offence to conſiſt in the mere fact prohibited. He commended this bill (though made of courſe by the tories, if they were not members of the whig club) for ſoftening that hint, and converting the offence from treaſon into miſdemeanour, with a power operating upon the reſponſible diſcretion of the executive power to make it no offence at all. He ſaid that he was proud of the ſupport which he gave to government in this bill, whoſe preamble was its principle, and which principle he

be took to be this: it was a bill which intended, by the tenor of example, to avert that ſpecies of *adherence to the King's enemies*, which made our ſubjects their ſtorekeepers, their bankers, their indemnity, their convoy, and their allies. With reſpect to commerce, as far as this bill touched upon it, he would cut the knot, and would ſay, "Let it periſh, if to keep it alive the "war muſt be fed by the expenditure of more blood, and by "the increaſed peril of all that was dear to us, in the continu-"ance of ſo dangerous a conflict." As to loſs and profit, he would aſk, with whom are we engaged in this traffic? With common enemies? With enemies who warred, in a general view, for profit and loſs? No. With enemies who lived by confuſion; who hated all that was likely to be of permanent good, even amongſt themſelves; and profited by the convulſions of order in trade, as well as in every thing elſe. He juſtified the ſeverity of this bill, in what he called the "*ne exeat*," and the "*ne redeat*;" by a ſingle word "*fraternity*," a word familiar at Paris, and engraved upon all the bayonets of our enemy in the field. It was the love, the patriot and protecting love to us which he deprecated; they loved us a little too well—

Tantum infelicem nimium dilexit amicum.

They embraced our diſaffection, and they declared their wiſh to overturn the conſtitution, as a favour to the Engliſh patriots. Why ſhould the Engliſh be reſident at Paris in ſuch a time? Why ſuch a domicil? If they fought us with fraternity, would not the contagion of that good will to us be more likely to reach thoſe with whom they lived in the habits of general ſociety as friends? The return was therefore ſuſpicious upon the face of it, after ſuch a reſidence: but the ſuſpicion could be defeated and repelled by a fair account of the individuals to the executive power, in whom the diſcretion was repoſed. If that power was not well choſen for the purpoſe, and a better check upon the abuſe of ſuch a diſcretion could be ſuggeſted, he would accept the ſuggeſtion moſt gratefully. For theſe reaſons he thought the bill had ſtated a correct principle, and founded in truth, to which, in a general view of them all, its proviſions were clearly, politically, and even mercifully applied.

Mr. CURWEN objected to the poſtponement of the preamble.

Mr. RYDER ſaid, that, after gentlemen had entered ſo largely into the ſubject, he thought it right to conclude the debate on the preamble of the bill; he ſhould therefore vote againſt poſtponing the preamble, and move that the preamble be now agreed to.

Mr. FOX admitted the propriety of not poſtponing the preamble, and urged ſeveral forcible reaſons why a better one

might be ſubſtituted, inſtead of that which the committee had before them.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER thought that the propoſal of his Honourable Friend would tend to conciliate men's minds, and was the more neceſſary, from the vexation which would otherwiſe ariſe if the merits of the preamble were not ſettled. If that queſtion were not decided, it would be in vain to expect a clear and candid diſcuſſion of the clauſes from gentlemen who would not admit the principle of the bill, as it were idle to conſult about remedies of thoſe phyſicians who denied the exiſtence of any diſeaſe.

A few words paſſed between Mr. Grey and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; after which Mr. T. Grenville roſe and ſaid, that he ſhould give his vote for the poſtponement of the preamble.

The queſtion "that the preamble be poſtponed," was then put and negatived.

Mr. GREY moved as an amendment, to leave out all the words after the word 'Whereas,' for the purpoſe of inſerting, "Doubts having ariſen upon the conſtruction of the act of Edward the Third, &c. and whereas it is expedient to prevent the aid and aſſiſtance which might be given to his Majeſty's enemies, by the acts hereafter to be deſcribed, be it enacted, &c."

Mr. FOX ſupported this motion upon the ground of neceſſity of making a diſtinction between what was declaratory, and that which was enacting. He wiſhed that the Learned Gentlemen would explain in what reſpect the ſtatute of Edward the Third was doubtful, and how far the preſent law was declaratory, and how far enactive? He begged likewiſe to know whether it was to be temporary or perpetual, and argued on the inconveniences which he conceived to be neceſſarily attendant in either caſe.—Mr. Fox regretted that the buſineſs ſhould be brought on during the abſence of his Learned Friend (Mr. Erſkine), in conſequence of his neceſſary attendance on the circuit, from whom it might have been expected to receive ſo many lights from his profeſſional knowledge.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER contended that the terms of the preamble were preciſely in reference to the tenour of the clauſes.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL explained what parts of the bill were declaratory and what enactive. He regretted the abſence of his Learned Friend (Mr. Erſkine), but ſaid that if the bill was poſtponed on that account, it would have to fall into other hands than his own, as he was obliged ſhortly to go into the country on a buſineſs perhaps at leaſt equally urgent.

Mr.

Mr. SHERIDAN obſerved, that the Learned Gentleman had ſaid nothing on the ſubject of the amendment of his Honourable Friend, and thought that he had not been ſufficiently explicit in anſwering the queſtions that had been put to him relative to the preſent bill. According to the firſt clauſe of the preſent bill, if a man thought proper to ſend a pot of anchovies, or a box of mackeroni, to his friend abroad, he might be hanged. Was that clauſe enactive or merely declaratory?

Mr. FOX condemned the danger which men were made to incur by the penalties of the bill; and hoped that the legiſlature of this country would not do that which had ſo much diſgraced the people on the other ſide of the water, viz. deem lightly the lives of their fellow creatures.

The queſtion was then put on the amendment, and negatived.

On the firſt clauſe,

The ATTORNEY GENERAL remarked, that he meant to ſettle the time of the commencement of the act by a particular clauſe.

Mr. SHERIDAN aſked, whether or not by the words, "within any of the dominions of his Majeſty, or being a ſubject of his Majeſty," it was meant that the act ſhould apply to his Majeſty's Iriſh ſubjects; and alſo, whether or not, by the words "occupied by any force employed, or to be employed by France, or in alliance with France," it was meant to extend the penalties of the bill to ſupplying with the enumerated articles any port in the dominions of any ſtate that might be over-run by, or drawn into an alliance with France, and what in this caſe was to be the definition or conſtruction of force. The clauſe as it was then worded would fix the guilt of high treaſon upon any ſubject who ſhould ſend any of the enumerated articles to any part of America, or Sweden, or Turkey, if theſe countries ſhould be in alliance with, or preparing to aid, the government of France.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL ſaid, the clauſe did not bear that conſtruction, and that a man could be alone guilty of high treaſon under it, who ſhould ſend the enumerated goods to a place occupied by a naval or military force, acting with, or preparing to act in aid of France. He added, that the conſtruction of the words would extend to places occupied by any force employed or to be employed by or in conjunction with the arms of France.

Mr. FOX ſaid what that force meant ought to be defined, and put a variety of caſes in which it would be impoſſible to underſtand it clearly without definition. He ſaid this would lead to an abſurdity, for ſuppoſing a force ſhould be aſſembled at

Philadelphia, for inſtance, to co-operate with France, it would be treaſon to ſend the enumerated goods to that place only, and not to any other within the juriſdiction of the thirteen ſtates; or ſhould a ſhip be ſent with goods to a town where there was no French force, or force of a power in alliance with France at the time when the ſhip was diſpatched, but ſome ſuch force ſhould arrive there before the ſhip, then the perſon who ſent the ſhip would, without his own act or knowledge, have committed treaſon within the meaning of the clauſe.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER ſaid, that this was by no means the meaning of the clauſe; all that was to be underſtood by it was, that he ſhould be guilty of high treaſon who ſhould ſend goods to any place or country occupied or overrun by the troops either of France or her allies, without any reference whatever to the force belonging to the country ſo occupied or overrun. He ſaid the difficulty would diſappear, if certain words of the clauſe which he read were omitted.

Mr. VANSITTART wiſhed to know whether a Britiſh ſubject making a remittance in money to a perſon in a country occupied by the French, ſuch remittance being in diſcharge of a juſt and *bonâ fide* debt, could be ſaid to incur the penalties of treaſon within this clauſe.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL anſwered in the negative; for the words were who ſhould *ſell*, *ſupply*, or *furniſh* any of the enumerated articles, of which money was one; now a remittance for the payment of a debt would not come within the meaſuring of the words, to *ſell*, *ſupply*, or *furniſh*.

Mr. FOX inſiſted that the Learned Gentleman was not fully aware of the whole of the difficulty of the caſe, for by a law already in being, caſh beyond a certain ſum was not to be exported, and by a ſubſequent clauſe, in the preſent bill, it was made penal to ſend to France, or to countries occupied by her troops, or thoſe of her allies, any notes or bills of exchange.

Mr. JENKINSON thought the bill did not go ſo far, but he thought that it ought to be made to do ſo.

After ſome farther converſation, the Chancellor of the Exchequer ſaid it would be better to omit it in this part of the bill, and explain it by a particular proviſo.

MAJOR MAITLAND aſked if Britiſh ſubjects now poſſeſſing lands in France were to be prohibited from diſpoſing of the produce of thoſe lands, ſuch as hay, wheat, ſtraw, &c. in France.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL ſaid he had not thought of that before, but that Britiſh ſubjects, ſo circumſtanced, might be relieved by a particular proviſo.

MAJOR

MAJOR MAITLAND then aſked, if Frenchmen reſident within his Majeſty's dominions were to be guilty of treaſon by ſelling in France the produce of their French lands; and if the partner of a Daniſh or Swediſh houſe, being in his Majeſty's dominions for commercial purpoſes, was to be held guilty of treaſon becauſe the other partners in Denmark or Sweden ſold any of the articles enumerated to the French.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL thought that Frenchmen reſident in his Majeſty's dominions might reaſonably be obliged to obtain a licence for diſpoſing of the produce of their lands in France, and that the partner of a foreign houſe would not incur the penalties of the bill by any act of his partners abroad, to which his privity and conſent could not be proved.

MAJOR MAITLAND ſaid, his Majeſty's Miniſters had obtained by the alien bill a power of ſending all ſuſpected Frenchmen or other foreigners out of his Majeſty's dominions. It was their own fault if they ſuffered any ſuch to remain. To what purpoſe then did they now aſk for a controul over the property, not within his Majeſty's dominions, of thoſe whom they permitted to reſide within his Majeſty's dominions?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL ſaid, that on recollection of the powers given by the alien bill, the part of the clauſe alluded to might be given up.

It was aſked, whether paying money for debts, or even neceſſaries in France, or any of the countries occupied by the French arms, would not bring a Britiſh ſubject within the penalties of the bill.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL did not think that paying for neceſſaries would; but a proviſo might be made to guard againſt doubt.

Mr. FOX ſaid, that by the bill it would be extremely doubtful, how far any Britiſh ſubject could pay debts already to Frenchmen reſident in France. He knew that, without the bill, the exportation of bullion or coin was prohibited; but that was a law hitherto little reſpected, and as little enforced. The principal queſtion yet remained unanſwered, viz. how far did the bill extend to his Majeſty's Iriſh ſubjects? To him it appeared, that the clauſe making it treaſon in any of the ſubjects of the King to ſupply the French with the enumerated articles, neceſſarily included the people of Ireland, who were certainly ſubjects of the King, and conſequently it went to legiſlate for Ireland, by making that treaſon in an Iriſhman by an Engliſh act of parliament, which was not treaſon by an Iriſh act.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL ſaid, the bill could not extend beyond the juriſdiction of the Britiſh parliament; but the Iriſh parliament would probably paſs a law to the ſame effect.

Mr.

Mr. FOX ſaid, that was what the committee could not poſſibly know by anticipation; and it was their duty to make their own acts intelligible, and independent of what any other legiſlative body might do, or not do. He muſt, therefore, inſiſt on an explanation. Was an Iriſhman, who had no other connexion with Great Britain but that of being a ſubject of the ſame king, to be bound by an act of the Britiſh legiſlature? or might he either from Ireland, or any other place, ſupply the French with all thoſe articles which no law of his own country forbade him to do? Laſt of all, was it to be held that, after diſobeying this law, an Iriſhman was perfectly innocent in Ireland, but if he ventured to ſet his foot in England he became guilty, and might be tried and executed for treaſon? If the ſecond queſtion was anſwered in the affirmative, then would come a diſtinction not always very eaſy to be made, viz. whether a man was an Iriſhman or a Briton. The Learned Gentleman, for inſtance, would find ſome difficulty in aſcertaining this with reſpect to the Noble Lord near him (Lord Mulgrave, born in England, and an Iriſh Peer).

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER ſaid, that the difficulty ſtarted by the Right Honourable Gentleman was connected with points of great delicacy. It was no doubt true, that the people of Ireland were the King's ſubjects; it was true, that they had an independent legiſlature; but as they had a common intereſt with the people of England, ſo it might be preſumed they would adopt ſuch regulations as were calculated for the general good of both countries, and of the empire. When any ſuch regulations were to be propoſed, one of the two legiſlatures muſt take the lead, but could not mean by that to act for the other. He felt that the ſubject was delicate, and therefore he did not much like to go into it; but he thought he might venture to go ſo far as to ſay, that if England was to make an act treaſon in all his Majeſty's ſubjects, which was ſuch by any law of Ireland, if ſuch act was done in Ireland by an Iriſhman, who ſhould afterwards come into England, he might be tried and executed for it. In like manner, if the Parliament of Ireland was to make an act treaſon in all his Majeſty's ſubjects, which was no treaſon by any law of England, and ſhould an Engliſhman do that act in England, and go afterwards to Ireland, he might be there arraigned and executed for it.

Mr. FOX called this the moſt extravagant doctrine he had ever heard; he ſaid he could underſtand the idea of one country legiſlating for another under its dominion, but he had never heard of two independent countries legiſlating by turns for each other. He put the caſe, that the Iriſh Parliament ſhould happen, for the purpoſe of encouraging tillage, to give a bounty on

on the exportation of corn generally to any part of the world, at a time when England made the exportation of it to France, or to her allies, treaſon by the preſent bill: he aſked, whether there could be common ſenſe in ſaying that an Iriſhman who in his own country would in that caſe be entitled to a bounty for having exported corn, ſhould in caſe he ever landed in England, be liable to be hanged, drawn, and quartered for the very act for which he had received a bounty at home. He equally ridiculed the doctrine laid down by the Right Honourable Gentleman, that an Engliſhman might be executed in Ireland, by virtue of a law there for an act done in England, and not forbid by any law of England. Here difficulty aroſe from difficulty: the clauſe, worded as it was at preſent, would make it a queſtion whether Iriſh merchants, reſiding within foreign countries, ought to be conſidered as coming within the penalty of this clauſe. His own idea was that a law ſhould be extended to thoſe only whoſe appearance in a court it was in the power of the legiſlature to compel; and therefore he was of opinion that the operation of the clauſe ſhould be confined to perſons reſiding within the empire of Great Britain. Perhaps difficulties might be ſtarted alſo reſpecting the colonies, whoſe legiſlatures might think that the Britiſh Parliament ought not to legiſlate internally for them.

The MASTER of the ROLLS ſaid, the debate had taken a very ſerious turn, and he thought the queſtion reſpecting Ireland deſerved a grave and diſtinct diſcuſſion. He was of opinion that an act declaratory of the 25th of Edward the Third, neceſſarily extended to all his Majeſty's ſubjects; and let the act of treaſon have been committed where it might, the perſon charged with the commiſſion of it, might be tried in England; and this doctrine was clearly laid down by ſtatute of Henry VIII. With reſpect to the colonies, he did not and could not doubt the right of the Britiſh Parliament to legiſlate for them; and when he heard that right queſtioned, he was diſpoſed to think that Engliſhmen were going to diſſolve the bonds of allegiance which held them together.

Mr. FOX replied, that he had never doubted, much leſs queſtioned, the right of the Britiſh Parliament to legiſlate even internally for the colonies; he ever had, and ever ſhould maintain that right; all he meant to ſay when he firſt alluded to it was that of late it had been a practice, founded in wiſe diſcretion, not to call forth that right into action without neceſſity. But this did not apply to Ireland; for if ever the Britiſh Parliament had a right to legiſlate internally for her, it had been formally and ſolemnly renounced, and was no more.

Mr.

Mr. ANSTRUTHER put the extreme caſe, that the Parliament of Ireland ſhould repeal that part of the 25th of Edward the Third, which makes it treaſon to imagine the King's death, and that ſeveral gentlemen in Ireland were in conſequence of that repeal to form plots for taking away his Majeſty's life, he aſked whether any man could lay down ſo extravagant a propoſition, as to ſay, that ſhould theſe gentlemen afterwards come to England, they could not equally be brought to trial and puniſhment here for that which was ſtill treaſon in England, though it ſhould have ceaſed to be ſo in Ireland.

Mr. FOX ſaid, that ſuch conduct on the part of the parliament of Ireland, were it poſſible, would afford a better argument for ſeparating the two kingdoms, than for bringing perſons to trial in defiance of general principles.

Mr. YORKE obſerved, that the independence of Ireland was the conſequence of a bill brought in by that Right Honourable Gentleman, a bill which he ever had conſidered, and ever ſhould conſider, as a very haſty and unwiſe meaſure. He very much blamed thoſe who had given riſe to the preſent delicate diſcuſſion.

Mr. FOX replied, that he certainly was one of thoſe who had brought in the bill to which the Honourable Gentleman had alluded; a bill which he ever had defended, and would defend to the laſt moment of his life. The difficulties of the ſtate, which he had no ſhare in bringing on, had left him no alternative, or the chance of ſeeing the empire torn by new diſtractions; he believed no meaſure had ever been attended with more unanimity; and he was ſure that, whatever trifling inconvenience might have been occaſioned by the independence of the Iriſh legiſlature, no injury or diſadvantage whatever had reſulted from it to Great Britain.

Mr. SHERIDAN ſaid, that on one thing the committee was unanimous, viz. the deſire of underſtanding the bill as they went on. Farther time had been deſired to conſider it, and it now appeared that it was as little underſtood by thoſe who refuſed that farther time as by thoſe who called for it. They had got into as many difficulties as they had proceeded lines; the Learned Gentlemen who moved and ſeconded the bill, ſeemed as little prepared to remove thoſe difficulties, as to agree with one another in their explanations, or their Learned Friends with either of them. This was peculiarly unfortunate in a bill that was to make the law of treaſon more clear. The Chancellor of the Exchequer's ſolution of the difficulty by mutual legiſlation, was ſomewhat like the Cambridge gentleman's anſwer to the queſtion, whether the earth went round the ſun, or the ſun round the earth—"that ſometimes the earth went round

round the ſun, and ſometimes the ſun round the earth." It would be a mighty pleaſant ſort of reciprocity, when we had made a new law of treaſon and hanged half a dozen Iriſhmen upon it, to ſay to the Iriſh Parliament,—"Don't be offended; do you enact two or three new treaſons, and hang as many Engliſhmen when you catch them. If the committee thought proper to go on, he ſhould contend for clearing up all the difficulties as they proceeded, becauſe ſubſequent proviſos were very readily promiſed, and as readily forgotten.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL ſaid, he would not preſs the committee to proceed farther at preſent, not for the reaſons aſſigned by the Honourable Gentleman, but on account of the lateneſs of the hour.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER deſired it to be underſtood that he ſhould move that the committee ſit again on Monday (the 25th).

The Chairman reported progreſs, and leave was given to ſit again on Monday.

Adjourned at half an hour paſt twelve o'clock, to the 25th.

MARCH 25.

Mr. SHERIDAN preſented a petition from Mr. Thomas Clifton, ſtating, that the petitioner having invented and procured a patent for a machine for cutting and removing earth in the making of canals, by means of which as much work could be done as 100 labourers could perform in the ſame ſpace of time, his intereſt would be materially affected by the proviſions of the bill for preventing the working at canals during the corn harveſt, in caſe the ſame ſhould paſs into a law.—The petition was brought up, and ordered to be referred to the committee on ſaid bill.

TRAITEROUS CORRESPONDENCE.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL moved, that the order of the day, for going into a committee of the whole Houſe on the bill for preventing traiterous correſpondence, &c. with the enemy, during the preſent war, ſhould be diſcharged, and that the Houſe ſhould reſolve itſelf into ſaid committee to-morrow. Ordered.

SCOTCH BOROUGH REFORM.

Mr. SHERIDAN began with alluding to the change that had taken place in the arrangement of the buſineſs of the week, and expreſſed his ſatisfaction, that the Honourable and Learned Gentleman (the Attorney General) did not *now* conceive his bill to be *ſo* preſſing, as he and its other ſupporters had done a few days ago; but had been taught to think, that a matter of

ſuch momentous importance, required at leaſt ſome little con-
ſideration.—Mr. Sheridan proceeded to ſay, that with reſpect to
the buſineſs to which he was now to call the attention of the
Houſe, his inſtructions had been, and his intention was to have
brought forward, as on that day, ſuch facts and arguments as he
truſted would have fully ſupported the motion which he meant
to have ſubmitted to the Houſe, that leave ſhould be given to
bring in a bill for reforming the internal government of the
Royal Boroughs in Scotland. He had, however, been given to
underſtand, that, if the object of the bill, which he now wiſhed
to introduce, was meant to be carried as far as his former propo-
ſitions on the ſubject had gone, which was certainly the caſe, a
determined oppoſition would be given, even to the motion for
leave to bring in the bill; by which means the matter would go
off without any inveſtigation, and the great purpoſe of thoſe nu-
merous and reſpectable bodies of men who had ſent up petitions
to that Houſe would be thereby defeated, viz. the having all the
facts and evidence on the ſubject fully and fairly conſidered and
diſcuſſed.—This being the caſe, he found himſelf inclined to
change his plan, and to follow the mode which had been adopted
laſt year, of moving to go into a committee of the whole Houſe
to take into conſideration the ſeveral petitions which had been
preſented in the preſent ſeſſion, with the accounts and other pa-
pers on the table. He thought he might be juſtified in ſaying
that ſuch admiſſions on the ſubject had been already ſanctioned
by the Houſe in the proceedings which took place laſt ſeſſion
upon the Lord Advocate's bill, &c. as ought to be a pledge
againſt refuſing leave to bring in ſuch a bill as he would have to
propoſe; but on this he did not wiſh to reſt, ſince he was told an
oppoſition was intended; becauſe a full and fair enquiry, which
is the great wiſh of the petitioners, as expreſſed in their petitions
would perhaps be beſt gratified by going into a committee:—It
was indeed impoſſible that the ſubject could be ſo well diſcuſſed
or that all the circumſtances of which evidence had been ad-
duced could be ſo fully underſtood and canvaſſed in the Houſe
as in a committee. The mode of proceeding which he would
adopt in the committee would be,—1ſt, To move a number of
reſolutions, founded on facts, with reſpect to exiſting abuſes;—
2dly, To detail the mode of remedy which he would propoſe;—
and 3dly, The reſult would be a motion for leave to bring in a
bill to effectuate ſuch remedy. He truſted that the Right Ho-
nourable Gentleman oppoſite to him (Mr. Dundas) could have
no objection to take up the buſineſs in this way;—that Right
Honourable Gentleman had ſpoke with much feeling, at the be-
ginning of this ſeſſion, of his unpopularity in Scotland; and he
was told that that unpopularity, ſo far as regarded the preſent
ſubject

ſubject, was not ſo much owing to the oppoſition which had been given to it by the Right Honourable Gentleman, as to the mode of that oppoſition, by refuſing to go into any enquiry whatever, after ſuch a maſs of evidence had been laid upon the table, in conſequence of the orders of the Houſe. It would not ſurely be ſaid, that there was not time to get through this buſineſs in the preſent ſeſſion, when the Right Honourable Gentleman himſelf had ſo much other buſineſs yet to carry through;—and he hoped alſo that no remarks would be made on its not being brought forward ſooner. The petitioners were unqueſtionably the beſt judges as to the proper time of bringing on the matter, and it ſeemed but a matter of prudence to allow the late panic, whether well or ill founded, to ſubſide a little before proceeding in a buſineſs which had ſomewhat the appearance of innovation, though, in truth, it was only in appearance.

Mr. Sheridan concluded with moving, that the ſeveral petitions, &c. on the ſubject of a reform in the internal government of the Royal Boroughs of Scotland, ſhould be referred to a committee of the whole Houſe.

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS certainly thought that the matter had been brought forward at rather a late period of the ſeſſion, and that this obſervation operated the more forcibly from the very important buſineſs relative to India, which was ſoon to occupy the attention of the Houſe. There was upon the table an immenſe maſs of papers regarding the preſent ſubject, and he was ſure he could demonſtrate to the Houſe, that if the mode propoſed by the Honourable Gentleman ſhould be adopted, the buſineſs could not be gone through in two ſeſſions:—he had thought that the Honourable Gentleman meant to have moved for a committee of another kind, viz. a ſelect committee, who might claſs and arrange the papers on the table, and might make a report to the Houſe of the general import of the facts and evidence. At preſent he would only object to going into a committee of the whole Houſe, for the reaſons which he had already ſtated, but would not oppoſe the appointment of a ſelect committee; though he thought it right and fair to ſay, that, from the view which he at preſent entertained of the ſubject, he would moſt probably feel himſelf obliged to give his decided negative to any propoſition which ſhould go to ſuch a length as he underſtood was intended.

Mr. SHERIDAN ſaid, he would not object to the propoſal of the Right Honourable Secretary, for perhaps it might tend to ſhorten time, and to bring the buſineſs forward in a proper ſhape: it was rather curious, however, that the Right Honourable Gentleman ſhould be ſurpriſed at his not having now moved for a ſelect committee, as it would no doubt be recollected, that he did ſo laſt year, and that it was more oppoſed then than even

an open committee. There was, he ſaid, a peculiar hardſhip in the ſituation of the petitioners, who had fully eſtabliſhed, by evidence on the table, that the ſpirit of their original charters had been departed from,—that the public funds of the boroughs had been waſted and dilapidated,—that money had been illegally extorted and exacted by aſſeſſments and otherwiſe, upon unjuſt pretences,—and that various other abuſes had been practiſed. He had, however, no objection at all to go into the propoſition of the Right Honourable Gentleman, as to the appointment of a ſelect committee, provided it ſhould not go into any minute length; and, although the papers and maſs of evidence were bulky, yet he thought, with the helps which the committee would have, it would not be difficult to arrange and digeſt them, and he conceived they might be enabled to make their report to the Houſe in about a week.—He would therefore conclude with moving, "That the ſeveral petitions, preſented to this Houſe during the preſent ſeſſion, and the papers and accounts preſented during former ſeſſions, reſpecting the internal government of the Royal Boroughs of Scotland, ſhould be referred to a committee to examine the matter therein contained, and to report thereupon to the Houſe."

The queſtion was put and carried, and the following gentlemen nominated on the committee.

R. B. Sheridan, Eſq.	Hon. H. Hobart,
Charles Grey, Eſq.	Lord Advocate of Scotland,
Col. M'Leod,	Mr. Attorney General,
Hon. Major Maitland,	Mr. Solicitor General,
Hon. T. Erſkine,	Lord Mornington,
W. H. Lambton, Eſq.	W. Wilberforce, Eſq.
S. Whitbread, jun. Eſq.	J. Sargent, Eſq.
Lord Wycombe,	Hon. R. B. Jenkinſon,
Laurence Dundas, Eſq.	R. Burdon, Eſq.
W. Adam, Eſq.	Sir E. Impey,
J. R. Burch, Eſq.	John Anſtruther, Eſq.
W. Smith, Eſq.	Hon. D. Ryder.
J. C. Curwen, Eſq.	

The adjourned debate on the report of the ſelect committee appointed to try the merits of the Stockbridge election, was further adjourned till Wedneſday the 10th of April.

MARCH 26.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL moved the order of the day for the Houſe to reſolve itſelf into a committee of the whole Houſe on the traiterous correſpondence bill. He ſaid he ſhould have a number of amendments to propoſe to the various clauſes of the bill; theſe amendments aroſe from the ſuggeſtions of gentlemen

gentlemen who had taken up the diſcuſſion of the bill on former occaſions. The firſt of the amendments was to confine the operation of the bill to perſons reſiding in Great Britain; he then explained the general nature of the various amendments, and ſuggeſted that after the report the whole might be reprinted. The Houſe then reſolved into the committee accordingly.

Mr. FOX ſaid, that he apprehended the idea of the learned gentleman who brought in this bill, in having the whole of it altered and afterwards reprinted, was a proper one, as he underſtood it; for he took it to be done with a view of correcting the blunders of the bill as it ſtood at preſent. Suppoſing the bill to be neceſſary at all, the confining the operation of it to perſons reſiding within the realm was juſt. When it came to be diſcuſſed after the whole was reprinted, he believed there would appear abundant reaſon to ſee that the oppoſition it originally met was very proper, and he had no doubt but that it would after all be neceſſary that it ſhould be recommitted, becauſe objections to ſuch a bill could be better diſcuſſed in a committee than in any other ſtage of it; indeed he ſhould like to ſee a great number of amendments to the bill, for without them it would be impoſſible to proceed, as none could well debate upon a meaſure that was not intelligible; when the bill was made intelligible, then he thought it might be poſſible to diſcuſs it in a committee.

When the chairman proceeded in the firſt clauſe to the blank which was to be filled up with the day on which the bill was to operate,

The SOLICITOR GENERAL propoſed the 20th of April.

MAJOR MAITLAND thought it too early a day; he doubted whether the bill would paſs before that day, conſidering that the holidays intervened.

Mr. FOX was of that opinion alſo, but obſerved that it would be competent to any Gentleman to move any amendments he might think fit. When the bill ſhould be in another committee, he ſhould bring forward his obſervations chiefly upon the recommitment.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER had no objection to the re-commitment, but thought there was no occaſion for delay; the whole might be printed to-morrow, and the report might be taken into conſideration on Thurſday (the 28th). He wiſhed therefore that gentlemen who had any ſuggeſtions to make, would bring them forward in the preſent committee, in order that the whole might be conſidered in a general view upon the report.

Mr. FOX ſaid, he wiſhed to debate the clauſes ſeparately on the report, and to ſubmit to the Houſe his reaſons for thinking they

they ought to be rejected, being of a principle that could not, under any modification, be rendered tolerable to the ſubjects of a free country.

Mr. ADAM ſaid, the time propoſed for the commencement of the operation of the bill was much too ſhort, nor could it be agreed to without manifeſt injuſtice to many inhabitants of the kingdom. A great part of the ſubjects of this country were at ſuch a diſtance, that it would be impoſſible for the intelligence of the bill paſſing to reach them, before the day its penalties attached; he meant the northern extremity of the kingdom, ſuch as the Orkneys. Beſides, by the practice of the courts of law in Scotland, double that time would be allowed to the inhabitants of the Orkneys; under ſuch cuſtom and circumſtances they might ſubject themſelves to the penalties of treaſon, without even knowing it; he was therefore clearly of opinion that a longer time ought to be given.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL ſaid, he did not think the part of the country alluded to by the Honourable and Learned Gentleman likely to ſupply the enemy with any of the articles ſpecified in the bill.

Mr. ADAM refuted this, by obſerving, that they might ſell ſalt fiſh, which would certainly come under the head of proviſions.

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS thought that no local diſtinction ought to be made with reſpect to the paſſing of an act of parliament. If in the courſe of the progreſs of the bill the day ſhould appear to be too early a one, nothing would be eaſier than to alter it.

Mr. GREY thought the day much too early, and expected Miniſters to think ſo too when they reflected on the nature of the bill, and on what had already happened. There had been a long debate before they were able to go through three lines of the bill. If they thought they would get through the committee on Thurſday they deceived themſelves very much; a great deal of debate was likely to ariſe upon this meaſure in that Houſe, and if it ſhould ever go to the Lords much debate might ariſe upon it there alſo; he did not ſee why Miniſters ſhould expect that ſuch a bill ſhould go on ſmoothly, he ſhould therefore adviſe a later period than the 20th of April.

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS ſaid, there were many parts of the bill in which an alteration might be made as to this date, if that ſhould be neceſſary; and as to the danger of perſons in the north ſupplying either our enemies or theirs with proviſions, that did not appear to him to be very great.

Mr. ADAM again maintained that every individual in the ſtate was entitled to reaſonable notice of the commencement of a law,

a law, and that if he had no ſuch notice was treated very unfairly; but it would be cruel indeed to ſubject him to death for want of ſuch a notice.

Mr. ANSTRUTHER was of opinion that the 20th of April was ſufficient notice, for the thing was well known already.

Mr. COURTENAY ſaid, that with reſpect to things being well known we were often deceived; thoſe of the greateſt conſequence might be concealed for a long time. We all know that King William landed in this country four months before it was publicly known. In this caſe he thought the day muſt be too early, and that many perſons might be liable to the penalties of high treaſon before they knew they had been guilty of any offence. He made ſome dry obſervations on the Secretary of State for alluding to the poverty of his native land.

Mr. ERSKINE ſaid, he did not know what length of time would be neceſſary to convey intelligence from that Houſe to the Orkneys; nor did he know how much time might have elapſed from the time of the landing of King William to that of its being publicly known; if he had never peruſed any thing but this bill, he ſhould find ſome difficulty in believing that King William was ever in the iſland! He then obſerved, that gentlemen who were ſo eager about paſſing this bill, did not ſeem to have attended to its proviſions; he ſaid he was prepared to prove that, as it now ſtood, it would ſubject to death a father who ſent a bank note to his ſon beyond the ſeas, in a letter, if ſuch a perſon was in the army under certain circumſtances, and this might be done by a perſon who had never heard of the bill. If this and many other points were not amended in the committee, the bill would be a maſs of injuſtice and cruelty.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL ſupported the principle of the bill from precedent, and the proviſions of it from neceſſity; and ſaid, that from modifications of it in the committee, he hoped to obviate all objections.

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS diſavowed all intention of ſaying any thing diſreſpectful of Scotland. He did not wiſh to have it underſtood that he alluded to the poverty of it, for the purpoſe of inſinuating that its intereſts ſhould not be attended to. He wiſhed to make this obſervation, that he might obviate the effect of miſrepreſentation; for he knew it to be a trick ſometimes played to miſrepreſent in an anſwer what had been previouſly ſaid, for the purpoſe of having that miſrepreſentation printed, to make a falſe impreſſion upon the public. He therefore begged leave to ſay, that when he ſpoke of Scotland not being likely to offend againſt law in exporting proviſion, he meant only to allude to articles ſpecified in the preſent bill.

Mr.

Mr. BURKE ſpoke at conſiderable length, and alluded to the poſſibility of there being traitors in North Britain; he alſo obſerved upon the ſedition in this part of the country, and the neceſſity of the preſent bill.

Mr. SHERIDAN anſwered Mr. Burke upon all the points to which he had alluded, and renewed the challenge which he gave Mr. Burke on a former debate upon this bill; which was, to name the perſons whom he loaded with the title of traitors, or friends of the French, or enemies to the conſtitution, or any of the other odious additions which his imagination could ſuggeſt to him.

Mr. BURKE admitted, that he had ſaid the French had endeavoured to create a faction in this country in their favour, and that they had to a certain degree ſucceeded. He did not know any perſons in this country who had been guilty of any overt acts againſt the conſtitution; if he had known any ſuch perſons, he knew his duty too well to neglect it; he would have given proper information before a magiſtrate, in order that ſuch perſons might be brought to juſtice. As to the other part, he had no perſon to name; he only meant that the French had endeavoured to create a faction in their favour in this country, and that they had ſucceeded to a certain degree.

Mr. SHERIDAN in anſwer obſerved, that the Right Honourable Gentleman had ſaid in that Houſe that he could name perſons to their confuſion, and that there exiſted a traiterous faction in this country; this he now abandoned; he did not wiſh to pin him down to his expreſſion, and ſhould take no further notice of it, nor preſs any thing upon the ſubject again.

Mr. RYDER ſuggeſted the propriety of filling up the blank as propoſed.

MAJOR MAITLAND thought the time much too ſhort; and as to the notice already given of this ſubject, he ſaid no man in the kingdom was bound to take notice of any proceeding upon the progreſs of an act of parliament before it paſſed into a law.

Mr. FOX moved, that inſtead of the 20th of April, the 10th of May be inſerted. After a ſhort converſation the amendment was rejected, and the 20th of April inſerted.

On the part of the firſt clauſe, making it treaſon for any perſon reſiding within his Majeſty's dominions to contract or agree to buy or procure, &c. &c. any of the articles enumerated in the bill, for the French,

Mr. ERSKINE, in a moſt learned and eloquent ſpeech, repreſented, that it was contrary to all the principles of criminal juſtice, and contrary to all the principles of the law of treaſon, except in the ſingle inſtance of imagining or compaſſing the king's

king's death, to take the agreement or intention to do a thing, of which the perſon agreeing or intending might repent before the thing was done, for the act itſelf, and making the intent as criminal as the deed, whether the deed was perpetrated or not.

On this a long debate took place, ſupported by Mr. Erſkine, Mr. Fox, Mr. Francis, Mr. Adam, and Mr. Sheridan, on the one ſide; by the Attorney and Solicitor Generals, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Dundas, on the other.

The committee divided on the queſtion that the words, "to contract or agree, &c." be omitted,

Ayes	-	44
Noes	-	131

It was afterwards underſtood that the Solicitor General ſhould propoſe certain amendments, which were agreed to *pro forma*; after which the report was received, and ordered to be recommitted on Thurſday, the 28th.—Adjourned.

MARCH 27.

THE LOAN.

The Houſe having according to the order of the day reſolved itſelf into a committee of ways and means, Mr. Hobart in the chair,

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER roſe: he ſaid he had then to communicate to the committee the terms on which he had negociated the loan, which it had been already agreed ſhould form a part of the ways and means of raiſing the ſupply of the preſent year. Gentlemen, he obſerved, would recollect, that the ſum which he had to borrow was 4,500,000l. It was originally his wiſh to have procured it by the ſale of annuities in the 4 or 5 per cent. ſtocks; but finding it inexpedient to purſue ſuch an object, he had at laſt determined to raiſe it by creating new annuities in the 3 per cents. The terms on which the lenders had agreed to advance their money, and which he had thought proper to accept, were, that for every 72 advanced to the public the lender ſhould be entitled to 100l. ſtock bearing an intereſt of three per cent. This would make a capital in the 3 per cent. fund of 6,210,000l. the intereſt of which to be paid by the public would amount to 186,300l. a year; but this was not the whole charge attending the loan; for, by the act for appropriating the million ſurplus, it was provided, that whenever a new loan ſhould be made, a fund equal to one per cent. on the whole of it muſt be provided, and applied to the liquidation of it; this would require an annual charge of 62,100l., making in the whole, including the intereſt,

248,400l. per annum. He ſaid that, if he was to look to nothing but the price the public ſtocks bore when the loan was made, and were he to conſider only the general ſtate of the country, with reſpect to its commerce, finances, and political aſpect, he could feel no difficulty in admitting that terms much more advantageous to the public might reaſonably have been expected than thoſe on which he had deemed it neceſſary to accept the loan. He therefore did not mean to ſay that the terms were good; but he aſſured the committee they were the beſt he had been able to procure. He had done every thing in his power to excite a competition among the monied men, but without effect; for it ſo had happened that he had not received two offers on the occaſion. Circumſtances, by no means connected with the political ſituation of the country, had produced embarraſſments in ſome commercial houſes, which calling for an immediate ſupply from thoſe that were connected with them, had actually occaſioned a ſcarcity of caſh, ſo that thoſe who but for that might have been diſpoſed to advance money to the public, either had it not at command, or were obliged to employ it in another channel. The advantages to the ſubſcribers, with whom he had been obliged to cloſe after having in vain endeavoured to procure offers from others, were very conſiderable and obvious: the difference between the actual price of the 3 per cents. and that at which they were to receive ſtock in that fund, was between 4 and 5 per cent. to this muſt be added the circumſtance that the loan would bear intereſt from the 5th of January laſt; this would make the *bonus* to the ſubſcribers full 6 per cent.: but it did not ſtop there; for it was uſual for the treaſury to allow a diſcount of 2 per cent. for prompt payment, the ſubſcribers by their agreement to pay only by inſtalments, ſo that the premium would amount at leaſt to eight per cent. in the whole loan. This he allowed was a very high premium; but he could ſafely declare, that he had omitted nothing on his part that might have afforded him the means of making a better bargain for the public. He had fixed in his own mind a certain price for the new 3 per cents. for leſs than which he had reſolved not to ſell them: this he did not communicate to any perſon whatever, but kept it entirely to himſelf; it ſo happened that only one offer was made to him, and it did not exceed the price which, as he had ſaid before, he had fixed in his mind: under the circumſtances of the caſe, no competition exiſting, nor ſecond offer made, he thought it his duty to cloſe with the only ſet of gentlemen who had waited upon him to negociate the loan. At the time when he opened the budget, it was his intention to have admitted the commiſſioners of the ſinking fund to ſubſcribe their 1,650,000l. ſo that he ſhould have

have occaſion to raiſe no more than 2,850,000l. more to make up the whole loan; and what made him wiſh ſo to do, was an idea that he ſhould be able to procure the latter ſum on eaſier terms. But he ſoon abandoned that intention when he found that he could not have ſaved above one per cent. in the premium to be given for it; and ſuch reaſons were adduced on the occaſion, as to ſatisfy his mind that the advantage which would have accrued from the ſaving of 1 per cent. upon 2,850,000l. or from admitting the commiſſioners of the ſinking, or in other words, the public fund, to a participation of the premium, would not have counterbalanced the national inconvenience, and even loſs, which would have attended the meaſure. The reaſons to which he alluded were theſe: firſt, the purchaſes daily made by the commiſſioners ſerved to keep up the price of ſtock; and of that the public would reap the advantage ſhould the exigency of the ſtate require future loans during the preſent war. The next, and moſt powerful in his judgment, was, that were the commiſſioners allowed to ſubſcribe to a new loan, the 1,650,000l. annual ſurplus would be thereby diverted from its deſtined object, the purchaſe of ſtock; and conſequently the period when 25,000,000 of the national debt ſhould be paid off, and when of courſe the public ſhould be at liberty to redeem the 5 per cents. would be delayed—an event which would coſt the nation as much as might be gained by the ſavings ariſing from the reduction of the intereſt in the five per cents. to four, three one half, or 3 per cents. For all thoſe conſiderations, he had judged it beſt to cloſe with the terms offered by the ſubſcribers, and which he was then going to ſubmit to the judgment of the committee. Before he made his motion, he informed the committee that he intended, ſhould the agreement for the loan be approved, to move for the continuance of the temporary taxes, which, having been impoſed for defraying the expences of the Spaniſh armament, would, if not continued, ſoon expire: they produced annually 287,000l; ſo that after providing for the intereſt and other expences of the loan, there would be a ſurplus of 38,600l. a year. Having ſtated this, he concluded by moving the following reſolution:

"That the ſum of 4,500,000l. be raiſed by annuities, and "that for every 72l. contributed and paid, the lenders ſhould be "entitled to 100l. three per cent. ſtock, bearing intereſt from "the 5th of January laſt, &c."

Mr. FOX obſerved that the Right Honourable Gentleman had ſtated the objections to his own loan in ſo very fair and open a manner, that he in a great meaſure diſarmed thoſe who might be inclined to oppoſe it, becauſe they could not in more forcible language urge what might be objected to this very extraordinary

meaſure. It was rather ſingular, that becauſe one ſet of gentlemen refuſed to advance money except on terms highly diſadvantageous to the public, thoſe terms muſt be neceſſarily and immediately accepted. He believed that had it been publicly known that a premium of 8 per cent. would have been given for money by the public, offers of loans would have poured in from many quarters. What the Right Honourable Gentleman had ſaid to colour the terms to which he had acceded, would, he believed, be found not to apply: he had ſaid, that circumſtances not connected with the political ſituation of the country had produced embarraſſments in the commercial world, and occaſioned a ſcarcity of money; but he believed it would be found that the failures and ſcarcity of money to which the Right Honourable Gentleman had alluded, and the political ſtate of the country, ſtood towards each other in the relation of cauſe and effect; and that the former had been moſt certainly occaſioned by the latter. If that was the cauſe, it was but too probable that future loans would be made in ſtill more diſadvantageous terms, as the war, ſhould it continue any time, could ſcarcely fail to produce additional failures, and conſequently a continuance, if not an increaſe, of the preſent ſcarcity of money. He condemned in very ſtrong terms the Right Honourable Gentleman's plans for giving the whole loan to the preſent ſubſcribers, to the excluſion of the commiſſioners of the ſinking fund. Had the latter been allowed to ſubſcribe, the public would have ſaved ſeven per cent. on 1,650,000l. and alſo one per cent. on the remaining 2,850,000l. objects of conſiderable moment. He was of opinion that the reaſons for excluding the commiſſioners were weak; for the ſtocks ought to be left to themſelves, and they would always find their own level; and he would contend that an able financier acting for the public ought not to ſpeculate upon the probable riſe or fall of the funds, but ought to avail himſelf of any preſent advantage, without waiting for a poſſibly greater one at a future day. Had the Right Honourable Gentleman purſued this mode when the 3 per cents. were at 97, he might have paid off the 4 per cents. and gained an annuity of 300,000l. for the public; by waiting till the threes ſhould be at par, he had loſt that great and certain advantage.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER ſaid, he truſted the committee was convinced he had done every thing in his power to excite a competition among the monied men, and ſo to make the beſt bargain in his power for the public. He allowed that on this occaſion he had not ſucceeded to his wiſh, and that the premium given for the preſent loan was very high indeed, but at the ſame time he muſt ſay that it was much lower than had been given in 1783 by the Right Hon. Gentle-

man's

man's colleagues in office, for on that occaſion it amounted not merely to 8 but to 11 per cent. He could alſo ſay in favour of it, that the intereſt upon it was near one per cent. lower than that which was given for money at the commencement of the war in 1778. To this he ſhould add that he had given the whole loan to the ſubſcribers, leaving it to them to diſtribute it as they ſhould pleaſe, and had not reſerved a ſingle ſhilling of it for himſelf or any of his friends.

Mr. FOX replied that the loan in 1783, in which he had been concerned, as he was at that period in office, had never been repreſented by him as an advantageous one to the public; on the contrary, he had always ſtated it to be a very dear bargain, and to be juſtified only by the circumſtances of the country at the cloſe of a calamitous war. With reſpect to the other obſervation, that the preſent loan bore one per cent. leſs intereſt than that which was made at the commencement of the laſt war, the Right Honourable Gentleman was very much out of his reckoning if he called the year 1778 the firſt year of that war; it was indeed the firſt of the French war; but it was the fourth of a very expenſive and very ruinous war with America, which had greatly diſtreſſed the public funds, and affected the public credit.

Mr. S. THORNTON did the Chancellor of the Exchequer the juſtice to declare, that to his knowledge he had laboured, though in vain, to produce a competition among the monied men. Perhaps one cauſe of his failure might have ariſen from that act of Parliament, whether a wiſe or unwiſe one it was not for him to ſay, by which Members of Parliament were prevented from becoming contractors with government. This act was of courſe a bar to any offer from the very wealthy merchants and bankers who had ſeats in that Houſe; and conſequently it ſo far operated againſt a competition. He was decidedly of opinion that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had procured the very beſt terms in his power, and that if the committee ſhould refuſe to ratify the agreement, he could not be able to make another on terms as advantageous. He was alſo of opinion, that it did not become the dignity or character of Parliament to break through an agreement merely becauſe certain unforeſeen and favourable events had occurred ſince it was made. He preſumed that Parliament would not be very forward to releaſe the ſubſcribers from their contract if thoſe events had been of a contrary complexion, and ſuch as would have made the bargain leſs advantageous to the gentlemen who had advanced the money.

Mr. DRAKE pronounced a high panegyric on the Chancellor of the Exchequer; but ſtill he ſaid he would never place a blind

a blind confidence in him, or ſupport him againſt the dictates of reaſon and truth. He conſidered the loan as extremely improvident, and too diſadvantageous to the public to be ratified by Parliament; he was convinced that the loan might have been procured on much better terms than thoſe on which the Right Honourable Gentleman had negociated it; he was morally certain, that inſtead of 72l. he might have procured 75l. at leaſt for the 3 per cent. ſtock to be created; and when the ſubſcribers refuſed to give more than 72l. the Chancellor of the Exchequer ought, in his opinion, to have ſaid, "Gentlemen, I am your "moſt obedient humble ſervant, I cannot treat with you on "thoſe terms." He was ſure the Right Honourable Gentleman muſt have been overreached, or he never would have conſented to them.

Sir JOHN SINCLAIR was of opinion that the Right Honourable Gentleman ought to have conſulted the commiſſioners of the ſinking fund before he had made a loan from which they were excluded.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER replied, that as Chancellor of the Exchequer he was not bound to aſk them whether they ought or ought not to be admitted to ſubſcribe to the loan; it was his duty to act for the public to the beſt of his abilities and judgment, and that duty he truſted he had faithfully diſcharged. At the ſame time, he aſſured the Honourable Baronet that he had converſed on the ſubject with the commiſſioners.

Mr. SHERIDAN ſaid that one of the principal cauſes of the difficulty which the Miniſter had experienced in negociating the loan, aroſe from the vaſt quantity of unfunded debt which was floating in the market: had he funded this debt, he would have found in new Exchequer bills a reſource that would have ſecured him from the conſequences of being at the mercy of money lenders. Lord North by having, during the period of his adminiſtration which preceded the American war, reduced the unfunded debt to a moderate ſize, was by that very meaſure enabled to raiſe money on terms much more favourable than if he had ſuffered the market to be overſtocked with floating Navy and Exchequer bills.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER defended the principle on which he acted, when he declined funding the Exchequer and Navy bills, to which the Honourable Gentleman referred; in time of peace, in particular, theſe bills might circulate without any inconvenience to the public; and they bore at all times a much lower intereſt than muſt have been raiſed upon the public, had they been funded.

A number

A number of explanations and calculations were made after this by Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Roſe, Mr. Wilberforce, and Mr. Ryder, a detail of which, we preſume, would not be very entertaining to our readers, and for that reaſon we refrain from going into it.

Mr. DRAKE ſaid, he wiſhed on the one hand to get rid of the bargain made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and on the other, to attain that end by the gentleſt means; this he thought might be effected by putting off to a diſtant day the further conſideration of the buſineſs; he therefore moved that the chairman ſhould leave the chair, and report progreſs.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER oppoſed the motion: he ſaid he had no manner of perſonal intereſt in the bargain that had been made; it was for the committee to judge whether it was ſuch as ought to be ratified: but though he was unconcerned for himſelf in this queſtion, he was deeply intereſted in it for the public. The deciſion upon the loan could not be delayed without great injury to the public; and therefore the committee ought to come to a direct determination at once, and immediately either confirm or reſcind the agreement.

Mr. DRAKE ſaid, he was convinced that a motion for delay was improper; he therefore begged leave to withdraw the one which he had made: at the ſame time he declared, that to the reſolution moved by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he would give the loudeſt NO his lungs could bring forth.

The committee at laſt divided on Mr. Pitt's motion, which was carried by a majority of 53.

Ayes	-	-	74
Noes	-	-	21

The bargain for the loan was of courſe confirmed.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER then moved the other reſolutions for continuing the different taxes to which he had referred in his opening.

Upon theſe there was no debate; they were carried without oppoſition; and the Houſe having been reſumed, adjourned immediately.

The following is a correct copy of all the reſolutions.

Reſolved, That the ſum of 4,500,000l. be raiſed by annuities in the manner hereinafter mentioned, that is to ſay, that every contributor towards raiſing the ſaid ſum of 4,500,000l. ſhall, for every 72l. contributed and paid, be entitled to the principal ſum of 100l. in annuities, after the rate of 3l. per cent. per annum, to commence from the 5th day of January 1793, and to be added to and made one joint ſtock with the 3l. per cent. annuities, conſolidated by the acts of the 25th, 28th, 29th, 32d, and

33d

33d years of the reign of his late Majeſty King George the Second, and by ſeveral ſubſequent acts, and to be payable and transferrable at the Bank of England, at the ſame time, and in the ſame manner, and ſubject to the like redemption by Parliament, as the ſaid 3l. per cent. conſolidated annuities are payable, transferrable, and redeemable. That the ſaid annuities, after the rate of 3l. per cent. ſo to be payable as aforeſaid, ſhall be charged and chargeable upon, and payable out of, the conſolidated fund. That every contributor ſhall, on or before the 4th day of April 1793, make a depoſit of 10l. per cent. on ſuch ſum as he or ſhe ſhall chooſe to ſubſcribe towards raiſing the ſaid ſum of 4,500,000l. with the chief caſhier or caſhiers of the governor and company of the Bank of England, as a ſecurity for making the future payments on or before the days or times hereinafter mentioned, that is to ſay,

10l. per cent. on or before the 31ſt day of May next;
10l. per cent. on or before the 19th day of July next;
10l. per cent. on or before the 16th day of Auguſt next;
15l. per cent. on or before the 27th day of September next;
15l. per cent. on or before the 8th day of November next;
15l. per cent. or or before the 13th day of December next;
15l. per cent. on or before the 24th day of January, 1794.

That all the monies, ſo to be received by the ſaid caſhier or caſhiers of the governor and company of the Bank of England, ſhall be paid into the receipt of the Exchequer, to be applied, from time to time, to ſuch ſervices as ſhall then have been voted by this Houſe in this ſeſſion of Parliament. That every contributor who ſhall pay in the whole of his or her contribution money towards the ſaid ſum of 4,500,000l. at any time before the 12th day of December next, ſhall be allowed an intereſt by way of diſcount after the rate of 3 per cent. per annum on the ſum ſo completing his or her contribution reſpectively, to be computed from the day of completing the ſame to the 24th day of January 1794.

Reſolved, That the additional duties on the amount of the duties under the management of the commiſſioners for the affairs of taxes, charged by an act made in the 31ſt year of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, be made perpetual.

Reſolved, That the additional duties upon worts, waſh, and other liquors, brewed or made in England, for extracting ſpirits for home conſumption, and upon ſpirits made in Scotland, and imported into England, charged by an act made in the 31ſt year of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, be made perpetual.

Reſolved, That the additional duties upon foreign ſpirits imported into Great Britain, charged by an act made in the 31ſt

year

year of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, be continued for a time to be limited.

Reſolved, That the ſaid ſeveral additional duties be carried to, and made part of, the conſolidated fund.

Reſolved, That ſo much of an act, made in the 8th year of the reign of king George the Firſt, intituled, "An act for "giving further encouragement for the importation of naval "ſtores; and for other purpoſes therein mentioned," as relates to the importation of wood and timber, and of the goods commonly called lumber, therein particularly enumerated, from any of his Majeſty's Britiſh plantations or colonies in America, free from all cuſtoms and impoſitions whatſoever, which was to be in force for twenty-one years, from the 24th day of June 1722, and which, by ſeveral ſubſequent acts, made in the 16th, 24th, and 31ſt years, of the reign of his late Majeſty King George the Second, and the 4th, 12th, 19th, and 26th years of his preſent Majeſty's reign, was further continued until the 29th day of September 1792, and from thence to the end of the then next ſeſſion of parliament, is near expiring, and fit to be continued.

Reſolved, That an act, made in the 29th year of the reign of his late Majeſty King George the Second, intituled, "An act "for granting a bounty upon certain ſpecies of Britiſh and Iriſh "linens exported, and taking off the duties on the importation "of foreign raw linen yarns made of flax," which ſaid act was by two other acts, made in the 10th and 19th years of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, extended and continued until the 24th day of June 1786, and from thence to the end of the then next ſeſſion of Parliament, and which, by three other acts made in the 27th, 28th, and 31ſt years of his preſent Majeſty's reign, was further continued until the 24th day of June 1792, and from thence to the end of the then next ſeſſion of Parliament, is near expiring, and fit to be continued.

Reſolved, That an act, made in the 23d year of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, intituled, "An act for the more effectual "encouragement of the manufactures of flax and cotton in "Great Britain," which was to continue in force for two years, from the 1ſt day of January 1784, and from thence to the end of the then next ſeſſion of Parliament, which ſaid act was by ſeveral acts made in the 26th, 28th, and 29th years of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, further continued until the 25th day of March 1793, is expired, and fit to be revived and continued.

Reſolved, That an act, made in the 26th year of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, intituled, "An act to diſcontinue, for a li-"mited time, the payment of the duties upon low wines and "ſpirits for home conſumption, and for granting and ſecuring "the due payment of other duties in lieu thereof, and for the

" better regulation of the making and vending Britiſh ſpirits, " and for diſcontinuing for a limited time, certain impoſts and " duties upon rum and ſpirits imported from the Weſt Indies," is near expiring, and fit to be continued.

Reſolved, That an act, made in the 26th year of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, intituled, " An act to diſcontinue, for a " limited time, the ſeveral duties payable in Scotland upon low " wines and ſpirits, and upon worts, waſh, and other liquors " there uſed in the diſtillation of ſpirits, and for granting to " his Majeſty other duties in lieu thereof," is near expiring, and fit to be continued.

Reſolved, That an act, made in the 28th year of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, intituled, " An act for diſcontinuing, for " a limited time, the ſeveral duties payable in Scotland upon " low wines and ſpirits, and upon worts, waſh, and other " liquors there uſed in the diſtillation of ſpirits, and for grant- " ing to his Majeſty other duties in lieu thereof, and for better " regulating the exportation of Britiſh made ſpirits from Eng- " land to Scotland, and from Scotland to England, and to con- " tinue, for a limited time, an act, made in the twenty-ſixth " year of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, to diſcontinue, for a " limited time, the payment of the duties upon low wines and " ſpirits for home conſumption, and for granting and ſecuring " the due payment of other duties in lieu thereof, and for the " better regulation of the making and vending Britiſh ſpirits " and for diſcontinuing, for a limited time, certain impoſts and " duties upon rum and ſpirits imported from the Weſt Indies," is near expiring, and fit to be continued.

Reſolved, That the duties impoſed by an act, made in the 27th year of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, upon fermented wort or waſh brewed or made in that part of Great Britain called England, for extracting ſpirits for home conſumption from all malt, corn, grain, or tilts, or any mixture with the ſame, and upon cyder or perry, or other waſh or liquor brewed or made as aforeſaid from any ſort or kind of Britiſh materials, except ſuch as are before mentioned, or from any mixture therewith, for extracting ſpirits for home conſumption, and upon fermented wort or waſh, brewed or made as aforeſaid with melaſſes or ſugar, or any mixture therewith, for extracting ſpirits for home conſumption, and upon waſh, brewed or made as aforeſaid from foreign refuſed wines, or foreign cyder, or waſh prepared from foreign materials, except melaſſes and ſugar, or any mixture therewith for extracting ſpirits for home conſumption, and which were continued by two acts, made in the 30th and 31ſt years of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, are near expiring, and fit to be continued.

Order

Ordered, That a bill, or bills, be brought in upon the ſaid reſolutions.

Reſolved, That the ſum of two hundred thouſand pounds be granted to his Majeſty, to be iſſued and paid to the governor and company of the Bank of England, to be by them placed to the account of the commiſſioners for the reduction of the national debt.

Reſolved, That, towards making good the ſupply granted to his Majeſty, there be iſſued and applied the ſum of three millions two hundred and nine thouſand pounds, out of the monies that ſhall ariſe of the ſurplus of the fund, called the conſolidated fund, from the 5th day of January 1793 to the 5th day of April 1794.

Reſolved, That, towards making good the ſupply granted to his Majeſty, there be iſſued and applied the ſum of four hundred thirty-five thouſand ſix hundred ninety-ſix pounds one ſhilling and ſeven pence farthing, remaining in the Exchequer on the 5th day of January 1793, of the ſurplus of the conſolidated fund, ſubject to the diſpoſition of Parliament.

Ordered, That a bill, or bills, be brought in upon the ſaid reſolutions.

MARCH 28.

Mr. CHANCELLOR moved that the Houſe at its riſing adjourn to the fourth day of April (on account of the Eaſter holidays).

The report of the committee of yeſterday on the loan was made at half after four o'clock, and agreed to, Mr. Drake, jun. being the only Member who ſpoke againſt it.

Mr. SHERIDAN, Mr. FOX, and Mr. GREY, arriving at the Houſe ſubſequent to the report having been agreed to, remarked, that it had been brought forward at an early hour, and in the middle of private buſineſs, for the purpoſe of avoiding that diſcuſſion which Miniſters were afraid to meet.

Mr. SHERIDAN obſerved, that it had been generally underſtood that private buſineſs would occupy the attention of the Houſe until after five o'clock, and therefore he did not attend until that hour, but he heard with ſome ſurpriſe, that the reſolutions of the committee of yeſterday had been read and agreed to in the midſt of private buſineſs; this he ſaid was unfair and uncandid, and he had no doubt but that many gentlemen had obſervations to make, which they would have offered upon the report. Mr. Sheridan maintained that the commiſſioners of the fund for the reduction of the national debt ought to have been conſulted upon the plan of the loan, and that they might, if they

thought fit, advance for that loan the ſum which was to have been applied to the reduction of the debt, as mentioned by the Right Honourable Gentleman on the opening of the budget. [Here Mr. Sheridan recited part of the act by which the fund for the reduction of the national debt was created.] His object, he ſaid, was to know what communication, if any, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had with the commiſſioners upon the ſubject of this loan, previous to his concluding the bargain with the ſubſcribers. Mr. Sheridan then moved, "That there be laid before the Houſe the communication between the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the commiſſioners for the reduction of the national debt, and the reaſons aſſigned by them for not having demanded the right of ſubſcribing to the preſent loan."

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER oppoſed the motion, and ſaid, that the nature and ſpirit of the act of Parliament, by which the power of the commiſſioners was created, did not warrant the conſtruction put upon it by the Honourable Gentleman.

Mr. GREY complained alſo of the unfairneſs with which the report of the committee upon the loan had been paſſed through the Houſe in the middle of private buſineſs, when no gentleman thought of attending. He thought it extremely improper, that public buſineſs ſhould be diſpoſed of in this manner. He came down to the Houſe at four o'clock, and was aſſured that public buſineſs would not come on for a conſiderable time, for that there was a commiſſion for giving the royal aſſent to ſeveral bills; in conſequence of this he went up ſtairs, and in the interval the report of the committee was brought up, read, and agreed to; the public would form their opinion upon this matter.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER diſclaimed all ideas of wiſhing to paſs any meaſure of importance through the Houſe unfairly, or by ſurpriſe; and as to the public opinion upon this ſubject, he ſaid he was perfectly contented it ſhould be impartially formed; but he believed this debate was brought on for a very different purpoſe.

A ſhort converſation took place between Mr. Fox, Mr. Ryder and the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The SPEAKER informed the Houſe, that private buſineſs was proceeded on until within twenty-five minutes of five o'clock, and that then the report of the committee on the loan was brought up, read, and agreed to; after which the Gentleman Uſher of the Black Rod came to announce the commiſſion for the royal aſſent.—There was more private buſineſs to be gone through.—It was then underſtood that in future the chair ſhall be taken at three before the Eaſter receſs, and half after three

three after Eaſter, and private buſineſs ſhould be over at half after four. Mr. Sheridan's motion was then put and negatived.

Mr. GREY gave notice, that he ſhould make his motion for a parliamentary reform on the ſixth day of May.

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS gave notice, that he ſhould bring forward his propoſitions relative to the government and commerce of India on the 8th of April.

The Houſe then reſolved itſelf into a committee of the whole Houſe on the bill for the more effectually preventing, during the war, all traiterous correſpondence with the King's enemies. —On the firſt clauſe, which enacts, That from the 20th of April next, during the continuance of the preſent war between Great Britain and France, if any perſon reſiding in Great Britain, knowingly and wilfully ſhall, on his own account, or credit, or on the account or credit, or by the direction of any other perſon or perſons whomſoever, or whereſoever reſident, ſell, ſupply, or deliver, or ſend for the purpoſe of being ſold, ſupplied, or delivered, or ſhall agree to ſell, or deliver, &c.—ſhall be guilty. —It was propoſed to leave out the words—*Shall agree to ſell, or deliver*.

The queſtion being put by Sir Elijah Impey, who was chairman of the committee, ſtrangers were as uſual ordered to withdraw.

In the interval a number of gentlemen who had not been in the Houſe when the queſtion was put, entered and ſeated themſelves on the miniſterial ſide.

Mr. SHERIDAN inſiſted, that as they were not preſent when the queſtion was put, they were not entitled to vote.

Mr. DUNDAS contended, that the queſtion having been put before the gallery was cleared, it ought to be put again.

This brought on a converſation on the point of order, which the Speaker at laſt decided in favour of Mr. Sheridan, laying it down as the old eſtabliſhed rule, that the queſtion might be put either before the gallery was cleared or after, and that being once put, thoſe who were not in the body of the Houſe at the time, could not be permitted to vote.

The gentlemen who came in after the queſtion was put, were ordered to withdraw, and the committee divided,

For leaving out the words - 27
Againſt it - - 51

In the diſpute on the point of order, the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved that the gallery doors be kept ſhut during the reſt of the debate. They were kept ſhut accordingly; and we can only ſtate that the firſt clauſe of the bill was very warmly debated on almoſt every point.

About

About ten o'clock a ſecond diviſion took place on an amendment moved by Mr. Sheridan, to ſecure the intereſt of the foreign proprietors in the Britiſh funds,

Ayes	- -	34
Noes	- -	113

Mr. FOX then went over the objections to the whole clauſe, and the reigning contempt of the Britiſh conſtitution, which pervaded every part of it. He obſerved that the extraordinary powers which it granted to Miniſters were only a ſequel of thoſe granted by the alien bill—powers arbitrary and deſpotic, becauſe without reſponſibility—powers which no good man would aſk for, or accept if offered to him. He animadverted on the manner in which the powers granted by the alien bill had been exerciſed, to the diſtreſs, perhaps the ruin of individuals, without an opportunity of anſwering the charges alleged againſt them, or being confronted with their accuſers, while other perſons, more dangerous, remained unmoleſted, becauſe private malice was not ſo active againſt them; or were ſuffered to remain in the country from having means of repelling the allegations to their diſadvantage. He lamented the invaſions of the conſtitution by ſuch bills, which, if worth fighting for againſt foreign enemies, was ſurely worth defending in Parliament; and ridiculed the excluſion of ſtrangers, as a vain attempt to prevent the diſcuſſion of ſuch a meaſure from being as earneſtly attended to as that of any other.

In the courſe of this ſpeech, Mr. Fox was very ſevere upon the *manœuvre* by which the gallery was cloſed, but added that as the bill was to be oppoſed in every ſtage, the diſcuſſion ſhould certainly in future be as public as poſſible.

Mr. W. GRANT juſtified the clauſe, being ſtrictly conſiſtent both with prudence and policy.

Mr. FOX replied more particularly on the former of theſe heads. He obſerved, that no degree of prudence on our part could prevent the total entry of theſe ſupplies on the extended coaſt of France. To do this in the firſt inſtance, it was neceſſary that we ſhould be maſters of the ſea. This maſterſhip would hardly be aſſerted at the preſent moment, though we had been told ſo often of the aſtoniſhing exertions and unparalleled aſſiduity of our marine preparations! Theſe exertions, if not "aſtoniſhing" in the point of view in which they were ſtated, were certainly ſo in another.

At half an hour paſt twelve o'clock, adjourned to April 4.

APRIL 4.

The order of the day being read for going into a committee of the whole Houſe on the bill to prevent treaſonable correſpondence,

dence, the Speaker left the chair, and Mr. Hobart took his ſeat at the table.

The CHAIRMAN (after mentioning that the firſt clauſe had been already gone through in the committee) proceeded to read the ſecond clauſe of the bill; and having finiſhed that part of the clauſe which prohibits, under the pain of treaſon, the purchaſe, &c. of lands in France,

The SOLICITOR GENERAL ſaid, that he meant to propoſe an amendment to the clauſe, for the purpoſe of limiting its prohibitions ſolely to the purchaſing or agreeing to purchaſe lands in the dominions of France, by omitting altogether the other prohibitions contained in the clauſe, as to the purchaſe of aſſignats, &c.

Mr. ADAM ſtated, that as by the propoſed amendment the clauſe would be rendered perfectly nugatory, he would rather hope that the Honourable and Learned Gentleman (the Solicitor General) would agree to amend it, as he had done ſome other clauſes, by a total omiſſion of it: but, if it was meant to be perſiſted in, even under the limitation which had been propoſed, he muſt beg leave to ſubmit to the committee, that there were certain claſſes of perſons who would be put by it into a ſituation of very peculiar and unjuſt hardſhip; he meant perſons who, with the moſt honeſt intentions towards this country, may have purchaſed in the French funds prior to any rupture, or proſpect of rupture betwixt the two countries, and alſo ſuch perſons as, by marriage or inheritance, may have acquired property in theſe funds: perſons ſo poſſeſſed of property in the funds of France would be obliged, in conſequence of exiſting regulations there, to commute the ſame for land; whereby the effect of the preſent bill would be to ſubject innocent individuals either to the total loſs of their property, or to the incurring the pains of treaſon.

MAJOR MAITLAND obſerved that, under the operation of the alien bill, it could not be ſuppoſed that any Frenchman, who was not truly meritorious, would be allowed to remain in this country; and that it would be cruel and unjuſt in the extreme, to prohibit a Frenchman of this deſcription, reſident in Britain, and who may have funds in France, from laying them out in the purchaſe of land there, perhaps in re-purchaſing his own property.

Mr. FOX ſaid, that every part of the preſent bill appeared to him ſo pregnant with miſchief and abſurdity, that he could hardly object to the omiſſion of any part of it; he could not however help obſerving that, when it was recollected what had been the pretence held out as to the neceſſity of prohibiting the purchaſe of lands in France, viz. the preventing the government of France

from procuring money by the ſale of lands for the purpoſe of enabling them to carry on the war—it was truly a moſt curious and extraordinary circumſtance, that a propoſition ſhould come from the Honourable and Learned Gentleman on the other ſide of the Houſe, to allow the moſt direct, ſpeedy, and efficient ſupply to be given to the French government, by purchaſing in the French funds, or ſubſcribing to a loan, and to limit the prohibition ſolely to the purchaſe of land, which muſt be admitted to be a much more circuitous mode of affording them ſuch ſupply.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL ſaid, that he had by no means been induced to give up the other prohibitions from any idea that the principle of the bill did not apply to them, but from finding that various difficulties occurred as to the execution of them.

After a little further converſation, the amendment as to leaving out all the prohibitions in the clauſe, except what related to the purchaſe, &c. of lands in France, was agree to:—Afterwards, on a ſubſequent part of the clauſe, which enacts, that "if any perſon, being a ſubject of his Majeſty, and out of his Majeſty's dominions, ſhall in any ſuch manner as aforeſaid, make, &c. any ſuch buying, &c. and ſhall afterwards voluntarily return or come to Great-Britain, every ſuch perſon ſo returning or coming to Great Britain, being thereof convicted or attainted by due courſe of law, ſhall be deemed and adjudged to be guilty of high treaſon, &c."

Mr. FOX argued in very forcible terms, that the clauſe, as it ſtood, involved the groſſeſt injuſtice and abſurdity with reſpect to his Majeſty's ſubjects of Ireland; for if an Iriſhman in Ireland were to treat for the purchaſe of lands in France, he would do ſo with perfect innocence, and would be liable to no puniſhment on coming into Britain; but were he to go abroad out of the King's dominions, for inſtance to Hamburgh, in order to conclude the tranſaction previouſly ſettled and agreed upon, and ſhould afterwards come into Britain, the penalties of treaſon would inſtantly attach upon him: where guilt was previouſly incurred, the coming into this country might bring the guilty perſon within reach of puniſhment; but that an action, innocent or indifferent when committed, ſhould change its nature, and become ſubject to puniſhment from the mere change of place, was in direct oppoſition to every principle, both of reaſon and of criminal law.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER ſaid a few words in vindication of that part of the clauſe which had been juſt objected to, and ſaid that it appeared to him to be juſt in its principle, and expreſſed with ſufficient preciſion.

Mr.

Mr. FRANCIS objected, in ſtrong terms, to this part of the clauſe; which, after ſome further converſation, was agreed to.

Some converſation afterwards took place between the Solicitor General, Mr. Burke, Mr. Anſtruther, and Mr. Jenkinſon, on one ſide; and Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Adam, Mr. Grey, Major Maitland, and Mr. Francis, on the other, as to the propriety of extending the pains of treaſon to a breach of the prohibitions contained in this clauſe, &c.

The queſtion being then put, that the clauſe, as amended, ſhould ſtand part of the bill,

Mr. FOX ſaid, he felt himſelf called upon to give his negative to the clauſe; for nothing appeared to him more miſchievous, than to confound the moral ſenſe, by inflicting ſevere puniſhments on the more innocent and inoffenſive acts; while thoſe which were in a greater degree hurtful and dangerous were entirely paſſed over:—As the clauſe was now limited, he was convinced it could be perſiſted in for no other reaſon, than that gentlemen on the other ſide of the Houſe, having been obliged to abandon the moſt offenſive parts of the bill, thought it rather too much to give up the whole.

MAJOR MAITLAND alſo oppoſed the clauſe, which, he ſaid, was only leaving the ſhadow, when the ſubſtance was given up.

Mr. SHERIDAN entirely agreed with his Honourable Friends. He thought the clauſe, as now amended, ſo perfectly nugatory, that it would be much like prohibiting a gardener to lay out a garden, and make hot-beds, &c. in Lapland. In fact, the preſent bill, as it now ſtood, inſtead of bearing its preſent title, ought to be called a bill to *authoriſe* Britiſh ſubjects to cloath the French army with *woollen cloth*, and to *prohibit* their ſelling them a pair of *boots*, under the pains of treaſon.

The committee divided,

Ayes, in favour of the clauſe	77
Noes - - -	19
Majority - - -	58

On the third clauſe, which prohibits any ſubject of his Majeſty from voluntarily going or repairing, or embarking in any veſſel with an intent to go or repair from any place in Great Britain into France, &c. without licence from his Majeſty under his ſign manual, or by order in council or proclamation firſt had and obtained, the following words were added, on the motion of Mr. Curwin, viz. "Such licence being ſubject to no fee or charge whatſoever:" and after ſome converſation betwixt Major Maitland, the Solicitor General, Mr. Anſtruther, Mr. Grey, Mr. Whitbread, &c. as to allowing the li-

cences to be limited to a particular time and place, the clauſe was agreed to without a diviſion.

The clauſe which went to prohibit the return into this country of any of his Majeſty's ſubjects without his leave, being read, for the purpoſe of negativing the clauſe,

Mr. WHITBREAD, jun. ſaid, he thought the clauſe ſo deteſtable, that even in its death he could not help taking notice of its character; he could not allow it the benefit of the old charitable ſentence *de mortuis nil niſi bonum*; on the contrary, he ſhould apply to it the epitaph written on a tombſtone in Weſtminſter Abbey:

"*Lie ſtill if you are wiſe,*
"*You are damned if you riſe.*"

But this was not all; he had a queſtion to aſk the Solicitor General, and it aroſe out of this clauſe, although it was to be negatived. The reaſons aſſigned by the gentlemen who brought in this bill for negativing this clauſe, made his queſtion neceſſary. They had inſinuated that the clauſe was not ſtrictly neceſſary to the purpoſe which it tended to ſupport, as his Majeſty by proclamation could order what was neceſſary for the ſafety of the ſtate. A proclamation had iſſued to that effect, forbidding, for a time, ſubjects of this country from returning into it, under certain reſtrictions.—Mr. Whitbread wiſhed to know of the Solicitor General, whether the King was empowered by law to iſſue any proclamation, forbidding the return into this country of any one of the ſubjects of it, not convicted of a crime? Had the King of England the power, by law, to hinder the return of ſuch a man to his native country? The queſtion he thought neceſſary to be determined before the clauſe now before the committee was negatived, becauſe they ſhould take care upon that negative not to give an oblique ſanction to a principle of tyranny, much more dangerous even than the effect could be of paſſing the clauſe itſelf; he had heard that a proclamation to this effect had paſſed with regard to certain perſons lately arrived from France at Dover, but he had not read it; he wiſhed to know whether the law officers of the crown would ſay that ſuch a proclamation was warranted by the law of England?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL ſaid, that with reſpect to the proclamation in queſtion, the Honourable Gentleman was a little miſtaken as to its extent. With reſpect to the legal point to which the Honourable Gentleman had alluded, certainly his Majeſty had a right to make a regulation upon the general policy of this country.

Mr. FOX took fire at theſe expreſſions, and in a ſtrain of uncommon animation proceeded to refute the principle which they

they appeared to him to ſupport. He ſaid that he had, ever ſince he thought upon the ſubject, wholly and entirely miſunderſtood the law.—If the King had the power which the anſwer of the Honourable and Learned Gentleman inſinuated —if the King had the right of preventing any perſon from returning to this country, under the ſpecious maſk of regulating upon general policy, he had in fact the power of expelling from his native land, for ever, any perſon he may think proper. He knew in fact the King had no ſuch power, and therefore it was he roſe to make theſe obſervations, and with them to defy any man in that Houſe, or any man in this world, to prove that the King of England had by law a right to ſay to any ſubject not convicted of an offence againſt the law—"You ſhall not return to Great Britain without a paſſport from me."—If the King had ever, if the King ſhould ever, iſſue a proclamation to that effect, he would ſay, and maintain, without the leaſt fear of the colour of refutation by argument, that ſuch a proclamation was, and would be irregular, illegal, and highly unconſtitutional. He believed, that if the tranſaction alluded to, and which happened at Dover, ſhould ever be fairly canvaſſed, it would be found to be a ſhameful violation of the law of this country, and a revival of the principle of the clauſe which had juſt been read; a principle which would, to a certain degree, attach ſhame, ſcandal, and diſgrace on that Houſe, for having once given to it the colour of a ſanction, by giving leave to bring in a bill which contained a clauſe to favour it.—The King had a right to regulate upon general policy in this country?—Had he indeed!—Had he a right to ſay to an Engliſhman, you ſhall not return to England without my paſſport?—If he had, then it was high time to examine into the expediency of ſuffering ſuch a prerogative to continue—high time to enquire whether ſome means could not be deviſed to limit the extent, and regulate the exerciſe of that prerogative.—But, ſaid Mr. Fox, "I am ſure he has not, and never ought to "have, and never will have, unleſs this Houſe ſhall ſcandalouſly "neglect its duty; but I wiſh the Solicitor General would "have the goodneſs to explain what he meant by thoſe am-"biguous words which he gave in anſwer to ſo very plain a "queſtion; and that he would not leave us under ſo juſt a "terror for the fate of the conſtitution of our country."

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, with great warmth, alſo entered upon this ſubject. He ſaid, it did not appear to him that the ſubject now before the committee warranted the attack which the Right Honourable Gentleman had made upon the proclamation to which he had alluded. The queſtion before the committee now was, whether the clauſe

they had juſt heard read ſhould be agreed to or negatived? upon which there was no difference of opinion, and upon which, therefore, in point of regularity, there ought to have been no debate.—As to the ſubject of the proclamation, as it was not before the Houſe, he could not ſee how that could regularly be debated, or have its contents attended to, and therefore he ſhould adviſe the committee to diſmiſs, for the preſent, all attention to that ſubject. Here he entered into a recital of the proclamation. He then obſerved, that the proclamation appeared in the Gazettee, but that the gentlemen who had been pleaſed to treat it as an illegal, irregular, and highly unconſtitutional meaſure, had themſelves not read it; a pretty tolerable proof that their cenſure of it was, at leaſt, a little premature. He hoped, however, that they would read it, and that if they were ſerious in the objections which they ſtarted againſt it, before they were acquainted with its contents, they would ſhew their ſincerity in moving for it to be laid before the Houſe, and chooſe a day for the diſcuſſion of it.—He then juſtified the anſwer of the Solicitor General, at which the Right Honourable Gentleman had diſcovered ſo much animation, and concluded with explaining again the nature of the proclamation.

Mr. FOX again maintained that the words of the Solicitor General were in effect a conveyance to the Houſe of the moſt odious and deteſtable principle, and ſuch as he was ſure did not belong to the conſtitution of this country.—He would ſay they were material words, for the words of any high law authority in that Houſe were always important when they were made—would be dangerous if not refuted when they were wrong, becauſe they would form, as it were, a ſort of precedent by acquieſcence; they were words at which he was juſtly alarmed, when he compared them with the plain queſtion to which they were ſaid to be an anſwer. "I ſay," ſaid Mr. Fox, "I am "juſtly alarmed when I hear ſuch ſentiments from ſuch a "quarter, for it is not his own opinion merely that the Ho- "nourable Gentleman is ſpeaking. I ſay, I am juſtly alarmed "for the liberties of my country when ſuch exploded doctrines "upon the King's prerogative are attempted to be revived. "Doctrines to explode which the beſt treaſure of this coun- "try was expended, and the pureſt blood ſhed!" He ſaid he was ſure that the obſervation of the Learned Gentleman upon the King's prerogative was worſe than the clauſe which he gave up—a clauſe which he would have had gone out of that Houſe with the ſtigma that belonged to it; but the clauſe was to be ſuperſeded by doctrines worſe than its contents. At theſe attempts it was high time to be alarmed.

Aſt

After a few words from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Whitbread, this clauſe was negatived.

The committee proceeded through other clauſes in the bill, adopting many alterations, until they came to the laſt, upon which, on the ſuggeſtion of Mr. Adam, and the motion of Mr. Fox, the chairman reported progreſs, and aſked leave to ſit again.

April 5.

Not members ſufficient to make a Houſe.

April 6.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL moved the order of the day for the Houſe to reſolve itſelf into a committee on the traiterous correſpondence bill.

Mr. FOX roſe, and objected to the Houſe reſolving itſelf into the committee, on the ground that it would be more convenient and proper to poſtpone the further conſideration of the bill to a future day. If the Houſe ſhould reſolve itſelf into a committee, he conceived that it would be much better for the committee to report progreſs, and move for leave to ſit again. A report had generally prevailed, and was as generally credited, that the perſons exerciſing the executive government in France were now diſmiſſed from their offices. If the government of that country, conſiſtent with the reports, was in other hands, the purport of the bill would be rendered ſuperfluous and nugatory, as it would apply to people endowed with no function whatever. He conceived that this propoſition or amendment would have come from the other ſide of the Houſe, as being better acquainted with the particulars; but as it did not, he thought it his duty to move an amendment, that "the word *now* be rejected, and Monday inſerted in its ſtead."

The SOLICITOR GENERAL urged the immediate commitment of the bill. He ſaid, if there was no ground for the report to which the Right Honourable Gentleman had alluded, it was neceſſary that the bill ſhould be paſſed into a law. If the report was true, no harm could ariſe from paſſing the bill.

Mr. ADAM was of opinion, that the ſituation of affairs on the continent might render the bill totally unneceſſary. If it was grounded on the idea of ſtate neceſſity, which was the only argument urged by his Majeſty's Miniſters, that idea was now totally done away, and therefore it would be a ſuperfluous act to paſs the bill. It was generally underſtood, that this day there would not have been a Houſe, and he was therefore of opinion, that it would be more decent and becoming to poſtpone the further conſideration of the bill until Monday. There were ſeveral Members, who, if preſent, would ſupport the adjournment, particularly

particularly in the preſent ſituation of affairs, and for this reaſon he would ſecond the motion of his Right Honourable Friend.

Mr. PITT reminded the Houſe, that there was but one clauſe remained for its conſideration. He wiſhed alſo that it would recollect that the bill was not for the purpoſe of puniſhing individuals, but merely to prevent treaſonable correſpondence during the war, no matter what party was in power. Certainly, he ſaid, a report had been circulated, and generally believed, that Dumourier had marched to France at the head of his troops, and that a counter revolution had taken place; but as government had received no preciſe information on the buſineſs, he thought that there was no argument offered ſufficient to induce the Houſe not to reſolve itſelf into a committee.

Mr. WHITBREAD was of opinion, that no inconvenience could poſſibly ariſe from poſtponing the order of the day to Monday. Though the preciſe extent of the intelligence was not known, yet all agreed that there were ſome grounds for the report. An unjuſtifiable precipitation had diſtinguiſhed the meaſure throughout, on the part of his Majeſty's Miniſters; and he conceived they had now a proper opportunity of evading the odium, by agreeing to the amendment.

The queſtion being put, the amendment was negatived; and the Houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee on the bill.

On the laſt clauſe being read, that the "Venue be laid in any county whatever, no matter where the crime was committed,"

An amendment was moved by

The SOLICITOR GENERAL, for the purpoſe of including the "Court of Juſticiary in Scotland, whenever they ſit."

Sir ADAM FERGUSON conceived, that the amendment propoſed by the Solicitor General proceeded from his ignorance of the criminal laws of the country. Sir Adam ſtated, that a trial of that nature could not be had, except before the Court of Juſticiary in Edinburgh, or the circuit courts of that county, if the offence was there committed.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL argued, that by the 7th of Queen Anne, the law of treaſon, in both countries, was placed on the ſame footing, and therefore rendered the amendment he propoſed neceſſary.

Mr. ADAM contended, that Sir Adam Ferguſon was correct in what he had ſtated. Mr. Adam next proceeded to convince the Houſe, that there was a material defect in the criminal law of Scotland. With reſpect to the criminal laws in that country, he ſtated, that the Lord Advocate had a power of laying the Venue in Edinburgh only, no matter where the cauſe of diſpute originated. By this means, the defendants, who brought witneſſes from Berwick or the Orkneys, to rebut the evidence of the crown,

crown, were put to the moſt ſhameful and exorbitant expence. He wiſhed that the Solicitor General would beſtow ſome attention on the criminal judicature in Scotland, as by his propoſed amendment, any perſon, within the iſland of Great Britain, may be dragged before the Court of Juſticiary; and as the bill now ſtood, that fact was certainly *vice verſa*. Mr. Adam concluded, that if the bill was preſſed through the committee this day, he would reſerve any further obſervation till the report was made.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL ſaid, agreeably to ſuggeſtions of the gentleman who ſpoke laſt, he would modify the clauſe.

The bill then paſſed through the committee, was ordered to be printed, and the report ordered to be received on the 8th.

Adjourned to the 8th.

April 8.

A petition of the merchant manufacturers, traders, and other inhabitants, of the town of Nottingham and its neighbourhood, was preſented to the Houſe, and read; ſetting forth, that the petitioners approach the Houſe as the guardian of the public peace and welfare, and pray, that, by the interpoſition of their wiſdom and patriotiſm, the petitioners and their country may be reſcued from the evil of an impending war, ſingular in its character, not founded on the uſual cauſes of war, which has no ſpecific object in view, no definite proſpect of termination, unleſs in the abſolute conqueſt of a numerous and powerful people, a moſt arduous, if not impracticable attempt, and which, in the preſent circumſtances of Great Britain, muſt be attended with heavy ſuffering, without the probability of any gain or acquiſition to compenſate for their ſuffering: that to a ſeries of wars, many of which with national dignity might have been avoided, is owing the immenſe load of debt, which bears with the moſt oppreſſive weight on every individual, and which nothing but the ſingular proſperity of our foreign commerce could enable theſe kingdoms to ſuſtain: one principal ſource of this proſperity is peace; the petitioners pray, therefore, that the Houſe will not ſuffer this ſource to be deſtroyed, nor this country to participate in the miſery by participating in the folly of other nations: to add to a debt which the petitioners fear is irredeemable, and to an amount which no one can calculate, ought to be juſtified by the laſt neceſſity; nothing but the very being and preſervation of our country could reconcile it to the national will; every thing in our preſent circumſtances is adverſe to war, the dearneſs of proviſions, and of all the neceſſaries and comforts of life, every day advancing, and hardly ſupported by the utmoſt exertions of induſtry and ingenuity; the alarming progreſs of the poor rates; a wide

wide range of taxation, which embraces every form of property, and cramps every movement of the ſubject; together with that delicate balance between the excellence and the price of our manufactures, on which our foreign commerce depends, all with one ominous voice repel the thought of war—war will increaſe every one of theſe internal burthens, and co-operating with them diminiſh or ruin that trade on which all depends, the enjoyments as well as the reſources of this country; and therefore alſo praying the Houſe, that in their goodneſs they will attend to the ſupplications of their country, and in their wiſdom avert an evil which has but barely commenced, and which a pacific diſpoſition in the Houſe cannot fail to diſpel: to the Houſe, and to the protection of the God of peace, the petitioners recommend themſelves, their fellow citizens, and the impending fate of Britain.

Ordered, That the ſaid petition do lie upon the table.

TREASONABLE CORRESPONDENCE BILL.

The report of the bill for preventing traiterous correſpondence with France was brought up by Mr. Hobart, and the amendments made in the committee were read. When the clauſe was read which fixed the 20th inſtant as the period on which the operation of the bill was to commence,

Mr. ADAM obſerved that the 20th was by much too early a day; and he truſted the Houſe would be of the ſame opinion, when it conſidered that this was the 8th day of the month; that the third reading could not take place till the 9th or 10th, and that probably the bill could not be carried up to the Houſe of Lords before the 11th; that it was very likely their Lordſhips would not go through it without much and ſerious deliberation; and that very poſſibly the 20th of April would be paſſed before the bill could receive the royal aſſent, and conſequently before the public, in diſtant parts of the country, could be apprized of its having received it. It was therefore his intention to move for a more diſtant day than the 20th, unleſs the learned framer of the bill would ſave him the trouble, by propoſing of his own accord a later period.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL ſaid it was his intention to move an amendment, which he hoped would meet the wiſhes of the Learned Member, by propoſing that the bill ſhould begin to operate at different periods, in different parts of the world, proportioned to their diſtance from Great Britain. The periods ſtated were the 20th of April for Great Britain, 20th of May for Europe and all places on this ſide of the Cape of Good Hope, and the 20th of July for all parts of the world beyond the Cape.

The amendment was moved and carried without a diviſion.

When

When the clauſe was read which gives power to the crown to bring on the trials of perſons accuſed of treaſon under this act, in the county of Middleſex, though it ſhould have been committed in any other county,

Mr. ADAM very ſtrongly oppoſed it, as extremely oppreſſive to the accuſed, and ſubverſive of a general principle of law. He obſerved, that by the common law, a man ought to be tried by a jury of the vicinage, and for this very good reaſon, that jurors taken from the neighbourhood muſt be ſuppoſed to be beſt acquainted with the characters of the accuſed, and of the witneſſes. But by the preſent clauſe a man might be brought from Cornwall or Cumberland to be tried by a Middleſex jury, wholly unacquainted with the parties concerned; and be put to the expence of bringing witneſſes from thoſe diſtant parts to Weſtminſter, when the ends of juſtice as to the public might be as well anſwered, and as to the individual much better, by a jury of the county in which the treaſonable act was ſaid to have been done. He knew the Attorney General could at any time, by his bare prerogative, and without the aid of an act of Parliament, inſiſt upon a trial at bar, and thus bring the accuſed before the court of King's Bench at Weſtminſter, from any part of the kingdom; but this was a prerogative which an Attorney General would not be very ready to exerciſe, as his own perſonal character muſt anſwer for whatever ſhould be deemed by the public an act of hardſhip and power againſt an individual; but if a ſpecial act of Parliament abſolutely authorized ſuch a meaſure, the reſponſibility of the Attorney General's character would be out of the queſtion, and many an individual might be expoſed to hardſhips which might well be ſaid to be in their nature very nearly allied to oppreſſion. A trial at bar, which of courſe would bring the parties concerned from their own counties to Weſtminſter, was, in criminal matters, very much diſcountenanced by the judges. Two applications for ſuch a trial were made, one in the time of Lord Mansfield, the other in that of Lord Kenyon; the parties who were to be tried were perſons who had attempted to break out of the King's Bench priſon; and though the queſtion was only whether they ſhould be tried on the Surry or the Middleſex ſide of the river Thames, yet the court on both occaſions refuſed to grant a trial at bar, and was influenced on theſe two occaſions by the principle which he had already laid down. It might therefore be well preſumed, that had the diſtance between Surry, from which the witneſſes were to be brought, and Middleſex, which was to furniſh the jury, been greater, the oppoſition of the court to a motion for a trial at bar would not have been leſs determined. Here he obſerved, that the motion for ſuch trial was made in the name of the accuſed; and yet the

court would not grant it: it was fair alſo to infer from this, that if the court could overrule the prerogative of the Attorney General, which it could not, it would be as little inclined to allow a trial at bar at the deſire of the public proſecutor, as at the prayer of the parties accuſed; a principle of law ought not to be ſacrificed to either. Mr. Adam concluded by moving, that in the clauſe which gave the crown the power of bringing the accuſed, under this act, to trial in the county where the treaſon was alleged to have been committed, or in the county of Middleſex, the words, "or in the county of Middleſex," ſhould be omitted.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL convinced Mr. Adam, that in the clauſe in queſtion the words to which the motion referred could not be omitted without deſtroying even the meaning of the clauſe. The motion was therefore withdrawn.

The Houſe having gone through all the amendments made in the bill by the committee,

Mr. ADAM ſaid, he would then propoſe a clauſe, of which he had given notice on a former day. This clauſe he introduced in a ſpeech of ſome length, in which he diſplayed great legal knowledge, but the detail of which, as it turned upon a dry point of law, we ſhall endeavour to ſtate with brevity, but with clearneſs. The drift of the ſpeech was this: by the law of high treaſon in general, every perſon accuſed of treaſon is entitled to be heard by counſel on queſtions of fact as well as of law; to have a copy of the indictment, and a liſt of the witneſſes, ten days before the trial; by the ſame law no perſon accuſed can be convicted unleſs the overt act of treaſon be proved by two witneſſes. But Parliament having made the counterfeiting of the King's coin, the great ſeal, &c. high treaſon, had made a diſtinction between treaſons of that deſcription, and treaſons againſt the King's life, or making war upon him, or adhering to his enemies: for a perſon accuſed of counterfeiting the coin, for inſtance, though charged with high treaſon, is not entitled to a copy of the indictment or to a liſt of the witneſſes, nor is it neceſſary that the fact ſhould be proved by two witneſſes; nor is counſel allowed to ſpeak in behalf of the priſoner, except a queſtion of law ſhould ariſe. The ground for this diſtinction, Mr. Adam ſaid, was, that the latter kind of treaſons did not work a corruption of blood, or a forfeiture of the eſtate of the party convicted; and as the puniſhment was the leſs ſevere, ſo the aids allowed to the accuſed for making his defence were alſo leſs. Mr. Adam laboured to ſhew that the diſtinction did not apply to the acts which were to be made treaſon by the preſent bill; for they were ſuch as might be conſidered as coming within that branch of the ſtatute of the 25th of Edward the Third

relative to "adhering to the King's enemies," and conſequently a perſon brought to trial upon the preſent bill was, in point of reaſon, entitled to all the aids which were allowed by law to perſons making their defence againſt a charge of high treaſon. But theſe aids, it ſeemed, were to be denied under the preſent bill, for this reaſon, that it was not to work corruption of blood, or forfeiture of eſtate; but the reaſon did not appear to him to be a ſound one, for the Houſe muſt know, that by the 7th of Queen Anne it was enacted, that corruption of blood and forfeiture of eſtate ſhould no longer be the conſequence of a conviction of high treaſon, after the death of the then pretender to the crown. By the 17th of George II. the period when corruption of blood and forfeiture ſhould no longer attach upon treaſon, was removed to a more diſtant time, and was to take place at the death of the two ſons of that pretender. One of theſe, it was well known, had died a few years ago; the other, who was the Cardinal of York, was an aged perſon, and at his death, which could not, in the courſe of nature, be very diſtant, all corruption of blood and forfeiture for high treaſon were by law to ceaſe in England; and yet after that period a perſon accuſed of high treaſon would be ſtill entitled to all the aids which he had already mentioned; ſo that it could not be ſaid that thoſe aids were allowed by law, merely becauſe the corruption and forfeiture of eſtate were conſequences of a conviction on a charge of high treaſon. Mr. Adam argued a long time to ſhew that there was no analogy between the act of counterfeiting the King's coin, and, for inſtance, remitting money to France during the preſent war; it was true, he ſaid, that, after the paſſing of this bill, theſe two acts would in law amount to high treaſon, yet the latter alone could be ſaid to partake of the nature of treaſon, as it argued an adhering to the King's enemies; and the former was allowed by all able law authorities to be rather a ſpecies of fraud, and what was called the *crimen falſi*, than high treaſon; and to have been called treaſon only becauſe it was an act in which the public had a concern. As, therefore, theſe treaſons differed widely in their nature, a diſtinction, he contended, might well be expected in the aids to be allowed to perſons indicted as the means of their defence. On theſe grounds it was that he moved for leave to bring up a clauſe, the object of which was to extend to perſons who ſhould be tried under this act the indulgence allowed by the 7th of William the Third, and the 7th of Queen Anne, to perſons accuſed of high treaſon under the 25th of Edward III.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL oppoſed the admiſſion of the clauſe: he ſaid it went to open a very wide diſcuſſion indeed, namely, whether all thoſe aids, which the Learned Gentleman had enumerated, as granted by law to perſons accuſed of

high treaſon, ſhould alſo be allowed in caſes of felony; for though counterfeiting the King's coin, for inſtance, was in name high treaſon, it was, as to its effects upon the blood and property of the convict, no more than felony. He ſaid, he had not expected that, when the preſent bill reduced the penalty of high treaſon, with reſpect to perſons offending againſt it, to that which was enacted merely againſt felons, a charge ſhould be brought, that it ſubjected them to hardſhips from which they ought to be relieved; if the propoſed relief was proper in this caſe, he ſaw no reaſon why it ought not to be extended alſo to all thoſe who ſhould hereafter be accuſed of felony.

Mr. FOX expreſſed his ſurpriſe that the Learned Gentleman ſhould have confounded two things, which in their nature were widely different. A copy of the indictment, a liſt of the witneſſes, and the aid of counſel in matters of fact as well as law, were allowed to perſons accuſed of high treaſon, but not to perſons accuſed of felony; the reaſon of the difference was obvious; proſecutions for felonies were uſually brought by private individuals, who could not be ſuppoſed to have any extraordinary influence with either judges or juries: but proſecutions for high treaſon were always brought by the crown; the aids, therefore, which the law allowed to perſons accuſed of treaſon, were ſo many ſhields given to him to defend himſelf, and prevent him from being overborne by the weight, or influence, or paſſions, of the chief magiſtrate or his miniſters. Theſe ſhields muſt of courſe, on this principle, be as neceſſary in the proſecution on the preſent, as in one of the 25th of Edward the Third, as in both caſes it would be carried only by the public accuſer at the command of the crown. It was allowed that at the death of the Cardinal of York all treaſons would be preciſely on a level as far as they affected the inheritable quality of the blood, and the property of the perſon convicted; what a miſerable thing then muſt it be to ſay, that in a proſecution for an act done againſt the preſent bill, a man ſhould be refuſed the copy of his indictment, and the other aids allowed by law in caſes of high treaſon, merely becauſe the aged Cardinal of York had not yet paid the debt of nature. He was glad, he ſaid, that the penalty under this bill was not to be greater than that to which perſons were ſubjected who were convicted of counterfeiting the great ſeal; but on the other hand he feared that this ſeeming lenity was not what it appeared to be, the child of mercy; he apprehended that its object was to facilitate the conviction of the accuſed, by taking the means of defence which he might claim from him as his right, if the bill left the enumerated acts within the ſtatutes of the 25th of Edward the Third. Theſe acts might be conſidered as proofs of an adherence to the King's enemies,

mies, and conſequently came within the ſpecies of treaſon on which corruption of blood attached; but by claſſing them under the head of treaſons which did not operate a corruption of blood, the framers of the bill had contrived to take from the accuſed the means of defence, under the appearance of lenity. He ſaid he ſhould on the third reading of the bill have another opportunity of oppoſing its principle, a principle which would appear ſomewhat leſs tyrannical if the propoſed clauſe was admitted, but which muſt be ſtill more odious if it was rejected.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER ſaid, that harſh as was the epithet which the Right Honourable Gentleman had beſtowed upon the bill in the laſt part of his ſpeech, it would not make a very deep impreſſion upon thoſe who would recollect that the Right Honourable Gentleman had admitted that ſome of the acts enumerated in the bill might be ſaid to come within that branch of high treaſon deſcribed by the 25th of Edward the Third, under the head of adhering to the King's enemies: the principle of the preſent bill went to puniſh ſuch perſons as ſhould adhere to his Majeſty's enemies; and therefore could not, on that head, be called tyrannical. The reaſon, he ſaid, why a copy of the indictment was allowed in caſes of high treaſon, and not in thoſe of felony, was this, that without it the perſon accuſed of treaſon could not poſſibly know how to defend himſelf; for the warrant of commitment ſtated no more than that the party committed had imagined the King's death, or had adhered to his enemies, or had levied war upon him; it was in the indictment only that the overt act was ſet forth, which was adduced as a proof of the treaſonable intention of the perſon accuſed: but in caſes of felony the ſpecific act or crime was ſet forth in the warrant of commitment; and therefore the party had not the ſame occaſion for a copy of the indictment. As to the aid of counſel, it was not denied in proſecutions even for felony; for as often as a queſtion of law aroſe, the priſoner was allowed to be heard upon it by his counſel. Were counſel to be allowed to ſpeak on matters of fact in trials of felony, and were copies of indictments granted ten days before trial, it would be abſolutely impracticable to execute the criminal law of the country. With reſpect to the granting the accuſed a liſt of the witneſſes in all caſes, it would be of little uſe to him, as a liſt of ſuch a cloud of witneſſes might be ſent to him as would render it impoſſible for him, with all the aſſiduity of his friends, to enquire into their characters in the ſpace of ten days.

Mr. FOX in explanation ſaid, that he was well aware that in caſes of felony the accuſed had a right to be heard by his counſel on queſtions of law, but it was not on ſuch queſtions only that the advice of counſel might be neceſſary; and therefore the Right Hon.

Hon. Gentleman had misunderstood him if he fancied he did not contend for the extension of the indulgence to every point which might enable a counsel to defend his client with effect. As to what the Right Honourable Gentleman had said about furnishing the accused with a list of a cloud of witnesses, he was absolutely astonished that a Minister of the crown should suggest even the possibility of a public accuser swelling the number of witnesses, for no other purpose than that of baffling the law, by putting it out of the power of the prisoner to avail himself of the advantage which it was the intention of the legislature that he should enjoy in its full extent.

The House at last divided on Mr. Adam's motion for bringing up his clause, which was lost by a majority of 78.

Ayes	-	-	32
Noes	-	-	110

It was then ordered that the bill, with its amendments, should be engrossed, and that it should be read a third time to-morrow.

A petition was presented from some merchants or underwriters, praying that they might be heard by their counsel against the clause of the bill which prohibited the insurance of ships and goods belonging to the French. In compliance with this prayer, the House ordered that they should be heard to-morrow on the third reading of the bill.

APRIL 9.

Mr. CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER acquainted the House, that he had a message from his Majesty to this House, signed by his Majesty; and he presented the same to the House, and it was read by Mr. Speaker, and is as followeth, viz.

GEORGE R.

His Majesty, relying on the zealous and affectionate support of his faithful Commons in the vigorous prosecution of the war in which he is engaged, recommends it to this House to consider of making provision towards enabling his Majesty to defray any extraordinary expences which may be incurred for the service of the present year, and to take such measures as the exigency of affairs may require. G. R.

Ordered to be taken into consideration to-morrow.

TRAITEROUS CORRESPONDENCE BILL.

The order of the day being moved for, and the bill having been read a third time, before putting the question that the bill do pass, the petition presented to the House yesterday from certain American merchants or agents, praying liberty to be heard by counsel

counſel againſt certain enactments of the bill, was read; and Mr. Piggott was heard at the bar as counſel on behalf of the petitioners:—after the counſel had been ordered to withdraw, Mr. Curwin roſe to aſk whether any thing had fallen from the counſel which would induce gentlemen on the other ſide of the Houſe to propoſe a clauſe for the purpoſe of remedying the inconveniencies complained of by the petitioners? To which no anſwer being given, he ſaid he meant himſelf to propoſe ſuch a clauſe, but that it would require ſome time to adjuſt a proper proviſion for that effect.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL obſerved, that there was no queſtion before the Houſe, and he would therefore move, that the bill do paſs.

Mr. FOX ſaid, that it was a ſtrange piece of farce and mockery to allow counſel to be heard, and afterwards in ſo extraordinary a manner to preſs a motion for paſſing the bill, without allowing any time to prepare a proper clauſe for remedying the inconveniencies complained of by the petitioners, and to conſider and debate whether or not ſuch a clauſe ought to be admitted.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER ſaid, that none of the gentlemen on the oppoſite ſide had ſtated what was the nature of the clauſe which was intended to be propoſed; upon which

Mr. CURWIN mentioned that he meant to propoſe, that grain, of the produce of America, ſent to this country for orders, as to a proper market, ſhould be allowed to be diſpoſed of in France; and that ſubjects of this country ſhould be permitted to inſure American produce, from thence to this country, and from thence to market.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL ſpoke, with ſome warmth, of the terms farce and mockery which had been made uſe of by a Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Fox); and aſked, whether that Right Honourable Gentleman had any peculiar privilege to uſe expreſſions of ſuch aſperity?—He had no doubt that the Right Honourable Gentleman, as well as himſelf, acted from what he conceived to be the line of duty, and they were both in the judgment of that Houſe, and of the public.

Mr. FOX ſaid, that he had unqueſtionably no privilege to uſe any words which might not with propriety be made uſe of by any other Gentleman; but it was a liberty which he had always taken, and would ever continue to take, to reprobate propoſitions which appeared to him improper, in ſuch terms as appeared to him ſuited to the degree of impropriety attached to them.

Mr.

Mr. VAUGHAN ſtated, that he had drawn up a clauſe for the purpoſe of obviating the inconveniencies complained of by the petitioners, and moved that it be added to the bill.

The SPEAKER ſtated, that before any debate could take place upon the clauſe, it was neceſſary that it ſhould be ingroſſed.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER ſaid, that the object of the propoſed clauſe was by no means a new ſubject of diſcuſſion in the preſent bill. The great object of the bill undoubtedly was, to prevent any perſons reſident in this country from ſending any articles to France which may be uſeful to our enemies;—of all the prohibited articles, perhaps corn was the moſt material; and therefore the propoſal now made would, in fact, go to do away the whole of the bill, in the moſt material part of it: he could ſee no good ground for the delay, and would therefore give his negative to it.

Mr. FOX thought the obſervance of forms eſſential, and that it would be derogatory to the dignity and juſtice of the Houſe, firſt to hear counſel, and then to proceed to paſs the bill without affording any opportunity of deliberating as to the propriety of acceding to the requeſt of the petitioners:—In order to give ſuch opportunity he would move, that the Houſe ſhould adjourn. The Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Pitt) had ſaid, that the propoſed clauſe would totally counteract the intended and avowed operation of the bill; he thought quite the reverſe, and that there would be leſs probability of the French being ſupplied with American corn, if that corn were ſent firſt here, than by its being ſent directly from America to France, or in any other mode. If the Right Honourable Gentleman was right in what he had juſt ſaid, it ought to have operated againſt allowing counſel to be heard, but after hearing counſel, juſtice and conſiſtency required that they ſhould deliberate on the propriety of granting or refuſing the requeſt of the petition;—in what view could the delay of one day be ſo material? Could any body ſay, that in the preſent circumſtances, ſo ſhort a delay could be in any ſhape material? Hitherto, in the progreſs of the preſent bill, much had been gained by the delays which had taken place; every delay had been beneficial, becauſe every delay had produced alterations highly ſalutary to the public.—For his part he could only judge of the intentions of gentlemen from their actions, and when he ſaw a ſhort adjournment, in order to ſit in Eaſter week, he could not help diſcovering, under ſuch conduct, a wiſh that this bill ſhould be carried through, with a thin attendance in the Houſe, and that it ſhould eſcape inveſtigation as much as poſſible, at which indeed he was not ſurpriſed. He concluded with moving an

an adjournment, which, upon the queſtion being put, was negatived without a diviſion.

On the queſtion that the bill do now paſs,

Mr. CURWIN ſtated, that nothing had occurred, in the progreſs of the bill, which could induce him to alter the opinion he had at firſt formed, that its principles were contrary to the juſt and true principles both of criminal law and of ſound policy; he could ſee no exiſting neceſſity for any extenſion of the criminal law. He then proceeded to ſtate ſome of his objections to the ſeveral clauſes in their order, and adverted particularly to that part of the firſt clauſe which makes intention criminal, although it ſhould not be followed up by any act—to the monſtrous partiality exhibited in the ſame clauſe, by which a man might enter into the moſt extenſive contract for ſending woollen cloth to France, but if he ſhould happen to wrap up along with any parcel of it only a dozen pairs of ſhoes, he would be liable to be tried and executed for treaſon—and the danger of depriving perſons tried for treaſons under this act, of the benefits given by the acts of King William and Queen Anne.—He concluded with ſaying, that he conceived the bill, from the beginning, to be totally unneceſſary, and only intended to continue the alarm which had been previouſly raiſed.

Mr. LAMBTON begged to aſk of gentlemen on the other ſide, whether the furniſhing the French with cloth for cloathing their army, was not in the ſtricteſt ſenſe aiding and comforting his Majeſty's enemies? and whether it would be ſafe for a merchant in Leeds or Halifax to ſend woollen cloth to France to be uſed in cloathing the French army, in caſe the preſent bill ſhould paſs into a law, and that woollen cloth ſhould not be one of the prohibited articles enumerated in it?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER ſaid, that this was a matter which had been already diſcuſſed, and was foreign to the only queſtion then before the Houſe.

Mr. COURTENAY reprobated the general principle and various enactments of the bill in the moſt ſevere terms; and ſtated that the moſt groſs hypocriſy and deception had been made uſe of with reſpect to the clothiers in this country, who were placed in a moſt dreadful and dangerous ſituation from what had paſſed on the diſcuſſion of the preſent bill, if, by ſending woollen cloth to France, they ſhould be guilty of treaſon, under the act of the 25th Edward the Third. How did this accord with what had been held out on the firſt diſcuſſion of the principle of the bill, viz. that it was neceſſary to define in plain and diſtinct terms what ſpecific acts did conſtitute treaſon. He hoped gentlemen on the other ſide of the Houſe knew their own meaning; but to him it was totally incomprehenſible.

Mr. FOX ſaid, he ſhould not conceive himſelf to be doing his duty to the public by ſuffering this bill to be paſſed without making ſome obſervations. It was a bill which, without one exception, was the moſt unjuſt in its principle, inadequate in its proviſion, and tyrannical in its effect, that ever paſſed that Houſe; one for which there was nothing like a precedent either in policy, juſtice, or humanity.—It was indeed ſaid to be a bill, the principle of which was to prevent aid and comfort being given to his Majeſty's enemies.—He ſaid the bill had no ſuch principle, it had that for its *pretext* indeed, but there was a material difference between *principle* and *pretext*, which the Right Honourable Gentleman often endeavoured to confound, and whenever he ſhould be able to ſucceed in that reſpect, and to perſuade the people of this country that principle and pretext are the ſame, he would have advanced conſiderably to the advantage of the whole character of his adminiſtration. Here Mr. Fox took notice of the nature of the bill as originally brought in by the Attorney General, and the almoſt total difference between that and the one now about to paſs. The one now in queſtion, however, was, after all, upon the point of policy alone, ſuch as this country would gain leſs, and our enemies loſe leſs, than if no ſuch meaſure had been adopted. But it was not upon policy only that this bill ought to be conſidered; great as that conſideration ought to be, there were other conſiderations that were ſtill greater, and of a higher nature—he meant juſtice and humanity; theſe were of more importance, becauſe they regarded the character of the country in its moſt valuable ſenſe, and involved ſentiments of a ſuperior nature. The very queſtion put by his Honourable Friend reſpecting the cloth, he ſaid, proved that this meaſure could not be reduced to the ſtandard of reaſon or of juſtice, for, as the bill now ſtood, part of it was ſaid to be declaratory, and part enacting. Theſe two points he had on ſeveral occaſions called on the friends of the bill to explain; but as that was not done, it would be impoſſible for any man to know, by the peruſal of the bill, what was declaratory and what enacting; and as by part of this bill cloth was not prohibited now, although it was ſo when the bill came in, what would be the reſult of this? Why that, as nothing was ſaid of cloth in it, and as the declaratory was not diſtinguiſhed from the enacting part, no man could know whether, in ſending cloth, he would or would not be liable to the penalties of the 25th of Edward the Third. In what a ſituation were the poor people of this county to be in, for poor people they might well be called if ſubjected to ſuch a bill, to have a law of treaſon without having a poſſibility of knowing the operation. If the bill did not operate to prohibit the ſale of cloth by the ſubjects

jects of this country, and ſome ſhould fear it did, and therefore they would ſuffer themſelves to be ruined in their fortune, rather than riſk their lives, they ſuffered great hardſhip. If, on the other hand, ſome perſons thought that as this bill ſpecified certain articles, the ſale of which it prohibited, they might ſafely ſell thoſe that were not ſpecified at all, and afterwards it ſhould turn out that this bill did not repeal the 25th of Edward the Third; here then they would be entrapped and enſnared by this bill into the penalties of treaſon. What a ſituation was this for the people of this country to be in—to be ſubject poſſibly to the penalties of a crime, without the poſſibility of knowing what conſtituted that crime! With reſpect to the clauſes of the bill, there were many of them to which no man, who had the leaſt feeling for his fellow creature, could agree to,—one, in particular, which turned upon the meaning of the word agree, or rather the conſtruction put upon it. This was againſt all the analogies of the law of England, and unjuſt in its principle. Here Mr. Fox took notice of ſeveral acts of Parliament, as they tended to illuſtrate his argument upon the injuſtice of the clauſe to which he alluded—one in particular, for the prevention of frauds upon *verbal agreements*, provided that no man ſhould be bound by any evidence given of his having entered into a verbal agreement if the ſum amounted to more than 10l. and the principle of that bill was, that upon all converſation and verbal communication there was a facility for the commiſſion of perjury. Any perſon might ſwear he heard two perſons agree to any thing, and it might be difficult, perhaps impoſſible, to refute that teſtimony, although falſe; therefore on former occaſions the wiſdom of the legiſlature had ſaid, that no man ſhould be bound by ſuch evidence beyond the ſum of 10l. but by this bill all ideas of juſtice and humanity were abandoned, and upon evidence, which in a civil caſe would not affect a man's purſe to the amount of 10l. was here to take away his life!—This would put any man in the power of malice, and all the moſt hateful paſſions; and to perjury, ſubornation of perjury, and to all the moſt infamous practices.—He could not ſee how the Houſe could ſubject their fellow creatures to ſuch cruel hardſhips; and he would ſay, that if ſuch a bill ſhould paſs that Houſe, it muſt cover it with a conſiderable degree of ſhame; he therefore ſhould adviſe them to avail themſelves of the opportunity, the laſt they had, of preventing this bill from paſſing into a law; indeed, the whole clauſe to which he had juſt alluded had, on a former occaſion, been ſo well expoſed, that he need not ſay any thing further upon the ſubject. With reſpect to the clauſe which prohibits the purchaſing of lands in France, Mr. Fox aſſigned ſeveral reaſons for thinking it againſt juſtice and humanity, and an inſult upon the dignity of parliament—a ſatire upon

its ſenſe too—for if an Engliſhman, being in Ireland, buys land in France, he is guilty of no offence whatever. If an Engliſhman, being in Hamburgh, bought lands in France, he was half guilty and half innocent; this might eaſily be done by power of attorney, and afterwards his guilt was to be completed—what was to fill the meaſure of his guilt—ſome heinous act no doubt, ſomething dire and dreadful—returning to his native country! Of all the acts of cruelty, of all the tyranny and abſurdity, that ever diſgraced an act of Parliament in England, this he thought the worſt. But this too, as well as many of the other proviſions of the bill, had its precedent—a precedent of the national convention of France in its decree againſt the return of emigrants, which made their return to their native country death; and the authors of this bill, conſiſtently with all their late proceedings, actually imitated the harſhneſs of the French convention by making it death for an Engliſhman to return to England. Another part of the bill, which tended to what was called the facility of conviction, was diſcuſſed laſt night: he ſhould therefore be ſhort upon it. The Right Honourable Gentleman, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had ſaid it was not tyranny to diminiſh the puniſhment of the offence and to facilitate the conviction of guilt; ſurely this was a ſtrange principle of legiſlation. Were we to take it for granted that all thoſe who ſhould be accuſed muſt be guilty? The principle of the 25th of Edward the Third, he took to be of a very different nature, and the acts alſo of King William and Queen Anne. They were not for the *facility of the conviction* of any body, but for the *difficulty of the conviction of the innocent*.—And here he could not help again taking notice of the ſeverity of the bill in ſubmitting all perſons to be tried without the aſſiſtance of a gentleman of the learned profeſſion to addreſs the jury for them; he muſt ſay, that allowing counſel to ſpeak for them appeared to him an important point.—It had indeed been ſaid that this bill was founded upon the general principle of the laws of treaſon and on the 25th of Edward the Third. That was only a pretext, as he had ſaid before. Was the fact ſo? Not the leaſt like it. Was it no advantage to a poor man in priſon, accuſed of high treaſon, to have a counſel to viſit and attend him, and to aſſiſt him in making out his defence? Was it of no advantage to a perſon thus accuſed to have a liſt of his jury, before his trial, for peruſal? Was it of no advantage to a perſon ſo accuſed to have a copy of his indictment ſeveral days previous to his being called upon to appear upon his trial? Was it no advantage for ſuch a perſon to have a liſt of the witneſſes to be examined againſt him? Moſt unqueſtionably it was. All theſe were given by the former law of treaſon, and by this bill they were all denied. Such was the accuracy of gentlemen who

who defended this bill, as being founded on the former law of treaſon. Upon the point of the liſt of witneſſes, he ſaid, he hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer had repented of what he ſaid in anſwer to that obſervation yeſterday. He was the miniſter of the crown; and it muſt be by his advice the law officer of the crown was, in a great meaſure, to conduct proſecutions for treaſons: and that ſuch a perſon, in ſuch a ſituation, ſhould ſay that a trick might be played on the priſoner, by ſending him a liſt of witneſſes ſo numerous that he ſhould not have time to examine it, by which the purpoſe of an act of Parliament might be defeated, was a declaration of a moſt alarming nature to the people of this country.—All he could ſay was, he hoped no ſuch infamous tricks would be attempted; but if there was ſuch an Attorney General in this country, he hoped there was ſtill ſpirit enough in the people to bring him to a proper account for it. If there was ſuch a Miniſter belonging to the crown, he hoped and truſted there was ſpirit enough in that Houſe to bring him to account for it.—After ſeveral obſervations upon forfeiture, and the caſe of the Cardinal of York, and anſwering all the objections made to his ſentiments upon that ſubject, he came to conſider again the proviſions of the ſtatute of Edward the Third, as it regarded the evidence to be given againſt the accuſed. Two points aroſe upon this conſideration: firſt, the jury muſt be ſatisfied, upon the evidence of two witneſſes, of an overt act being committed by the priſoner; ſecondly, they muſt be ſatisfied that ſuch an overt act was done with a treaſonable intention. In this caſe the evidence might be given of the act; but the jury were not called upon by their oath to find the priſoner guilty merely upon that evidence, they were not neceſſarily bound to infer the treaſonable intention. But by the whole of this bill one witneſs was ſufficient to convict, and the jury were not called upon by their oaths to infer any intention, and a man would be convicted on proof of the fact merely. This was a deſperate inlet to perjury and malice, and he had too much reaſon to remember a caſe which he ſaw at the Old Bailey, not to know that there are malicious proſecutions, and thoſe of the moſt infamous nature. He had heard it complained of by the authors of this bill that they were treated unfairly and with harſhneſs, and they had appeared diſpleaſed to hear their bill called a Tiberian bill—they might be diſpleaſed, but he muſt do his duty, and muſt call it a Tiberian bill; it was brought in a very different thing from what it was afterwards made by its authors. On complaints being made of its harſhneſs, they ſeemed to have ſaid, "we will bring in a bill to arraign all thoſe who love the conſtitution, and even thoſe who have ſhewn the greateſt deſire to ſupport government, and then by taking away ſome

parts

parts of it, and inſiſting on retaining others, it will appear to be deliberate and temperate, and the public will thank us for our moderation, and will conclude that the parts which are left are right."—But Mr. Fox ſaid, that thoſe who could have conceived ſuch clauſes as there were introduced into that bill, muſt either be in their hearts hoſtile to, or have heads ignorant of, the conſtitution of this country, nor was their practice on the whole proceeding to be accounted for. The hurry with which they met after the holidays, the manner in which they had proceeded in the abſence of ſeveral gentlemen of the learned profeſſion, and particularly of a Learned and Honourable Friend of his (Mr. Erſkine), whoſe talents and exertions upon the ſubject which he could not be preſent at, did him the higheſt honour; the ſhifts to which the authors of the bill were driven, in commitments, re-commitments, and, above all, the ridiculous anxiety they had diſcovered to prevent the diſcuſſion from being made public; all indicated a conſciouſneſs of the impropriety of the meaſure altogether, and the whole now was a maſs that would injure the character of the country, and particularly of that Houſe. It would be a bad compliment to the age in which we lived. After ſeveral other obſervations, he concluded with giving the motion his decided negative.

Mr. BURKE commenced his ſpeech with an ironical attack upon Mr. Erſkine, who is at preſent abſent on the circuit. He lamented his abſence extremely, he ſaid, as his great legal knowlege would have illumined the ſubject of debate. He had, however, the Right Honourable Gentleman hoped, tranſmitted his arguments to Mr. Fox, and the Houſe would concur in opinion with him, that the ideas of the Learned Gentleman would not ſuffer by the eloquence of the Right Honourable Member who had ſpoken laſt. The Learned Gentleman was now beyond the mountains of Wales, and the Houſe muſt lament that this great atlas of the law was not preſent, to prop, with his mighty ſhoulders, our preſent tottering and falling conſtitution. He admitted with Mr. Fox, that when Parliament was about to meddle with or touch the frame of our juriſprudence, that it ought to be done with a tender hand, particularly that part of the law that related to treaſon. He was aware, that in expanding the laws on this ſubject at preſent in force, that Parliament may render itſelf obnoxious to the people, and the conſtitution may be deſtroyed.—But before theſe premiſes were allowed to the oppoſers of the bill, it was neceſſary to examine into the ſtate of the country with reſpect to France, with whom ſhe was at this moment at war. He conceived that the principle and the clauſes of the bill were congenial to the ſtrict ſpirit of our conſtitution, and by no means inimical to the liberty of the ſubject. It had been

been argued that the bill was prejudicial to both one and the other, but theſe arguments he had no doubt of confuting to the ſatisfaction of the Houſe. The conſtitution, he defined, as a thing formed of ſeveral bodies, and organized in all parts by a happy mixture of the legiſlative and judicial ſyſtem. He aſked if any one of its component parts was infringed by the preſent bill?—No. Was the court of King's Bench injured?—No. Were the Lords, in their judicial capacity, attacked? No.—Was the Houſe of Commons aſſailed?—No, no, no. The whole of the conſtitution remained entire, ſecure, and inviolable. It was childiſh, he ſaid, to ſay, that it took away the liberty of the ſubject. Every law made *de novo* takes away ſomething of the liberty of the ſubject, as neceſſary to the ſafety of the community.—If the bill took away more than the ſubject ought fairly to forfeit for the general good, then it was a bad bill, and ought to be rejected. There were two points therefore to which gentlemen ſhould direct their attention. Namely, to the alternate ſituation of the country in peace and war. The regulation for both, he maintained, muſt be ever kept in the contemplation of a wiſe legiſlator. There muſt be a peace police, and a war police. To enjoy peace, is to obey. In time of war, the ſecurity of the public muſt be the object of the legiſlature, againſt the enemies of the country. Therefore, the police of the nation, in the time of peace, and the time of war, muſt be fundamentally different. Thoſe who maintain the reverſe, argue wrong; for though the police differs, it ought in all caſes to harmonize with the laws of the country. As long as the law does this, there can be no rational objection made to it. He inſiſted, that the bill in queſtion was framed, was juſtified by acts of Parliament, paſſed in the beſt of times, when the church, the bar, and the ſenate, were diſtinguiſhed for poſſeſſing ſome of the moſt moral, the moſt wiſe, and the moſt juſt men in the nation. [In proof of this, he inſtanced the 21ſt of Edward III. the act of William, and the 5th of Queen Anne; the latter of which was read by the clerk, at the requeſt of Mr. Burke.] This act, he ſaid, was a ſufficient precedent to authoriſe the preſent, and he had no apprehenſion in oppoſing the wiſdom of our anceſtors to the ingenuity of Mr. Fox. They had found it neceſſary to make a retroſpective act like the preſent, and made it high treaſon for any perſon in this country during the war with France to take even a paſſage in a veſſel bound to that kingdom. During the battle of Blenheim, a bill to that effect had been brought into Parliament, on which there was not a ſingle diviſion. It was brought in the 12th of January 1704-5, and paſſed both Houſes the 8th of March; and the only difference was, that the Lords, not thinking it ſtrong enough,

added

added ſome ſtrong amendments, which were approved of, and paſſed the Commons. Mr. Burke then continued to draw many nice diſtinctions between the making the intention and an agreement criminal, and laboured to prove that the intention was criminal with reſpect to high treaſon. He ſaid, the preſent period bore no analogy to the times when theſe acts were paſſed, for then we had not to encounter thoſe deſperate Jacobine factions, that would deſtroy that love which we owe our country, that would ſap our morals—eſtrange us from our allegiance—deſtroy our virtuous habitudes, and call thoſe narrow and confined politicians who would oppoſe their abominable doctrines. In theſe ſentiments they were ſupported, he ſaid, by that mother of miſchief, the London Correſponding Society. He thought it was the buſineſs of the Houſe to recall the regards of the people to that dear relation called their country, and to reſiſt by all means that ſyſtem of fraternization, and that curſed French malady, that was ſpreading faſt from one end of the world to the other. Much had been ſaid of the commerce of the country ſuffering by the corn prohibition, and the clauſe to prevent inſurance. To this argument he would reply, that it was our commercial connection with France that had injured the religion, the honour, and the purity of the people of this, as well as other nations; and when this was the caſe, he was of opinion that the commerce of the country was but a ſubordinate conſideration. He ſaid he had no doubt that this temporary ſuſpenſion of our commerce was not looked on as a grievance, when compared to the miſchiefs that muſt ariſe from expunging thoſe clauſes; and he had not a doubt but our manufacturers would cheerfully ſubmit to a ſuſpenſion of their profits, rather than have thoſe parts of the bill relinquiſhed. There was another matter to which he imputed the progreſs of the French malady in Holland, in Switzerland, in the Netherlands, and, in ſhort, throughout Europe, and that was dealing in the funds; the clauſe therefore that was framed to prevent this was wiſe, and would prove ſalutary in the extreme. He did not think, he ſaid, that two wives were better than one, neither did he approve of thoſe doctrines of fraternization that made us natives of two countries. The prohibition of trade with France was alſo wiſe.—If it were not ſo, we ſhould have ſome avaricious man ſay to that country—"Here is fine powder, and choice hard balls—here are dag-
"gers ſharp and ſtrong—you know I am your brother, and
"there can be no ſwindling.—Here now, here is an admirable
"ball that will ſhoot your king, if his parental affection for his
"people leads him to the field of battle—here this ſtrong pow-
"der will carry this ball home to the heart of the Duke of
"York.

"York—and theſe fine ſtrong ſharp daggers will diſpatch his "brother." After this eccentric harangue, Mr. Burke made a few deſultory obſervations, and concluded by giving his aſſent to the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Mr. FOX ſaid, that there was not a ſingle precedent for the objectionable parts of the bill in any one of the various acts to which the Right Honourable Gentleman alluded.

Mr. BUKE made no reply.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER informed the Houſe that the Dutch had taken the ſtart of us in making a proviſion ſimilar to that which was the object of the preſent bill.

Lord CARHAMPTON obſerved, that Ireland had been, by thoſe who lay in wait, miſchievouſly mentioned in the debate, and ſuch mention was calculated, in his mind, for no good purpoſe. He knew that NOW nine out of ten of the Iriſh were good and loyal ſubjects. He was convinced that they would ſpeedily paſs a bill of the ſame nature as that at preſent before the Houſe, which he had no doubt would be a comfort to the Right Honourable Gentleman who had mentioned them in debate.

Mr. FOX remarked that he was totally miſrepreſented by the Noble Lord, who, if he did not, ought to have known that he did not object to the bill in its preſent ſhape, as legiſlating for Ireland. The bill, as it originally ſtood, was adapted to Ireland, but the parts that related to that country were on his ſuggeſtions expunged. By this means the jealouſy that muſt ſubſiſt between the two countries was removed, and he hoped his lordſhip did not mean to ſay that thoſe were wrong who had the objectionable parts removed.

Mr. MONCKTON (Member for Stafford) oppoſed the bill. He declared that Mr. Pitt had introduced the clauſe to prevent the exportation of ſhoes and boots, through motives not the moſt generous, as it was to vex Mr. Sheridan, againſt whoſe conſtituents and his it particularly militated.

The Houſe divided,

For the bill paſſing -	154
Againſt it - -	53

Reſolved, That the title of the bill be, "An act more effectually to prevent, during the preſent war between Great Britain and France, all traiterous correſpondence with, or aid or aſſiſtance being given to, his Majeſty's enemies."

Ordered, That Mr. Attorney General do carry the bill to the Lords, and deſire their concurrence.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

FEBRUARY 15.

HASTINGS'S TRIAL.

Adjourned to the 18th.

FEBRUARY 18, 19, 20, 21, and 22.

HASTINGS'S TRIAL.

Adjourned to the 25th.

In a committee of privileges, adopted the opinion delivered by the judges, that the certificates of the qualification of certain Lords were good, notwithstanding their bearing date two days prior to the day on which their Lordships qualified, by taking the neceſſary oaths.

Rejected the vote of Lord Belhaven as bad.

Found the vote of Lord Napier good.

Rejected the vote of Lord Newark as bad.

Found the ſubſcription of Lord Kinnaird, written by inadvertence "Kinnoul," a good ſubſcription, and ſuſtained his vote.

The order of the day being read, and the Houſe having gone into a committee on Stewart's divorce bill, on the queſtion being put, that the clauſe baſtardiſing the iſſue ſtand part of the bill,

LORD THURLOW objected ſtrongly to the clauſe, as involving the moſt important rights of parties, who had no opportunity of being heard in their defence.

The DUKE of NORFOLK ſpoke on the ſame ſide.

LORD VISCOUNT STORMONT differed from the two Noble Lords; and though he by no means thought that a clauſe of that kind ought to be admitted upon ſlight evidence, yet he certainly approved of it where the evidence of the baſtardy was ſo complete, direct, and poſitive, as to exclude the poſſibility of reaſonable ſuſpicion.

The LORD CHANCELLOR was entirely of the ſame opinion with the Noble Viſcount, and thought the circumſtances of the preſent caſe as ſtrong as could poſſibly occur, as the poſſibility of acceſs was totally excluded, without impeaching the characters of the witneſſes.

EARL BATHURST and LORD RAWDON ſpoke on the ſame ſide: after which the committee divided,

Contents in favour of the clauſe	5
Non-contents - - -	4

FEBRUARY 26.

EARL of RADNOR moved, "That the proper officer do attend on Thurſday fortnight (March 14) with the inrollment of the letters patent, under the great ſeal, or privy ſeal, by which Henrietta Laura Pulteney was created Baroneſs of Bath.—And alſo

With the inrollment of the letters patent, under the great ſeal, or privy ſeal, creating Thomas Viſcount Weymouth Marquis of Bath.

FEBRUARY 27.

HASTINGS'S TRIAL.

A few minutes before five o'clock, the uſual time of the court's adjourning,

Mr. HASTINGS roſe, and addreſſed the court in a ſpeech of great force and feeling, in which he recapitulated the various hardſhips which he had ſuſtained by a trial of ſuch unprecedented length. He mentioned the loſs he had ſuſtained by the death of material evidences. He appealed to the fundamental principles of the conſtitution, violated in his perſon. He deprecated any other than a legal cloſe to his trial by a judgment.—After the proceedings on both ſides were finiſhed, all he aſked was, that the court would now ſit, day by day, until this charge was finiſhed, and after the circuits, until the judgment was pronounced. There were ſome other points in the ſpeech, all which were heard with the greateſt attention.

Mr. BURKE ſaid it was equally the deſire of the Commons to bring this long trial to a concluſion.

A meſſage was ſent to the Commons that their Lordſhips would proceed to the trial next day at twelve o'clock preciſely.

FEBRUARY 28.

The King came to paſs the land and malt taxes, &c.

The Lords were this day punctual to a moment, to the time they had fixed to proceed on Mr. Haſtings's trial, but there was no Houſe of Commons, although Mr. Burke had ſaid, that the managers were always at their poſts. In half an hour a Houſe was made by the aſſiſtance of the committees, and Mr. Burke proceeded in the croſs examination of Captain Williams. This continued until the Peers retired in expectation of his Majeſty.

LORD STANHOPE, during their abſence, made very ſtrong complaints as to the delay in the croſs examination, and earneſtly recommended it to the Chancellor to follow the example of his predeceſſor in framing all the queſtions, by which

much of the *rubbiſh* which filled this day's evidence would be prevented in future.

At four the Lords returned; and Mr. Burke by half paſt five had finiſhed his examination of captain Williams, who was very clear and diſtinct in all he depoſed.

Mr. SHERIDAN roſe, and begged to offer a propoſition to the counſel, by way of ſhortening the proceſs. This was, that they might ſtate in what manner they meant to ſhew that all the facts ſtated by Captain Williams had reached Mr. Haſtings, which if they could ſhew, it would prevent him from going into any further croſs examination. He deſired to take this opportunity of ſaying what he had intended to ſay, if the court had not adjourned yeſterday when he roſe to addreſs them. Mr. Sheridan ſaid, that though, in diſcharge of his public duty, he ſhould do his utmoſt to ſupport the preſent charge, yet he muſt confeſs that every ſyllable uttered by Mr. Haſtings yeſterday met with his full and complete approbation. He was convinced that the gentleman at the bar had every right to complain of the intolerable, and unprecedented hardſhips which he had ſuſtained in the prolongation of his trial; nor did the evil ſtop even here; the nation would be diſgraced, and the very term impeachment rendered contemptible throughout Europe, if means were not taken to cloſe this trial in the courſe of the preſent ſeſſion, and whether juſtly or not, its delay would be imputed to parties, whom he did not chooſe to name in that place. After much more to this effect, Mr. Sheridan ſaid, that he looked upon all the evidence given by Captain Williams as irrelevant, unleſs it could be proved that all which he had ſtated was communicated to Mr. Haſtings. The counſel replied, and the Chancellor entirely coincided with them. Mr. Plomer read an obſervation from the managers in the firſt year of the trial, that events univerſally talked of muſt be preſumed to have come to the knowledge of Mr. Haſtings. The court then roſe, and meets again to-morrow at twelve o'clock preciſely; when the further croſs-examination of Captain Williams is to be continued, and the remaining evidences in this article to be examined.

MARCH 1.

HASTINGS'S TRIAL.

MARCH 2.

HASTINGS'S TRIAL.

Adjourned the trial to the 12th of April.

Houſe adjourned to March 4.

MARC

March 4.

In a committee of privileges on the Scotch election petitions, came to a reſolution, "That Lord Caithneſs is entitled to the "earldom of Caithneſs, but reſerve the conſideration how far "the vote given by his Lordſhip at the laſt election ought to "be ſuſtained." The committee then adjourned the further conſideration of the petitions to Monday next (March 11).

March 5.

LORD RAWDON preſented a bill for the relief of perſons impriſoned for debt.

March 6.

LORD GRENVILLE brought a meſſage from the King, ſtating, that his Majeſty having judged it neceſſary to employ part of his Electoral troops in the defence of his allies the States General of the United Provinces againſt the invaſion of the French, had thought it proper to communicate to that Houſe the ſtep he had taken, and truſted to their Lordſhips' approbation of a meaſure neceſſary for the protection of his Majeſty's allies, and to their ſupport in enabling his Majeſty to provide for the maintenance of theſe troops while employed in ſuch ſervice.

Lord Grenville moved that his Majeſty's meſſage be taken into conſideration to-morrow, and that their Lordſhips be ſummoned.—Ordered.

March 7.

The Houſe, according to order, proceeded to take into conſideration his Majeſty's meſſage, and after a few words, Lord Grenville moved, that an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to return his Majeſty the thanks of this Houſe for his moſt gracious meſſage, and to aſſure his Majeſty that this Houſe will moſt readily concur in ſuch meaſures as may enable his Majeſty to proſecute, in the moſt effectual manner, the juſt and neceſſary war.

The ſaid addreſs was ordered to be preſented to his Majeſty by the Lords with white ſtaves.

March 8.

No debate. Adjourned to the 11th.

March 11, 12, and 13.

No debates.

March 14.

LORD RADNOR called the attention of the Houſe to a point which regarded their honour and dignity, and to what appeared

peared to him to be an infringement on both, he meant the title of Baroneſs of Bath, lately conferred on Laura Henrietta Pulteney. His Lordſhip maintained, that when the title of Marquis of Bath was conferred on Thynne Lord Weymouth, that precedent creation gave that nobleman an indiſputable and excluſive right to that title. He did not mean to diſpute the prerogative of the crown to create peerages, but when created, it became the duty of their Lordſhips to protect them from infringement, and to attend to the manner and limitation of the exerciſe of that prerogative. He maintained that this was a caſe for their Lordſhips' attention in that reſpect, and ſupported his opinion with arguments of conſiderable length. He concluded with moving, that the Houſe do form itſelf into a committee of privileges, to hear counſel on the queſtion, whether the crown could lawfully iſſue a patent, conferring a title on any perſon, when that title had been previouſly conferred on another?

The LORD CHANCELLOR oppoſed the motion. He entered much at large into the nature of patents, and of the royal prerogative to grant them; and maintained that every thing was perfectly regular in this caſe.—He maintained alſo, that there was no heraldrick myſtery in this queſtion, and that this title, like every other property, was protected by the courts below. His Lordſhip added many other obſervations, and concluded with diſſenting from the motion.

The Houſe divided, for the motion,

Contents - -	2
Not contents -	21

LORD RADNOR then moved, that an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, humbly requeſting that his Majeſty would be pleaſed to recal and annul the letters patent creating Laura Henrietta Pulteney Baroneſs of Bath, and that his Majeſty might beſtow upon her any other dignity, or grant her any other compenſation for the loſs of that title.

This queſtion was negatived without a diviſion.

Lord Radnor then moved, that their lordſhips do addreſs his Majeſty, praying that this caſe ſhould not be made uſe of as a precedent. This was alſo negatived as before.—Adjourned.

MARCH 15.

No debate. Adjourned to the 18th.

MARCH 18, 19, 20, and 21.

No debates.

MARCH

MARCH 22.

The order of the day for the ſecond reading of a bill for incorporating certain dredgers and fiſhermen in the county of Kent having been read,

The LORD CHANCELLOR quitting the woolſack, informed their Lordſhips that though the bill in queſtion was in every reſpect a private bill, yet it contained proviſions which, as they were in their nature new, ought not to be paſſed by without conſideration; and he thought it his duty to point them out, becauſe their Lordſhips not expecting to find any thing of the kind in a private bill, might eaſily overlook them. It ſeemed that the place where theſe fiſhermen landed their fiſh was dependant upon a manor, and their trade was regulated by a manorial jury. Now one of the proviſions of the bill was, that they ſhould be empowered, notwithſtanding the ſtatute of Mortmain, to purchaſe this manor; ſo that after the purchaſe the manorial jury, which was to regulate their trade, would be under their controul and influence. How far it would be proper to allow thoſe men when incorporated the faculty of acquiring manorial rights, but particularly ſuch as might influence the deciſions of juries upon their own trade, it would be for their Lordſhips to decide. Theſe obſervations did not produce any converſation: the bill was read a ſecond time, and an order was made for ſending it to a committee. Two petitions from corporate bodies in the city of Worceſter, reſpecting the propoſed canal from Briſtol to Bath, were preſented and read.

The DUKE of NORFOLK obſerved, that theſe petitions ſtruck him as unprecedented in the hiſtory of parliamentary proceedings, for they did not pray that a bill might or might not paſs, they did not complain of any injury, or hardſhips, or petition for any relief; what they aſked was, that ſhould they or any other perſons be hereafter diſpoſed to make a canal for opening a communication with the Severn above Briſtol, and carrying it on to Worceſter, the proprietors of the canal from Briſtol to Bath ſhould be found to conſent to the meaſure, and admit ſuch new adventurers to join the ſaid canal, and that a clauſe for that purpoſe ſhould be inſerted in the bill actually pending in their Lordſhips' houſe for cutting the ſame. His Grace ſaid he was ſure that petitions of this nature, reſpecting buts which could ſcarcely be ſaid to be ſo much as in contemplation, could not find much favour in the eyes of their Lordſhips, who he believed were reſtrained by their ſtanding orders from entertaining them: for it was ordered that no perſons ſhould be admitted to preſent petitions reſpecting any meaſure in which they were not perſonally intereſted.

The

The LORD CHANCELLOR admitted, that the petitions were of rather an extraordinary nature, inaſmuch as they went to reſtrain the legiſlature, and point out what ſhould be its conduct in paſſing future acts of parliament reſpecting canals; but ſtill as the petitioners wiſhed to be heard on the ſubject matter of their petitions, he preſumed the Noble Duke would ſuffer them, without further oppoſition, to be ſent to a committee.

The DUKE of NORFOLK ſignified by a nod his acquieſcence in what appeared to be the wiſh of the Learned Lord.

EARL STANHOPE, juſt as the Lord Chancellor was going to put the queſtion, ſtood up and read the prayer of theſe petitions, which was, that the petitioners might be heard by their counſel on the ſubject matter of the bill in queſtion. To ſuch a prayer, he ſaid, their Lordſhips could not ſhut their ears; to reject ſuch petitions would be an outrage upon juſtice and decency; and ſhould an attempt be made to reject them, he would take care to attend in his place for the expreſs purpoſe of reſiſting it.

The DUKE of NORFOLK in a good humoured manner remarked, that it did not follow, that becauſe the prayer of a petition was proper, the ſubſtance and ſubject matter of the petition itſelf muſt therefore be proper; the prayer might be extremely correct, but the reſt might be a libel upon the Houſe, and to reject ſuch a petition he believed would not be conſidered by the Houſe, or by the Noble Earl himſelf, as an outrage upon juſtice and decency. The petitions were without further converſation referred to a committee.

The next order of the day for taking into conſideration certain orders made by the Houſe reſpecting canal bills, and which had been added to the ſtanding orders, was called for and read.

Upon this ſubject a long debate was expected; the Lords had been ſummoned, and a conſiderable number of them were then attending. But the debate went off. All that took place on this head, was as follows:

The DUKE of NORFOLK ſaid, he roſe not to impeach the wiſdom of thoſe orders, ſtill leſs the motives of the Noble Earl who had moved them: others, it ſeems, of a ſimilar nature, had paſſed the Houſe of Commons, and he was ready to allow that the Noble Lord had improved upon them: all that he meant to ſay againſt them was, that they were not ſufficiently known to the public, and that if they were to be enforced this ſeſſion, they would occaſion on the one hand a very great inconvenience and heavy expence to individuals, and a conſiderable injury to the nation at large; for they would ſtop for the preſent year the paſſing of every canal bill that had been brought into

into Parliament ſince the beginning of this ſeſſion. Had the parties concerned in theſe canals been appriſed of theſe orders, there was no doubt but they would have ſtrictly complied with them; and it was no wonder that they were not appriſed of them; for what had uſually been done by the Houſe on ſimilar occaſions, had been omitted on this, and he preſumed the omiſſion was purely accidental. The cuſtom of the Houſe was to cauſe copies of all ſtanding orders reſpecting road or canal bills to be ſent to the ſheriffs and the clerks of the peace of the different counties, to be by them publiſhed in their reſpective diſtricts. Had this practice been obſerved on this occaſion no inconvenience could have happened; but as the new ſtanding orders had not been made public, the parties to the canal bills knew nothing of them when they applied to Parliament, after having conformed to all the ſtanding orders of which they had any knowledge at the time. What he had to propoſe at preſent was, he ſaid, that the obſervance of thoſe orders ſhould be diſpenſed with for the preſent ſeſſion. His Grace concluded by moving, "That the ſtanding orders in queſtion ſhould be ſuſpended till the next ſeſſion of Parliament."

EARL STANHOPE ſaid, he did not mean to oppoſe the motion made by the Noble Duke: when he moved the ſtanding orders in queſtion his object was to render a ſervice to the public, and not to occaſion expence or inconvenience to individuals. It was admitted that theſe orders would be productive of public good, and therefore they ought to be enforced; but as it would ſeem that they were not yet ſufficiently known to the nation, he was willing that they ſhould be ſuſpended till the next ſeſſion of Parliament, and then to be in force like all the other ſtanding orders. His Lordſhip ſaid, that as he was then upon his legs, he would give notice of his intention to move, on ſome future day, another ſtanding order, to this effect, that when any individual ſhould be likely to be deprived of any water in which he had an intereſt, by means of a new cut or canal, notice of the intended application for an act for making ſuch canal ſhould be given to ſuch individual, ſo that the perſons intereſted in waters ſhould be as fully appriſed of the plan and courſe of every intended canal, as the proprietors of the lands. He had known inſtances in which parties for want of ſuch notice had been materially injured. At preſent the ſtanding orders required that notice ſhould be given to land owners; he meant to propoſe on ſome future day, that it ſhould be neceſſary to give notice to all perſons intereſted in the courſe of rivers, ſtreams, mill races, &c. He ſaid he was the more earneſt in this, as he had once nearly been the means of injuring ſome perſons of that deſcription. A canal bill was before Parliament; he had an intereſt in it himſelf,

ſelf, and ſupported it at firſt as warmly as he could; but finding afterwards it would be highly prejudicial to individuals who were intereſted in the waters with which the canal was to be ſupplied, he changed ſides, and afterwards as warmly oppoſed the bill.

The queſtion was put on the Duke's motion, which was carried without oppoſition.

The DUKE of NORFOLK next moved that printed copies of the new ſtanding orders in queſtion ſhould be ſent to the ſheriffs and clerks of the peace of the different counties.

LORD GRENVILLE ſaid he did not mean to oppoſe the motion; but merely to obſerve that the ſtanding orders did not derive their force from publication, and that they would be equally binding, though they ſhould not have been tranſmitted to the counties: the public were bound to know what was paſſing in both Houſes of Parliament.

The motion was agreed to without oppoſition; and their Lordſhips adjourned to the 25th.

MARCH 25.

No debate.

MARCH 26.

Counſel were heard upon an appeal from the court of ſeſſion in Scotland, Lord Daer *v.* Johnſtone, and other freeholders of the ſtewartry of Kirkcudbright. By the judgment appealed from, the court of ſeſſion had determined, that the appellant, "being the eldeſt ſon of a peer of Scotland," was not entitled to be enrolled, or to vote as a freeholder of the ſaid ſtewartry; although holding and ſeiſed of lands within the ſtewarty, as tenant *in capite* of the crown, to the extent required by the law of Scotland to afford a freehold qualification. After counſel had been ordered to withdraw,

EARL STANHOPE roſe, and in a ſpeech of conſiderable length, entered much at large into the ſubject. He adverted to the proceedings in the parliament of Scotland, which had been much reſted upon by the reſpondents, in the caſe of the maſter of Talbot in 1685, and in that of Lord Levingſtone in 1689, as well as to the deciſion of the Houſe of Commons of Great Britain in 1708; the two firſt of which caſes, he contended, did not apply to the preciſe caſe in queſtion: and at all events, as none of them had been ſanctioned by any enactment of the legiſlature, they could not be conſidered to conſtitute law, ſo as to bind either the court of ſeſſion, or their Lordſhips, at a court of appeal. He had heard it laid down, upon the deciſion of an appeal from Scotland reſpecting nominal and fictitious votes, by

a Noble

a Noble and Learned Lord (Thurlow), to whoſe judgment and abilities the greateſt deference was due, that a train of deciſions, even in a court of laſt appeal, were not binding as precedents, if ſuch deciſions appeared palpably erroneous; and in that ſentiment, expreſſed in ſo guarded a manner, he perfectly acquieſced. In the preſent inſtance, the judgment of the court of ſeſſion did not appear to him to be founded on any principle of ſound reaſon; and, unacquainted as he was with legal knowledge, he would not have preſumed to deliver his ſentiments in the Houſe, on a ſubject of this kind, if the acts of Parliament on the ſubject had not appeared to him ſo clear as to be obvious to every perſon. His Lordſhip then entered into a detail of acts of Parliament from 1727 downwards, and concluded with ſaying, that, in his opinion, the freeholders had done right in ordering Lord Daer to be enrolled, and that the court of ſeſſion had done wrong in altering their judgment; and that he would therefore move their Lordſhips to reverſe the decree.

LORD THURLOW ſaid, that, were he now conſidering this queſtion as a legiſlator, he would moſt probably agree entirely with the Noble Earl who had juſt ſat down, that there is no good reaſon why the eldeſt ſons of Scotch Peers ſhould not be eligible as repreſentatives in the Commons Houſe of Parliament of Great Britain, for counties and boroughs in Scotland, in the ſame way that the eldeſt ſons of Peers of England are for Engliſh counties and boroughs; but nothing could be more dangerous, than that their Lordſhips ſhould allow themſelves to act upon any idea of legiſlation, when ſitting as judges in a court of appeal; in which caſe it was their duty to place themſelves exactly in the ſituation of the court from whence the appeal comes, and they ſhould not conſider what the law ought to be, but what it really is.—When this caſe came before the court of ſeſſion, they found an uniform practice of more than 200 years taking its riſe in the act of Parliament of 1587, which eſtabliſhed in fact a new conſtitution in Scotland: by that act, the Parliament was made to conſiſt of four diſtinct branches, viz. The prelates, the greater barons or lords of parliament, the commiſſioners from the leſſer barons, and the burgeſſes; and it ſeemed to him clear, that the eldeſt ſons of peers were exempted from being ſent as commiſſioners to Parliament, which was then conſidered as a burden. In this the matter originated, and when the being choſen as a commiſſioner to Parliament was conſidered as a privilege inſtead of being a burden, what was formerly an exemption operated then as a diſability—his Lordſhip ſupported this argument by a very learned and accurate explanation of the ancient acts of Parliament and conſtitutional hiſtory of Scotland; and ſaid, that, although ſuch would have been his

opinion as a hiſtorian or antiquarian, upon the meaning of the act of parliament of 1587, and on the law as it ſtood at that time; yet, had the ſubſequent practice been different, he would have yielded that opinion; but when, on the contrary, he found it ſupported by the uniform and invariable practice of 200 years, and by the opinion of every writer on the law of Scotland, when he ſaw the proceedings of the parliament of Scotland in 1685 and 1689, and ſaw alſo the deciſion of the Houſe of Commons in 1708, proceeding upon a full hearing, and mature conſideration, ſo recently ſubſequent to the act of 1707, it appeared to him that the conſequence would be dreadful indeed to all the reſt of the law of Scotland, if their Lordſhips ſhould allow themſelves, upon any fine ſpun reaſoning, to alter ſuch eſtabliſhed law. His Lordſhip made many other obſervations, and concluded with ſaying, that, on the motion which had been made by the Noble Earl for reverſing this judgment, it behoved them to vote, not content.

The queſtion being put on Earl Stanhope's motion, it was negatived without a diviſion, and the decree affirmed.

MARCH 27.

The order of the day was, the ſecond reading of the debtor and creditor bill, which had been brought in by Lord Rawdon on the 5th of March.

His Lordſhip roſe, and ſtated, that he conceived it to be, in ſome ſhape, incumbent upon him, when bringing forward a meaſure of ſuch importance as the preſent bill, to ſtate to their Lordſhips, in this ſtage of it, the ideas of the neceſſity which call for it, and the objects to which it was chiefly directed.—It was a matter to which he had paid much attention, and in the maturing and proſecuting which he had proceeded, not with an obſtinate pertinacity, but with that ſteady and determined perſeverance which naturally reſulted from a conſciouſneſs of acting on juſt grounds, and for a laudable and beneficial purpoſe. In the courſe of the requiſite preliminary inveſtigations, he had no doubt met with many deceptions, from various perſons under impriſonment for debt, who had falſely aggravated the grievances of their ſituation; and ſuch various difficulties and obſtacles had occured, that nothing but a ſenſe of duty could have encouraged him to perſiſt. His Lordſhip then took notice of the accurate, laborious, and judicious report made upon this ſubject by the committee appointed by the Houſe of Commons, during the laſt ſeſſion of Parliament;—on peruſing which, it muſt be matter of conſiderable aſtoniſhment, that miſchief ſo great ſhould have been permitted to exiſt for ſuch a length of time;—wherever that committee had drawn any inferences of their own, or where the facts

facts which they brought forward were founded on the evidence of perſons confined in priſons, perhaps ſuch inferences ought to be weighed with circumſpection, and facts ſo authenticated to be received with caution; although the evidence of perſons impriſoned had hardly in any inſtance been taken, with reſpect to their own treatment or ſituation:—but ſurely no ſuſpicion could be entertained as to ſuch facts as are aſcertained by the production of the ſheriff's books, or by the evidence of the jailors. He did not ſay this from meaning at all to apply to this ſet of men what is ſaid by the poet,

"*Seldom the ſteely jailor is the friend of man*;"

on the contrary, he had had the pleaſure to find out many inſtances of humanity in jailors, ſome of whom had even given money out of their own pockets for the diſcharge of priſoners confined for ſmall debts—but when it is conſidered that jailors are more peculiarly led to conſider the laws reſpecting impriſonment for debt to be juſt and neceſſary, and that they derive their living from the execution of theſe laws, it cannot be ſuppoſed that they would be ready, by miſrepreſentations, to exaggerate the hardſhip ariſing from them. His Lordſhip ſaid that the preſent bill was not exactly what he thought right, but he had found himſelf obliged to compromiſe with exiſting forms. In his own mind he could by no means approve of impriſonment for a ſimple debt, unleſs where there was either fraud in the contraction of it, or diſhoneſty afterwards, becauſe it was in fact inflicting a puniſhment for what was a man's misfortune, not his fault, and for the purpoſe of obliging him to do what was not in his power. After having ſtated this, his Lordſhip went into a very able and elaborate detail of the infinite miſchiefs ariſing from the law as it now ſtands with reſpect to arreſts, which operated in an incredible number of inſtances to the utter ruin of induſtrious manufacturers, artiſts, and labourers, who are frequently obliged to anticipate for preſent ſubſiſtence the earnings of a future day.—In ſuch caſes, every thing is aſſumed againſt the defendant, and he is allowed to adduce no croſs evidence; no enquiry takes place; and he believed an arreſt was often ſued out, not with any intention to proſecute the action, but for the purpoſe of extorting a doubtful claim, if not with a worſe view: at preſent a Britiſh ſubject may in many ſituations be confined for life on the *ipſe dixit* of another, without any juſt cauſe; and though he hoped for the honour of human nature that this had never happened, yet it was the duty of the legiſlature to guard againſt ſuch poſſible evil. But ſuppoſing the creditor really intended to follow up the action, it may frequently be twelve months before the judgment is pronounced; and even ſhould

ſhould a verdict be given in favour of the defendant, four months more might elapſe before he could obtain his diſcharge; after all which, he would ſtill be detained, until he ſhould pay his gaol-fees, and his attorney's bill. For all this oppreſſion and injuſtice he had no remedy whatever, except he could prove malice in the plantiff in arreſting him, which, from the nature of the caſe, was generally impoſſible. His Lordſhip enumerated a great variety of the moſt cruel hardſhips, ariſing from the law as it now ſtood, and ſaid that his object was to ſhew, that in the preſent ſyſtem, the miſchief infinitely overbalances the benefit, and that it was both oppreſſive and inadequate to its object: the preſent bill was equally careful of the intereſt of the creditor and of the debtor; its ſole object was to do juſtice and to prevent unneceſſary oppreſſion.—His Lordſhip then went through, in detail, the ſeveral clauſes of the bill, on each of which he made ſome obſervations.—The firſt clauſe, which limits arreſts for debts to 20l. and upwards, he conſidered as the moſt material part of the bill, inſomuch that he believed it would reduce the number of impriſonments nearly one half. After having gone through the ſeveral clauſes, his Lordſhip ſaid, that he had no vanity in carrying through this bill; whatever credit was due, he wiſhed it to belong to the Honourable Gentleman, who, at the head of the committee of the Houſe of Commons, had taken ſuch pains to inveſtigate and digeſt the neceſſary materials: he, however, had conceived it proper that the bill ſhould originate in that Houſe, where, in the progreſs of its diſcuſſion, the aſſiſtance of thoſe learned perſons at the head of the law of this country might be procured. He then gave a ſhort ſummary of the principal objects of the bill, which he ſtated to be

1. To prevent perſons from being lightly or capriciouſly arreſted.

2. To prevent their being maliciouſly and unjuſtly detained.

3. To prevent diſhoneſt debtors from ſquandering in priſon thoſe funds which ought to be applied for the ſatisfaction of their creditors.

4. To prevent perſons from being dragged to priſon in a ſtate of ſickneſs or diſeaſe; and,

Laſtly, to prevent Britiſh ſubjects from being impriſoned for an indefinite time, without any enquiry as to the juſtice of their detention.

His Lordſhip then concluded a moſt able and eloquent ſpeech, with ſaying, that he had avoided any application to the feelings of their Lordſhips, by any high finiſhed picture of miſery or diſtreſs, becauſe he wiſhed not to apply to their paſſions, but to their juſtice directed by their judgment:—he had ſtated at ſome length the object of this bill in its principle, and if objections

ſhould

ſhould occur to any of the particular proviſions, there would be an opportunity, in the committee, to make ſuch alterations as might ſeem beſt calculated to follow up the principle of the bill with propriety and effect.

He moved that the bill be now read a ſecond time.

EARL STANHOPE ſeconded the motion.

The bill was read without any oppoſition.

LORD RAWDON moved, that the bill be committed on the 16th of April. By that time he ſaid the judges would all be in town, and the Houſe would have the benefit of their aſſiſtance, if neceſſary.

MARCH 28.

Bills paſſed by commiſſion. Adjourned to the 8th of April (on account of the Eaſter holidays).

APRIL 8.

PAWNBROKERS' BILL.

This bill was ſent to a committee, of which the biſhop of Exeter was the chairman.

The LORD CHANCELLOR roſe when the committee had come to the clauſe of the bill enjoining juſtices of the peace to accept of neither fee or reward for adjuſting diſputes between the pawner and pawnbroker. His Lordſhip obſerved, that the clauſe as it ſtood encouraged litigation. The profits of pawnbrokers were ſo conſiderable as would admit of their payment of fees for putting magiſtrates to the trouble of hearing their unneceſſary, perhaps vexatious, contentions with their cuſtomers.

When the pawner excited an ill-founded controverſy, it was likewiſe juſt he ſhould in ſome degree ſuffer for the impropriety of his conduct. The Lord Chancellor therefore propoſed an amendment, the ſcope of which was, that in all diſputes between the owner of goods pledged and the pawnbroker, the magiſtrates ſhould be authoriſed to award reaſonable coſts againſt the party appearing in fault.

The amendment paſſed in the affirmative, and the bill being read and agreed to, the Houſe adjourned.

APRIL 9.

LORD GRENVILLE brought a meſſage from the King. *(Same as that to the Commons this day, which ſee.)*

Ordered to be taken into conſideration to-morrow. There was no debate.

APRIL

APRIL 10.

The traiterous correſpondence bill, and ſeveral private bills, were brought up from the Houſe of Commons, and read a firſt time.

Earl of Mansfield was introduced with the uſual formalities, betwixt Earls Fitzwilliam and Carliſle; and the patent of the Earldom of Mansfield in favour of the late William Earl Manſfield, and in default of heirs male of his body to David Viſcount Stormont (now Earl of Mansfield) having been read by the clerk, together with his writ of ſummons to parliament, his Lordſhip took the oaths and his ſeat.

The ARCHBISHOP of CANTERBURY moved, that the Lord Biſhop of Glouceſter be requeſted to preach before their Lordſhips in Weſtminſter Abbey, on Friday the 19th day of April inſtant. Ordered.

MESSAGE FROM THE KING.

The order of the day was for taking his Majeſty's meſſage into conſideration.

The meſſage being read,

LORD GRENVILLE ſaid that, under the preſent circumſtances, he conceived there could be but one opinion in that Houſe, in parliament, and in the country, with regard to the vigorous proſecution of the war; and he would therefore, without ſaying more, conclude with moving an addreſs to his Majeſty, which he read, and which was, as uſual, an echo of the meſſage.

EARL STANHOPE ſaid, that he had been one of thoſe very few who had uniformly diſapproved of the preſent war. He had done ſo, becauſe he conceived it to have been unneceſſary, and that, by temper and prudent management, it might have been avoided; he could not, therefore, give his aſſent to the propoſed addreſs. His Lordſhip ſaid he could not tell whether there was any truth in the report which had been lately in circulation, that Dumourier had been forced to make his eſcape, finding that he was not ſupported by his army in the plans which he had formed; nor did he reſt any thing on this whether true or falſe; but he begged leave to remind their Lordſhips, that that ſame Dumourier, in the month of December laſt, had propoſed the invaſion of Holland, and that the executive council of France, at that time, rejected his propoſal, from a wiſh to preſerve peace and a good underſtanding with this country, about which they had ſhewn the moſt anxious ſolicitude.

The EARL of LAUDERDALE ſaid, that although he did not meant to oppoſe the motion, becauſe now that this country is actually involved in war, he agreed that it ought to be proſecuted

ſecuted with vigour; yet he thought it neceſſary to explain the grounds upon which alone he could give his concurrence in voting for the addreſs. He hoped and truſted, that his Majeſty's miniſters would not be ſo flattered by a momentary ſucceſs, as to adviſe his Majeſty to enter into the views of the Auſtrians and Pruſſians, or to accede to any combination, for the purpoſe of interfering in the internal polity of France; for, if ſo, he would be almoſt led to lament the preſent ſucceſs of his native country, from an apprehenſion of the miſchiefs to which it would lead;—did he ſuppoſe that any ſuch views were entertained, he could by no means concur in the addreſs, but he was induced to give it his ſupport, truſting that his Majeſty's Miniſters, and the Noble Lord for one, would continue to act upon the principles upon which they had all along profeſſed to act, and that they did not mean to purſue any other object in the preſent war than that of checking the increaſing power and aggrandizement of France.

LORD GRENVILLE could not conceive it to be in any ſhape neceſſary for him to recapitulate to their Lordſhips thoſe circumſtances of perfidy, ambition, and injuſtice, on the part of France, which had forced this country into the preſent war; and it was ſurely neither neceſſary nor proper for him to ſay any thing as to what may be the intentions of his Majeſty's Miniſters as to the future conduct of the war.—So long, indeed, as France had confined herſelf within her own territories, and had behaved with decent reſpect towards this country, he had always thought it clear that it was proper for us to preſerve a ſtrict neutrality, and to avoid any interference with her internal government; how far the caſe might be now changed was a ſubject which he would not enter upon. The Noble Lord (Lauderdale) has thought proper to annex a condition to his giving his aſſent to the addreſs, as to which he would certainly ſay nothing: that Noble Lord had formerly withheld his concurrence to the meaſures adopted by the Houſe as to the preſent war; whether or not he would now give his concurrence he could not tell; but he would content himſelf with ſaying what he thought perfectly ſufficient upon the preſent occaſion, and with which he truſted their Lordſhips would be ſatisfied, viz. That we have been forced into a war with France, from her unjuſt and perfidious conduct towards this country; and that being actually engaged in ſuch a war, it is impoſſible to doubt the propriety and neceſſity of carrying it on with vigour and effect.

The addreſs was then agreed to without a diviſion, and ordered to be preſented to his Majeſty by the Lords in white ſtaves.

Adjourned.

APRIL 11.

SLAVE TRADE.

Agreeably to the notice given by the EARL of ABINGDON of his intention to bring forward a motion on the ſlave trade, his Lordſhip roſe and ſaid:

Your Lordſhips will not ſuppoſe that I am about to enter into the wide and extenſive field of argument which the queſtion for the abolition of the ſlave trade has, as a ſubject of diſcuſſion, opened to the view, and brought under the notice and conſideration of this Houſe; a field too large for me to range in, too comprehenſive for the extent of individual ability, more than enough to occupy the exertions of every head, and to rouſe the energies of every heart among us. To occupy the exertions of every head in appeal to the wiſdom, and to rouſe the energies of every heart, as a call upon the *characteriſtic* juſtice of this Houſe.

It is not then, ſaid his Lordſhip, in this field that I am now about to enter; neither is it to thoſe tribunals of your Lordſhips' wiſdom and juſtice that I am in the act of addreſſing myſelf. The ſtage in which this buſineſs is, is ripe for neither, and God forbid it ſhould ever be ſo: but there is a third tribunal to which, forming the ground of the motion that I ſhall have the honour to ſubmit to your Lordſhips, I am now to addreſs myſelf, and that is, in ſolemn appeal, at this moſt momentous criſis of public affairs, to the *political diſcretion* of this Houſe; nor even here either ſhall I have occaſion, ſaid his Lordſhip, to treſpaſs long on the time and patience of the Houſe; for what this momentous criſis of public affairs is, will need no repreſentation from me to bring to your Lordſhips' minds; the facts, in events too terrible even for the admiſſion of thought, being already before our eyes; and the effects ſpringing from the cauſes that have produced them, but too plainly ſpeaking for themſelves.

It is, therefore, ſaid his Lordſhip, enough for me to preſume, that your Lordſhips are ſufficiently aware of that *new* philoſophy, as it is called, which is gone abroad; containing, like Pandora's box of *old*, all the evils and vices that human nature or the world can be afflicted with. Of that philoſophy, on the principles of which thoſe monſters in human ſhape, I mean the people of France; and when I ſay monſters in human ſhape, let not the charge of a national reflection (ſpeaking as I do, not from my own, but from much better authority than my own) be imputed to me, namely, that of one of their own countrymen, Voltaire, who knew them well, and who ſays in deſcribing the nation, that "they are a race of people deſcended from monkies and from wolves; for when," ſays he, "they are not

not ſkipping and dancing like monkies they are *ravenous* and *ferocious* as wolves." I ſay, then, your Lordſhips are aware of that *new* philoſophy on the principles of which theſe monſters in human ſhape, this ſavage nation, have declared war, not only againſt man, but againſt God himſelf. Principles by which all Europe is already convulſed, and with the direful influence of which the peace, the order, the ſubordination, the happineſs of the whole habitable globe is threatened. And yet ſuch is the philoſophy, ſuch the principles, and ſuch the people, that, in the age of novelty and innovation, we are called upon *by ſome* to adopt, to fraternize, and affiliate with.

And now, ſaid his Lordſhip, having obſerved this, if it were to appear to your Lordſhips, that this *very propoſition* for the abolition of the ſlave trade, not only makes a part in *ſpeculation* of this *new* philoſophy, but is actually founded on thoſe very principles in *practice* which I have juſt mentioned, can it be ſuppoſed that your Lordſhips would wiſh, at leaſt in the preſent moment, to entertain ſuch a propoſition; or would it be too much to look for your Lordſhips' agreement with me in a motion for poſtponing the further conſideration of this buſineſs to a period, when *intermediately* mankind may be reſtored to their ſenſes, and this enthuſiaſtic madneſs no longer ſhall remain?

We are, ſaid his Lordſhip, at war with France, either for the extinction of theſe principles, or, with a view to ſelf preſervation, which is the firſt law of nature, *ſocial* as well as *individual*, for the extirpation of the people themſelves: for otherwiſe, what is the reſult? The reſult is, that we ſhall, as of unavoidable neceſſity, ſink into the ſame abyſs of miſery with them, and be what they are: for is not their philoſophy founded on this? do not their principles lead to this? are not their decrees declaratory of this? is not their object *expreſsly* this? and, if ſucceſs ſhould attend their meaſures, will not their end be this? And if ſo, in my contemplation, better were it for us, that we were created toads, to live on the fumes of a dunghill, rather than, poſſeſſing the feelings and the faculties of men, and of Engliſhmen too, born to the bleſſing of a conſtitution founded of liberty, be made to endure a life that ſhall paſs away with the mortifying ſuppreſſion of the *former*, and the cruel deprivation of the *latter*.

But I have ſaid, continued his Lordſhip, that this propoſition for the abolition of the ſlave trade, is in ſpeculation a part of this *new* philoſophy; and who ſhall controvert the poſition? For in the very definition of the terms themſelves, as deſcriptive of the thing, what does the abolition of the ſlave trade mean more or leſs in effect, than *liberty* and *equality*? what more or leſs than the *rights* of *man*? and what is liberty and equality—and what the rights of man—but the fooliſh fundamental principles of this

new philoſophy? But this is not all.—It is a propoſition that has been adopted, of which the *proofs* of *correſpondence* are not wanting in concert, or rather let me ſay, more *ad rem* in *fraternity* with ſome of thoſe profligate and abandoned conſpirators, the national convention of France, and is, or has been, carried on through the medium and by the means of ſubſiſting clubs in both countries; which *ſhews* not only that the propoſition is itſelf founded on French principles, that is, on French philoſophy; but *proves* that we too have in this country our Condorcets, our Briſſots, our Abbe Gregoires, and our Roberſpieres. And if this be ſo, is not this ground enough for your Lordſhips, at leaſt for the preſent, to reſt on your arms?

But I have ſaid too, not only that this propoſition is founded on this new philoſophy in ſpeculation, but that it has, on its very principles, been reduced to practice; and of this neither are the damning proofs deficient; for, look at the ſtate of the colony of St. Domingo, and ſee what liberty and equality, ſee what the Rights of Man have done there. Look at the 10th of Auguſt, and the 2d and 3d of September at Paris, and in compariſon with the foul calendar of murders committed at St. Domingo, you will find *theſe* days of humanity and compaſſion. There indeed (at Paris) you will have brought to your view murderers and cannibals enough, it is true; but here (at St. Domingo) you will ſee rivers of commerce dried up, whilſt fountains of human blood are made to iſſue in their ſtead; (as if in the pride of exultation for this philoſophic event) hear too, in the milk of his humanity, what one of theſe murderous philoſophers (citizen Roberſpiere) ſays upon this very occaſion; "periſh," ſays he, "the colonies, rather than that we ſhould loſe one of our principles!"

But let us remember, my Lords, ſaid his Lordſhip, that we have colonies of our own; and would your Lordſhips be willing, by making the ſame experiment, to produce the ſame conſequences? And if not, let us have ſome regard for our conſiſtency. Let us not ſpill the blood, and waſte the treaſure of this country, in a war with France, to combat principles that we ourſelves are giving law to. Half meaſures may be courting the popularity of ſome, but it is to *whole* meaſures on which our ſafety muſt ultimately depend. Let us be firm and manly in the *right*, and we have nothing to fear from that which is *wrong*.

Thus much then, ſaid his Lordſhip, have I thought it neceſſary to ſay in addreſs to the *political diſcretion* of your Lordſhips; and now I will add a word or two in *argumentum ad ſuſpicionem*, in addreſs to the *jealouſy* of this Houſe. And in ſo doing, let us ſee who are the abettors of this propoſition for the abolition of

the

the ſlave trade, and from whence it comes, as a matter of reflection only, and to pauſe upon. I do not know whether your Lordſhips have read, but I have, a ſermon of Dr. Prieſtley's upon this very ſubject, preached to a ſociety of Diſſenters, and publiſhed at their requeſt. What this ſermon is, your Lordſhips may ſuppoſe. It is, of courſe, to inculcate theſe doctrines with all the ability that belongs to that well known philoſopher. But it is to do more: it is to ſtate facts, that, coming from his *ſuperintending* knowledge and authority, are not to be diſregarded. He tells us to whom we are indebted for the agitation and adoption of this queſtion—"*To the Quakers*," ſays he, "who were the *firſt* to ſhew themſelves friends to the rights of humanity, and to Diſſenters of *all denominations*;" adding, in the true ſpirit of *levelling*, to his *levelling* flock, this prophetic exhortation to perſeverance in the good cauſe; namely (and what can be more *levelling?*) "that the time is arriving, when *the wolf ſhall lie down with the lamb*, as the preſent ſtate of things (ſays he) makes highly probable;"—that is to ſay, blacks and whites, French and Engliſh, wolves and lambs, ſhall all, "*merry companions every one*," promiſcuouſly *pig* together.

But, ſaid his Lordſhip, as that preſent ſtate of things to which the ſermon alludes, is, I truſt, in compariſon, widely different from the preſent ſtate of things that now is, the only remark I ſhall make upon what I have ſtated, leaving the reſt to your Lordſhips' obſervations, is this, in the ſhape of a queſtion—is there, or can there be, any juſt, wiſe, or natural (I will not ſay *political*) reaſon why the Quakers, or any other of the ſects of Diſſenters, ſhould be more forward in ſhewing themſelves friends to the rights of humanity, than the members of the eſtabliſhed church are? And to this I ſhall wait for an anſwer in argument: but, in the mean time, having heard the aſſertion that they are ſo, and underſtanding that all the petitions, or at leaſt the moſt part of them, that have been *procured* and preſented to the other Houſe of Parliament for the abolition of this trade, have been either from, or through the influence of, this body of men; and apprehending that the ſame proceeding may be adopted in this Houſe, I ſhall beg leave to trouble your Lordſhips with a few reflections on this ſubject.

I ſay then, as a general propoſition, that the right of petitioning the King, or either Houſe of Parliament, is a right inherent in the ſubject, fundamental in the conſtitution, juſt in its origin, and beneficial in its application: but at the ſame time it is a right ſubject to limitations, and as ſuch a queſtionable right. That it is a *reſtricted* right we know from the act of the 13th of Charles II. ſtat. 1. chap. 5. the reſtrictions of which I need not here enumerate: but the reaſon of thoſe reſtrictions we all muſt remember

remember to be on account of the rage of petitioning that preceded the grand rebellion in the year 1640; and we know too, that it is under theſe reſtrictions that the right is declared and confirmed by the act of the 1ſt of William and Mary, ſtat. 2. chap. 2.

This then being the caſe, my argument is, that the ground of every petition to the King, or to either Houſe of Parliament (legal ground I mean) is and can only be for *two* cauſes, either againſt the infringement of a conſtitutional right by the legiſlature, or by any branch of it, or that right being ſo infringed for a redreſs of grievances. Now, I conceive, the conſtitutional rights of the ſubject to be, and only to be, the right of perſonal ſecurity, the right of perſonal liberty, and the right of private property; and againſt the infringement of many of theſe rights, or if infringed for the redreſs of grievances, are the grounds, and the only grounds, on which the ſubject's right of petitioning the King, or either Houſe of Parliament, is made to reſt.

This, ſaid his Lordſhip, I take to be clear and indiſputable doctrine; and being ſo, let us ſee whether the petitions that have been and may be again preſented, for the abolition of the ſlave trade, are founded upon the infringement of any one of thoſe rights; and if not, whether they are not conſequently illegal? Let me aſk then, is the carrying on of the ſlave trade againſt the *perſonal* ſecurity, againſt the *perſonal* liberty, or againſt the *private* property of theſe petitioners; or does it in anywiſe whatever attack upon or diſturb any one of theſe rights? What muſt be the anſwer? Examine the queſtion. It is impoſſible to be ſo. Upon what ground then are theſe petitions? Are they for the redreſs of grievances? No: this neither cannot be; for none of theſe rights are infringed upon, and not being infringed upon, there are no grievances to be redreſſed.

But theſe petitions muſt have ſome ground to ſtand upon, and what is it? It is, ſay the petitioners, the ground of *humanity*; but humanity, as I have ſhewn, is no ground for petitioning. Humanity is a private feeling, and not a public principle to act upon: it is a caſe of conſcience, and not a *conſtitutional* right; and if petitions are to be admitted for *conſcience ſake*, why not petition to alter the liturgy of the church of England, and to change the eſtabliſhed religion of the country? The ground is the ſame, and the reaſon the ſame; but, I truſt, the practice is not meant to be the ſame.

But here too reverts my queſtion, what right has a Quaker, or any other Diſſenter, to more humanity than a church of England man?—And yet ſuch is the pretence: but admitting he has, what is the anſwer to their petitioners?—The anſwer is, to have nothing to do with the trade, and your humanity is out of the

the queſtion: but if this were not ſo, let me aſk again, what right has any body of men, however numerous (unleſs with ſiniſter views, or for hypocritical purpoſes), to ſet up their humanity againſt the humanity of other people; and to ſatisfy that humanity to call upon parliament, to do what? to repeal their own acts; and this too in a caſe, where not only public faith is to be violated, public juſtice ſacrificed, all ideas of policy obliterated, thouſands and tens of thouſands of ſubjects ruined, millions and tens of millions of property loſt; but where againſt this very (*now diſſenting*) humanity, their trade has been carried on by all countries in the four quarters of the globe; and particularly *by this* for near two centuries and a half. But what is all this to us, ſay theſe petitioners, for has not citizen Roberſpiere ſaid, "periſh the colonies rather than we ſhall loſe *one* of the principles of our *new* philoſophy?" But, ſaid his Lordſhip, I ſay, that this is to dictate to Parliament, it is to petition "for the alteration of matters eſtabliſhed by law in the ſtate," which is *expreſsly* contrary to law; it is to ſet up toleration againſt eſtabliſhment, and to preſume on ſtrength where weakneſs ought to prevail.

The inference then I draw, added his Lordſhip, is this, that theſe petitions are not founded on any conſtitutional ground, either of infringement of right, or redreſs of grievances, but, ſavouring of the times, are like thoſe tumultuous petitions that, preceding the grand rebellion in the year 1640, gave occaſion to the act alluded to of the 13th of Charles the Second, and being ſo, falling under that act, are conſequently illegal, and being illegal ought not to have been received, but having been received, ought wholly to be diſregarded.

His Lordſhip concluded by declaring that he would treſpaſs no longer on their Lordſhips' time, than by moving,

"That the further conſideration of the queſtion for the abo-"lition of the ſlave trade be poſtponed to this day five months."

EARL STANHOPE ſaid, in his opinion, it would be wiſe in their Lordſhips to concur in the motion, rather than ſuffer it to be retarded in the manner it had been ſince it was firſt agitated. His Lordſhip thought, that ſo far the Noble Earl had acted extremely judiciouſly in making his motion; but he declared he was not ſurpriſed to find him deficient in every argument in ſupport of the abominable and wicked traffic of human fleſh. The Noble Lord had indeed mentioned much irrelevant matter about the French revolution, but he was miſtaken in his chronology with reſpect to Voltaire, as he had drawn his character of the French nation long before the revolution, and when the French were in a ſtate of political darkneſs. He did not conceive, he ſaid, how either monkeys or wolves had any reference to the abolition of the ſlave trade. The Noble Lord had

had alſo forgotten when he mentioned, that the queſtion originated with the diſſenters, as he believed there were thoſe reſpectable characters of the eſtabliſhed church in the Houſe, who were equally ſanguine in the ſupport of the abolition. There was no perſon more active for the abolition than the biſhop of St. David's, not biaſſed as was repreſented by fanaticiſm, but acting merely in the cauſe of chriſtianity and humanity. Their Lordſhips muſt reflect with horror on the cruel practices which had diſtinguiſhed that abominable traffic, and in proportion to the blood which had been ſpilt, muſt their ardour be in wiſhing to have it totally aboliſhed. When men were charged with committing murder with impunity, he thought that the *onus probandi* ſhould reſt with them; he conceived that the trade ſhould long ſince be aboliſhed by a ſhort bill, but he did not ſee on what grounds the inveſtigation of the buſineſs could be oppoſed.

The DUKE of CLARENCE declared, that if the Noble Earl had not brought forward the motion, it was his intention to bring forward one to a ſimilar effect. Whenever this queſtion was introduced, it was impoſſible for him to remain ſilent, as he muſt be anxious to offer his reaſons why he was averſe to an abolition. He had a local knowledge of the trade, from his reſidence occaſionally in the Weſt-Indies, and his intimacy with ſeveral planters. The more he conſidered the queſtion, the more he was inclined to be attached to his former opinion. He was aſtoniſhed that, as the Houſe had met early for the diſpatch of buſineſs, no Noble Lord had commenced the enquiry which was voted laſt ſeſſion. He admitted that the trial of Mr. Haſtings was a matter of great national importance. Their Lordſhips were anxious to proceed early on that buſineſs, but he did not conceive it of greater magnitude than a queſtion which involved in its conſequences property to the amount of 700,000l. The firſt agitators of the abolition were fanatics and hypocrites. They had an intimate connection with thoſe men by whom the abominable French principles, that deluged Europe, were induſtriouſly circulated. Ramſay, the perſon who firſt propoſed the abolition, was *new* in the Weſt-Indies, and was a proverb for his ſeverity to the negroes*. It was an impoſition, he declared "upon his honour" to their Lordſhips, for ſuch men to pretend to be the advocates of philanthropy and humanity. The gentleman with whom the queſtion originated in the Houſe of Commons (Mr. Wilberforce) was made a citizen of France; in company not the moſt reſpectable. He was admitted on the day when Paine was made a citizen, a perſon who was honoured as

* Mr. Ramſay has been dead ſome years.

the

the friend of mankind, and who, it was well known, wiſhed to excite a rebellion in this country. A Noble Lord who had ſpoken in favour of the abolition, was the correſpondent of Condorcet; in proof of which he would read a letter of his Lordſhip to that famous philoſopher.—*Here his Highneſs read a letter, dated April 3, 1792, in which the author mentioned the determination of this country to aboliſh the trade, and hoped that France would follow ſo laudable an example.*—The worthy perſon too was friendly to the meaſure; a perſon who, their Lordſhips well knew, inſulted the Queen of France (one of the beſt and moſt worthy women in the world) while conveying to priſon. Their Lordſhips ſhould recollect the inſurrection at St. Domingo, where near 4000 lives were ſacrificed. In touching on this ſubject, he ſaid, he muſt obſerve, that his Majeſty's Miniſters wiſhed to take poſſeſſion of the French Weſt India iſlands, but what officer would be ſolicitous to proceed on ſuch a ſervice, when he muſt expect to find the iſlands in a ſtate of anarchy and confuſion? The poſtponing the further conſideration would do no harm, but might be productive of much good, and for theſe reaſons his Royal Highneſs would certainly vote for the motion.

LORD GRENVILLE was of opinion, that the queſtion ought not to be diſpoſed of without the moſt ſerious and ſolemn inveſtigation, as ſuitable to the dignity, temperance, and moderation of their Lordſhips. His Lordſhip warmly defended Mr. Wilberforce from any calumnies that might proceed from any quarter, as he knew that he was not only an ornament to the Houſe in which he ſat, but an ornament to human nature. If Mr. Wilberforce had been made a citizen of France, it was a thing, he was perſuaded, done without his knowledge or approbation; and it was an artful trick of the convention, or aſſembly, merely to cover other proceedings. His Lordſhip proceeded next to take a retroſpect of the progreſs of the whole buſineſs relating to the ſlave trade. Their Lordſhips had determined that an inquiry ſhould take place, and it would be derogatory to their dignity to ſtifle the queſtion, particularly when only one part was heard in evidence. If the Houſe was to accede to the propoſition of the Noble Earl, the inconveniences ariſing from the queſtion would be increaſed tenfold. It would excite intemperance and paſſion on a ſubject that ſhould be argued with great coolneſs and much ſolemnity. The day muſt unqueſtionably come, when their Lordſhips would be called upon to decide; and he ſubmitted it, if they could with propriety or juſtice form any ſuch deciſion, without hearing the evidence to be offered on both ſides of the queſtion.

The EARL of LAUDERDALE ſaid, whenever the queſtion was brought forward that related to the topics to which Lord Abingdon alluded, he ſhould be ready to argue them fully with the Noble Earl. He ſaid, that he ſhould feel no reluctance in giving his aſſent to the motion, as the delay with which the whole buſineſs was conducted was almoſt tantamount to the intention of the Noble Lord's propoſition. He plainly ſaw the object which certain Noble Lords had when they involved the French revolution in the diſcuſſion of every queſtion, no matter how irrelevant to the ſubject of debate. He was himſelf convinced that the friends to reform were the beſt friends to their country, and this he would argue at a proper period. The queſtion of the ſlave trade was indeed of great magnitude, and it ought to be ſifted to the bottom. The ſeſſion was now far advanced, and was drawing to a concluſion. When he conſidered the unparalleled delay of the trial of Haſtings, the procraſtination in inquiring into the abuſes practiſed at conteſted elections in Scotland, and his Majeſty's Miniſters' hopes of bringing the queſtion at iſſue to a final concluſion this ſeſſion, their Lordſhips had much more confidence in their induſtry, he declared, than he had. If the queſtion for an abolition was not brought forward immediately, and if it were put off to another ſeſſion, it would be almoſt better to adopt the motion, as their Lordſhips, in caſe of further delay, would forget the evidence already given at their bar.

The DUKE of CLARENCE roſe to explain, declaring himſelf ready to bear teſtimony to the worth and humanity of Mr. Wilberforce.

The Biſhop of ST. DAVID's declared, that he never had the honour of being a correſpondent of Petion's, neither did he think it diſcreditable, in his former purſuits, before the French revolution, to have correſponded with Condorcet. He was a philoſopher, and as long as he profeſſed himſelf a friend to humanity, he did not ſee what odium could attach to any literary character at that period for having correſponded with him. His Lordſhip declared, in wiſhing for an abolition, he did not act on principles of fanaticiſm, nor ſhould he even be afraid to avow his ſentiments from the terror of the opprobrium. He thought the motion, if adopted, would cauſe a great ferment in the country, and he would wiſh the people to feel that a monarchical government was not hoſtile to the true maxims of humanity. He defended the diſſenters from that general odium caſt upon them in what had fallen in debate, many of whom his Lordſhip ſaid, were good and loyal ſubjects, and firmly attached to the conſtitution.

LORD

LORD HAWKESBURY wiſhed to hear evidence on both ſides of the queſtion. By this means his Lordſhip ſaid he did not mean to inſinuate, that he would ſupport the abolition, as he could not be prepared to ſay how he ſhould vote, until he had heard the arguments on both ſides of the queſtion.

The EARL of MANSFIELD profeſſed that he had not read the evidence before the Houſe of Commons, nor the voluminous evidence given before the privy council, and wiſhed on ſo important an occaſion to decide by the teſtimony which ſhould be given at their Lordſhips' bar. When the Houſe was acting in a judicial capacity nothing was ſo neceſſary as that they ſhould proceed not only with deliberation, but with minds unbiaſſed and indifferent. He therefore could not approve the warmth and zeal with which ſome Noble Lords had ſpoken of the principle, and what ought to be the final determination, at the time that they were only in a ſtate of deliberation. Whatever opinion he might eventually form upon the affair, he ſhould not conſult popular declamation, or that new philoſophy of which they had already heard too much; nor ſhould he conceive that any determination he might make ſhould render him leſs fixed in the principles of honour, probity, and juſtice. Of the parts of juſtice, there was none which ſhould be more religiouſly obſerved in a deliberate aſſembly, than to do juſtice to each other's motives. He lamented that the buſineſs ſhould have been delayed ſo long as to leave very little proſpect of the inquiry being concluded this ſeſſion; but was, notwithſtanding, deſirous that the Houſe ſhould make all poſſible progreſs.

The Biſhop of ST. DAVID's regretted, that his zeal ſhould have betrayed him into warm or ſanguine expreſſions, and concurred in the opinion that the Houſe, in its deliberative faculty, ſhould proceed with minds perfectly unbiaſſed.

LORD GRENVILLE explained that he ſhould have brought forward this ſubject ſooner, but from an expectation, which had ſince proved fallacious, that it might have been produced in a form and manner more advantageous to the cauſe.

LORD ABINGDON withdrew his motion, after which their Lordſhips adjourned.

APRIL 12.

HASTINGS'S TRIAL.

No debate. Adjourned the trial to the 18th.
Adjourned the Houſe to the 15th.

April 15.

TRAITEROUS CORRESPONDENCE BILL.

The order of the day for the ſecond reading of this bill being read,

LORD GRENVILLE roſe, and began by obſerving, that he did not conceive it neceſſary, nor did he intend, in that ſtage of the bill, to enter much at length into a detail of its proviſions, but would only ſtate to their Lordſhips the general outline of its principle, reſerving to himſelf to make what further obſervations he might thing neceſſary, either when the particular clauſes ſhould come under conſideration, in a committee, or in reply to any arguments which might be urged in the courſe of the debate.—The general principle of the bill went to the preventing the enemy, during the war, from being ſupplied by ſubjects of this country, in the way of commerce, with any articles uſeful and important to them in carrying on the war againſt us; or from deriving any reſources, through the medium of this country, which may afford them the means of proſecuting the war.—Part of the bill was only declaratory.—The crime of treaſon had ever been reckoned, in all countries, to be paramount to any other, and the reaſon of this was obvious;—becauſe, as it is a firſt and fundamental principle of all criminal law, that crimes ought to be puniſhed, not in proportion to the degree of moral turpitude, but as they affect the intereſts of ſociety; ſo that crime muſt be, of all others, the greateſt, which, inſtead of attacking the property or ſecurity of any private individual, goes to the total overthrow and diſſolution of the whole ſociety, and of all its eſtabliſhed government. His Lordſhip then proceeded to take a view of the treaſon law of this country, from its earlieſt hiſtory; and ſtated, that in the reign of one of thoſe princes, to whom the juriſprudence of this country owed perhaps as much as to any other, a law was paſſed, the ſtatute 25 Edward III. which, after many ages continues at this day to form the treaſon law of this country. That act not only provided for ſuch caſes of treaſon as ſtruck the framers of it moſt forcibly at the time, ſuch as aiding or abetting the King's enemies, compaſſing or imagining the King's death, &c. but it alſo made a wiſe proviſion with reſpect to futurity, in the caſe of the commiſſion of treaſonable acts which were not then foreſeen, ſo as that part of the ſubject ſhould not be left looſe.—Under the proviſion of that ſtatute, his Lordſhip ſaid, that Parliament might even go the length of declaring an act to be treaſon which had been previouſly committed; that was, however, a power which ſhould be moſt cautiouſly exerciſed, it was of a moſt delicate nature, and had therefore been ſeldom exerciſed. The laſt inſtance

inſtance he recollected in which it had been exerciſed was, as he thought, diſgraceful to the country. In general, a much better and more equitable plan of proceeding had been adopted; and, meeting the particular exigencies of the times, the wiſdom of the legiſlature of this country had thought it proper, at different periods, to enact many temporary laws ſpecifying particular acts to be treaſon—many of which would otherwiſe have come under the general law of treaſon. It was therefore for their Lordſhips to conſider, whether there was any circumſtances in the preſent ſituation of this country, which called for the adoption of a meaſure of this kind. We are engaged in a war;—and every body muſt admit that the enemy, with whom we are at war, is different from any other enemy which this country ever had, both in its objects in the war, and as to its reſources for carrying it on.—His Lordſhip then adverted to the different clauſes of the bill, and argued that they are neceſſary in the preſent criſis, and juſtified both upon principle and by precedent.—As to the clauſe with reſpect to perſons going from this country into France, he ſaid that the power with which his Majeſty, as the chief executive magiſtrate, is already inveſted by law, for the benefit of the whole, would go a great way indeed in this reſpect. [Here there was a cry of hear, hear.]—His Lordſhip concluded with ſaying, that the preſent was a momentous period;—that we are engaged in a war for our laws, our liberty, and our conſtitution, and that with a great people, who, even in their preſent diſtracted ſtate, were formidable and poſſeſſed conſiderable reſources, and who had every thing to loſe, or every thing to gain: we too were pretty much in the ſame ſituation, for we could only be ſaved by ſucceſs. It was, therefore, highly incumbent on us to take the neceſſary meaſures for our ſafety; and conſidering the preſent bill to be a meaſure of that kind, though weaker than what had been formerly adopted on leſs urgent occaſions—weaker perhaps than he could have wiſhed—he felt himſelf called upon to give it his ſupport.

The EARL of GUILFORD wiſhed that the Noble Lord had not confined himſelf ſo much to the general outline of the bill, but had entered more minutely into the nature and extent of its different proviſions, and had brought the matter home to their Lordſhips' judgment, inſtead of arreſting their feelings in the manner he had done in the latter part of his ſpeech.—Were the bill indeed ſuch as the Noble Lord had ſtated it to be—did it go only to prevent traiterous correſpondence with the enemy, or the giving them aid or aſſiſtance, it ſhould have had his hearty ſupport:—and when he found it a compound of political abſurdities, extending to an alarming degree the law of treaſon, while at the ſame time it deprived perſons accuſed of thoſe benefits

benefits in their trial, which the juſtice and mercy of the legiſlature of this country had allowed in all caſes of treaſon; when he found it contain, beſides theſe, a variety of the moſt dangerous and unconſtitutional proviſions, he found himſelf called upon to oppoſe it, even in this ſtage, as a bill which ought not to be at all entertained by the Houſe, and to call upon their Lordſhips, in the moſt earneſt manner, to reject it. His Lordſhip then proceeded to make ſeveral obſervations on the different clauſes of the bill. With reſpect to the firſt clauſe, it had been ſaid that all the acts ſpecified in that clauſe are already treaſon, and that the taking off from theſe the corruption of blood, upon conviction, was an act of tenderneſs;—but what ſort of tenderneſs was this? When, upon the pretence of facilitating conviction, a priſoner was deprived of all the guards which the law had wiſely and juſtly afforded for the protection of innocence in all caſes of accuſation for treaſon.

LORD HAY (the Earl of Kinnoul in Scotland) ſeemed diſpoſed to oppoſe ſome of the clauſes rather than the principle of the bill; he particularly mentioned the clauſe for prohibiting the inſurance of French ſhips, and did not heſitate to pronounce it highly impolitic; he ſupported this opinion by quoting that of the late Lord Mansfield, upon whoſe memory he took that opportunity of pronouncing a very high panegyric.

The DUKE of NORFOLK admitted that there was nothing new in declaring that certain acts ſhould be puniſhed with treaſon; Parliament had often done ſo; but then it ſhould be made to appear that there was ſomething in the preſent circumſtances of France, which called for ſuch a meaſure at this period, more than at any former one. It had been ſaid that the French were not friends to our conſtitution, and he believed the aſſertion to be true; but he believed it would have been equally true if applied to the French under the government of Louis XIV. or of Louis XV. or even of the late unhappy monarch Louis XVI. Sufficient grounds, his Grace ſaid, had not been laid before him to ſhew the neceſſity of the preſent bill, and therefore he wiſhed to ſtop its further progreſs, conſequently he would vote againſt the motion for ſending it to a committee: however, ſhould the ſenſe of their Lordſhips be againſt him, and ſhould the bill be committed, he ſaid he would propoſe amendments to the different clauſes, ſo as to render them as little miſchievous as poſſible. His great objection to the bill was, that it was calculated to enable Miniſters to carry on a war which he conſidered as unneceſſary, not to ſay unjuſt; and as the ſooner the war was brought to a concluſion the better it would be for the country, ſo one of the ways of bringing it ſpeedily to an end would

would be to reject a bill, which had for its object a power to enable Miniſters further to carry it on.

LORD CLIFTON (Earl of Darnley in Ireland) defended the bill; he ſaid peace was certainly a moſt deſirable object, but he did not ſee how it could be attained at preſent, for he knew not with whom we could treat about it, circumſtanced as the government of France actually was. When peace could not be immediately procured, the beſt thing which the country could do would be to proſecute the war moſt vigorouſly, as the moſt likely method to make it the intereſt of the French to put themſelves in a way in which we could conclude with them an honourable treaty of peace; and as he thought the preſent bill calculated to aſſiſt in accelerating ſuch an event, he was determined to give it his ſupport.

LORD HAWKESBURY began by obſerving on the danger to this country from the endeavours of France to diſſeminate here her deteſtable principles; for dangerous, he ſaid, it muſt be, when a great nation like France is uſing every art to deſtroy, not monarchy alone, but all civil government and regular order in ſociety.—Upon the ſecond clauſe, as to the purchaſe of lands in France, his Lordſhip obſerved, that it was, in fact, avowed by France, that they had no other poſſible means of carrying on the war, but by the ſale of their lands. The neceſſity, therefore, of this clauſe was apparent, and indeed, in this ſituation of matters, the purchaſe of theſe lands, or giving money for them by perſons in this kingdom, was in fair conſtruction the giving of aid to the King's enemies. His Lordſhip ſupported ſtrongly the general principle of the bill, as well as its various clauſes, particularly the clauſe reſpecting inſurances, upon which, he ſaid; that the profits ariſing to this country from inſuring French ſhips did not exceed 100,000l. a year, a ſum which could not counterbalance the injury which the French muſt ſuſtain if their trade was to ſtand ſtill for want of inſurance, or be expoſed to be wholly cut off by the Britiſh ſhips of war.

The MARQUIS of LANSDOWNE ridiculed the idea of hermetically ſealing up 26 millions of Frenchmen, and ſhutting them out from all intercourſe with the reſt of mankind; its abſurdity, he ſaid, could be equalled only by its cruelty; to ſtarve ſo immenſe a number of fellow creatures was the height of cruelty; to attempt to ſtarve them into political opinions more palatable to our Miniſters was the height of abſurdity. The meaſure, he feared, would be infinitely more injurious to ourſelves, than to the French; for it would expoſe us to the loſs of the carrying trade, of which we had hitherto enjoyed ſo much, and the poſſeſſion of which foreign nations had long envied

envied us. The northern nations of Europe, he knew were very deſirous of a participation in it, and he had this very day heard from authority, which he was ſatisfied was reſpectable, that both Sweden and Denmark were actually fitting out ſhips, on the principle on which the armed neutrality was founded, with a determination to ſecure to Swediſh and Daniſh trading bottoms the freedom of the ſeas. America, he was ſure, would alſo endeavour to come in for her ſhare of the carrying trade of Europe. She was at preſent the moſt riſing country that the ſun ſaw in its courſe; her population was already prodigious, conſidering how late it was when the Europeans began to colonize her, and was moſt aſtoniſhingly and rapidly increaſing. His Lordſhip ſaid, that he himſelf had been acquainted with a man, whoſe father when he landed in Penſylvania found it almoſt uninhabited; yet, in the time of his ſon, there were 400,000 inhabitants in it; at preſent the population might be ſaid to be one fifth more: if the other provinces had experienced an equal increaſe of inhabitants, he ſaid he would leave it to their lordſhips to judge what muſt ſoon be the population of the whole of the United States. Theſe provinces were now inhabited by what might be called a race of huſbandmen, who grew immenſe quantities of corn, which they ſent to Europe, and in return took her manufactures. The corn was chiefly conſigned to England, there to wait a market; the conſignment was profitable to us; for not above one ſixth of the American corn imported was conſumed by us; the other five ſixths we exported to other countries, and had in addition to many other benefits, that of carrying it in our ſhips to foreign markets. Why ſhould thoſe advantages be thrown away? If the Americans continued to conſign their corn to us, we might preſerve the carrying trade, and at the ſame time prevent the French from getting a ſupply of it; but this bill would make the Americans become carriers themſelves, and ultimately manufacturers of thoſe goods which they at preſent purchaſed from European nations, but chiefly from us. Trade, he ſaid, was not like a lion, which would roar and make a noiſe; it was like a hare, which would ſilently ſteal away and never return. Some people might think that ſituations would ſecure trade; but this was a miſtaken notion, for it was not the port that made the trade, but the trade the port. The preſent unneceſſary war had given a fatal blow to public credit, and filled the Gazette with the names of the moſt reſpectable and moſt valuable men in the kingdom. Whichever way he turned his eyes, he ſaid, he ſaw the beſt houſes threatening ruin; if to the North, he ſaw the melancholy ſituation of the Newcaſtle Bank—Here his Lordſhip was called to order by

The EARL of CARLISLE, who obſerved that remarks of this kind might be attended with injury to the proprietors of the Bank to which alluſion had been made, and which, from the general ſupport given to it, would be able firmly to ſtand its ground and make good all its engagements.

The MARQUIS of LANSDOWNE proceeded; he ſaid, he meant nothing unkind or injurious to the Newcaſtle bank, the reputation of which ſtood high; his object was merely to ſhew, that credit had every where been ſhaken to its center by this war. In his own neighbourhood, at Bath, the confuſion was alarming; 10,000l. the firſt payment of a ſubſcription for cutting a moſt uſeful canal, had been loſt, and with that ſum a work of great utility to the nation was probably abandoned for ever; the ſubſcriptions alſo for a moſt reſpectable tontine had been loſt, and an alarm had gone forth among thoſe who uſually placed money in the hands of bankers. How would this alarm be increaſed, if, what he much dreaded, a ſecond or a third campaign of the preſent war ſhould take place. Affairs on the continent had aſſumed a new aſpect: the prince of Saxe-Cobourg had at one time publiſhed a declaration replete with ſenſe and wiſdom; but immediately after a Congreſs had taken place at Antwerp, at which our ambaſſador had aſſiſted, this declaration was recalled, and another ſubſtituted in its place, breathing ſomething like the ſpirit of the Duke of Brunſwick's manifeſto, and announcing the moſt vigorous proſecution of the war againſt France. He very much feared that our Miniſters were not in the counſels of the confederates; if the court of Auſtria was ſincere in the aſſurances which it gave to Europe through the medium of the prince of Saxe-Cobourg, it did itſelf a great deal of honour; but if it was not ſincere, the proſpect in that caſe would be alarming indeed. It had been the policy of this country for a century paſt to ſupport the Houſe of Auſtria; but it might at length become ſo powerful as to make it neceſſary for us to change our ſyſtem. When the peace of the Pyrenees was concluded, by which, by the by, Alſace was ceded to France, ſome one obſerved to King William that the Houſe of Auſtria might become too powerful for the reſt of Europe; upon which his Majeſty replied, "If ever that Houſe ſets its "foot one inch beyond the treaty of the Pyrenees, I will be-"come as good a Frenchman as any man in France can wiſh "me to be, and aſſiſt with my whole power in oppoſing "Auſtria." Since that period, the Noble Marquis obſerved, the Houſe of Auſtria had gone a prodigious way beyond that treaty, and had by public *robberies* added vaſt poſſeſſions to its hereditary dominions; it had by *robbery* acquired extenſive territories in Poland; it by *robbing* got a conſiderable tract of coun-

try from the Turks; and by a ſimilar method it had ſome valuable acquiſitions at the expence of the Elector of Bavaria; and yet we were now going to aſſiſt the Auſtrians in perhaps diſmembering and dividing France. He aſked if our Miniſters knew what were the intentions of the Emperor; whether he meant to parcel out France into ſmall principalities, after having taken a large ſlice for himſelf: in that caſe we ſhould have much to fear, becauſe ſhould the emperor afterwards take it into his head to ſwallow up thoſe little ſtates, neither they nor we could oppoſe him with effect. He wiſhed to know what we ourſelves meant to do with our own conqueſts; did we mean to take the French Weſt India iſlands, and to keep them to ourſelves; or did we mean to reſtore them to France, whenever ſhe ſhould have a fixed government? In that caſe we ſhould put ourſelves to a very unneceſſary expence, in order to be able to preſent theſe iſlands to the young King or Dauphin of France, who he hoped would be reſtored to the throne of his anceſtors. His Lordſhip condemned in ſtrong terms that part of the bill which, by depriving monied men here of the power of employing their capitals in the way which ſhould appear to themſelves moſt profitable, would not fail to make them quit England, and carry with them their property, their induſtry, and their commercial knowledge. This he ſaid he ſpoke not at random, for he had been informed, and the authority he feared was but too good, that three or four bankers had actually agreed to emigrate to America, and there carry on their buſineſs unreſtrained by any ſuch impolitic bill as the preſent. With reſpect to the prohibition of inſurance, he muſt ſay it appeared to him extremely impolitic; if inſuring was a loſing trade, our merchants, who were the ableſt calculators and ſpeculators in Europe, would not carry it on, and if it was a profitable trade, it would be madneſs to prohibit it. A Noble Lord had eſtimated the profits at 100,000l. a year; but it was probable that they amounted to a great deal more, for he had been told by ſeveral very intelligent and reſpectable merchants, that the profits in general were from 6 to 10 per cent. At ſuch a time as the preſent he thought nothing could be more impolitic than to purſue meaſures which might diminiſh the reſpect of the people for Parliament; their voice ought to be heard, and their juſt wiſhes gratified: he declared that he for one was ready to gratify them; that he was a friend to a reform in Parliament; that he looked ſolely to meaſures, not to men; and that, regardleſs of who was Miniſter, he would ſupport every meaſure calculated for the public good, and oppoſe every one of a contrary tendency: he did not mean to cenſure the motives of thoſe who, from a timidity which made them think the conſtitution in danger, had agreed to ſupport the

preſent

preſent adminiſtration in carrying through ſeveral meaſures during the preſent ſeſſion, which to him appeared to be highly injurious to the conſtitution: their motives, he admitted, might be good, but certainly they had injured the conſtitution which they meant to defend.

The Noble Marquis in the courſe of his ſpeech made many obſervations on the bill, which he called a bill of great importance, and equal to any that ever came before that Houſe. Their Lordſhips had from time to time been called upon to exerciſe the great power they poſſeſſed, but in no one inſtance were they called upon to exerciſe power on the nature of treaſon, as by the preſent bill; it was a meaſure for making new treaſon. They were called upon for the exerciſe of the higheſt of all truſts that ever was repoſed in a deliberative body of men. The queſtion was not one that might affect the life of one or two individuals, but the lives of many individuals. Great as had been the alarm about treaſon, and of treaſonable intentions, he owned he knew of neither; and as to the preſent bill, brought before their Lordſhips avowedly for the purpoſe of protecting us in that reſpect, he owned it appeared to him to be a hodge-podge, to ſupply, at this late period of the ſeſſion, all the want of evidence of treaſon with which the people of this country were alarmed at the commencement of it. His Lordſhip took up the general nature of the bill as it applied to ancient law, and maintained that it was repugnant to the fundamental principles of that law. He agreed with thoſe who ſtated it was neceſſary we ſhould uſe our utmoſt endeavours to bring the preſent war to a concluſion, a war which he was ſo far from thinking politic, juſt, or neceſſary, that he thought it unneceſſary, and ſuch as might eaſily have been avoided. He agreed, however, that we ought to uſe our beſt endeavours to bring it as ſoon as poſſible to a concluſion. The queſtion would be, what means ſhould we take to bring about ſo deſirable an end; for this he was clearly convinced the preſent bill was not adapted; none of its proviſions would have that effect. The authors of this bill had a different way of thinking from all the beſt Miniſters this country ever knew, at leaſt they purſued plans very different from all others. They were wiſer than Lord Godolphin—they were wiſer than Lord Chatham—they were wiſer than Mr. Pelham—they were wiſer than Lord Mansfield—they were wiſer than Mr. Grenville—in ſhort, the preſent adminiſtration might well be called the wonder of the world! His Lordſhip took notice of the danger there would be to this country of emigrations to America, and ſaid he wiſhed to remind adminiſtration of theſe things, and to remind the public too, that, as ſoon as the abſurd prejudice which had been

created againſt the French upon queſtions of religion, and ſpeculative points, with which he had nothing to do, nor upon their internal regulation, we might return to common ſenſe, and to ſee the points upon which our real intereſts turned.—Theſe, great and extenſive as they were, yet were not all the points of objection he had to the bill.—It affected the liberty and the property of every individual in this country in a great and violent degree.—With reſpect to property, he did not ſee what adminiſtration had to do with it; and he defied them to ſhew their right to meddle with it. And for the other it ought to be always ſacred, except in caſes of the moſt extreme neceſſity. Policy required this as well as juſtice, for it was eſſential to the intereſt of a ſtate, that its ſubjects ſhould be ſatisfied with the means an adminiſtration adopted for the public ſafety, and more particularly in all ſteps taken upon the law of treaſon. Here his Lordſhip took notice of the opinion of Mr. Juſtice Foſter, who recommended mildneſs, and gentleneſs, and not ſeverity and rigour, upon all conſtructions of the law of treaſon. There were other proofs to the ſame effect, as an inſtance of which his Lordſhip read the preamble of the act of William and Mary. But the great queſtion was this, what were we purſuing theſe reſtrictions for; to ſupport the preſent war?—a war which he thought at its commencement, and thought ſtill, unjuſt and unneceſſary, but which he would ſupport while he thought there was any probability we ſhould bring it to a concluſion: but he begged leave to ſay, that in this reſpect he was not ſuch an enthuſiaſt to ſupport every meaſure which the madneſs of an adminiſtration might lead them to adopt. He certainly recommended moderation to them. He ſhould pay the taxes that might be impoſed upon him, and pay obedience to the laws, but he ſhould take every opportunity that came in his way of telling that Houſe and the public what he thought upon public meaſures; and upon this he muſt declare, that he had no idea that the meaſure which Miniſters were now purſuing would put an end to this war. For what was this war continued on our part? We were told at the beginning of this ſeſſion of Parliament, that we muſt aſſiſt our allies the Dutch, though they never called upon us to do ſo. We were told again, that the French muſt be driven from their conqueſts, and they muſt retire within their ancient limits; they were driven from their conqueſts. What other object had we in view? Why not now reſt upon our arms? He muſt again ſay that we had nothing further to do.—We had already ſpent ſix millions of money upon this war.—If the Dauphin ſhould aſcend the throne, ſhould we have our expence returned to us for the further proſecution of this war?—What then was the object of the further

proſecution

profecution of the war?—Was there to be a new diviſion of Europe—a thing very difficult to be done, and when done, he doubted whether we could be gainers.—Was there any other to be aggrandized—was Auſtria to have more dominion; and if ſo, what were to be our gains by ſuch a meaſure?—He was in hopes, he ſaid, that we might profit by reflecting on the American war, in which ſeventy millions of money had been exhauſted by Miniſters contrary to their own principles at the commencement of the war. He added other obſervations, and ſaid he ſhould do all in his power to bring this war to a concluſion on our part, and ſhould never countenance a meaſure that tended to prolong it, as it was a war that only tended to heap calamity on calamity.

The EARL of LAUDERDALE complimented the Noble Marquis upon the full and able manner in which he had entered on the diſcuſſion of this ſubject. But he roſe, he ſaid, to take notice of the very alarming and dangerous doctrine of a Noble Lord (Lord Clifton, Earl of Darnley) who had ſaid, that it would be impoſſible to treat with France while any thing like the preſent form of government exiſted there; his Lordſhip was decidedly of opinion, that we ſhould and eventually muſt treat with thoſe who have the power of government, be they who they may. He warned the Houſe of the danger of affecting contempt for thoſe who exerciſe the government of France; it was an eaſy thing to abuſe Condorcet, or any other member of the convention. He remembered very well when in another Houſe of Parliament a great affected contempt was thrown upon thoſe who were then called Hancock and his crew, but that doctrine coſt this country much treaſure, the effect of which we feel pretty ſeverely at the preſent moment. His Lordſhip then took up the principle of the bill and the various clauſes alſo, and argued from both, becauſe he ſaid that each clauſe had of itſelf a principle. He maintained the injuſtice, inefficacy, and the impolicy of the whole of it as a maſs, and the tyrannical principle of ſeveral of the clauſes in particular—he made ſeveral obſervations on it as it would be injurious to the ſale of any of our commodities abroad, and was pointedly ſevere on that part which had been taken in the progreſs of the bill as it affected cloth; he quoted the authority of Lord Mansfield, in a ſpeech which he delivered in the year 1747, in the Houſe of Commons, upon the ſubject of inſurance, and agreed with the ſubſtance of that able ſpeech.—His Lordſhip quoted alſo the opinion of Mr. Juſtice Blackſtone upon conſpiracies and plots, and in which he ſays that alarms of falſe plots and conſpiracies were always the props of a wicked adminiſtration. Theſe obſervations he applied to the preſent bill with great force. His Lordſhip concluded with diſſenting from this bill altogether.

LORD

LORD CLIFTON (Earl of Darnley) roſe to explain. He ſaid, the Noble Earl had miſconceived him; when he ſaid there was no government in France, he meant there was no *permanent* government there; the power was conſtantly ſhifting from hand to hand, and conſequently no one could anſwer for the duration of a treaty with a country ſo circumſtanced for twenty-four hours together. If the preſent government of France was permanently ſettled, he certainly would have no objection to treat with it.

The EARL of CARLISLE vindicated the bill, and thoſe who had entirely lent their ſupport to government, on the ground of neceſſity; the conſtitution was in danger, and could be ſaved only by an union of all thoſe who felt an intereſt in preſerving it.

The DUKE of PORTLAND ſaid, he ſhould not oppoſe the commitment of the bill, becauſe he thought the committee the proper ſtage for correcting ſeveral parts of it that appeared highly objectionable. He diſapproved, in particular, of making the agreeing to do certain acts equally criminal with the acts themſelves. But his principal reaſon for riſing on this occaſion was to ſay, that with reſpect to the bill, and all other meaſures, he would, in perfect conſiſtency with his former declarations, give a fair and honourable ſupport to the war, becauſe he thought it both juſt and neceſſary. This he ſhould do from no timidity, unleſs zeal for the preſervation of the conſtitution could be called timidity.

LORD PORCHESTER ſaid, it was not timidity which had made many perſons, in general hoſtile to the adminiſtration of the preſent Miniſters, reſolve nevertheleſs to give them ſupport in the actual ſtate of the country; it was a love for the conſtitution, and a conviction that it was in danger from the machinations of France; and what they on that account reſolved to do, he truſted they would have courage to perſevere in till the end was accompliſhed. Among other arguments which he urged to ſhew that one part of the bill, in its original ſtate, to which ſtrong objections had been made, the clauſe which prohibited Britiſh ſubjects reſiding in France to return to England was not new in its principle, he quoted the act of Parliament which obliges ſhips coming from countries actually infected, or ſuppoſed to be infected with the plague, to perform *quarantine*; in that caſe a Britiſh ſubject might for 40 days be prevented from repairing to his family, or even from ſetting his foot on his native ſhore; and yet no one thought this a hardſhip, but a kindneſs to the whole community. The regard which each individual had for his own health made him look upon this reſtraint as a public good. The peſtilence of wicked opinions

ſubverſive

ſubverſive of all order, might be as fatal to the conſtitution of this country, as the plague could be to the lives of its inhabitants; and therefore all lovers of the conſtitution ought to ſupport a meaſure which was calculated to preſerve them from the danger of contagion.

The EARL of GUILDFORD concluded the debate by obſerving, that as he found the ſenſe of the Houſe was that the bill ſhould go to a committee, and as many of his objections to it might be removed by amendments, he would not further oppoſe the commitment; and he was the more diſpoſed to withdraw his oppoſition for the preſent, as he might renew it on the report of the third reading, in caſe ſuch alterations as he intended to propoſe in the committee ſhould not be carried.

The queſtion was then put on the motion "that the bill be committed," and was carried without a diviſion.

It was next moved by Lord Grenville that it ſhould be committed to a committee of the whole Houſe to-morrow.

Here we muſt beg leave to make a little digreſſion, to inſert the following papers; becauſe they illuſtrate and confirm an important part of the Marquis of Lanſdowne's argument. They were communicated to Miniſters by the committee of American merchants, who petitioned againſt the clauſe prohibiting the inſurance of neutral property. (See page 262).

The petition was ſigned by Thomas Backhouſe, William Douglas, Henry Bromfield, Joſeph Hadfield, and Henry Meſtins Bird, merchants; concerned in the trade with North America; and ſet forth that the petitioners having procured a copy of the bill, and having duly deliberated thereon, conceive that, ſhould the ſame, as it now ſtands, paſs into a law, certain clauſes thereof, affecting the American trade, and the inſurances thereunto relating, will moſt eſſentially injure the intereſts of this country, and of juſtice, without in any adequate degree diſtreſſing the enemy; and that the petitioners have been buſily occupied in holding ſundry public meetings of their own body, and in obtaining information reſpecting the ſame, eſpecially from his Majeſty's Miniſters, and have in no reſpect whatever loſt any time therein, but on the contrary have been moſt buſily employed to that end; and therefore praying, that they may be heard, by counſel, touching the tendency of the ſaid clauſes.

Mr. ALDERMAN ANDERSON preſented the petition to the Houſe of Commons. But neither he, nor the Miniſters, brought forward any of the important facts contained in the following papers, although they were in poſſeſſion of them.

No. I.

No. I.

Exports of provisions only from the United States of America, between the 20th of August 1789, and the 20th of September 1790.

		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
7,562	bushels of buck wheat	578	14	0			
2,102,137	ditto maize, Indian corn	243,105	14	6			
98,842	ditto oats	4,702	0	0			
21,765	ditto rye	2,960	14	6			
1,124,458	ditto wheat	253,003	1	0			
38,752	ditto peaſe and beans	5,792	17	0			
724,623	barrels flour	1,033,040	18	6			
75,667	ditto biſcuit	47,176	13	0			
99,973	ditto meal	68,106	3	0			
100,845	tierces rice	394,154	2	0			
					2,053,320	17	6
44,662	barrels ſalted beef	62,898	19	6			
24,667	ditto ditto pork	46,822	5	6			
					109,721	5	0
5,406	horned cattle	22,491	0	0			
8,628	horſes	76,391	2	0			
237	mules	1,989	0	0			
10,058	ſheep	3,833	15	6			
5,304	hogs	3,258	4	6			
3,704	dozen of poultry	4,400	3	6			
					112,363	5	6
					2,275,405	8	0

No. II.

A ſummary of the value and deſtination of the exports of the United States for the period of time before mentioned.

	£.	s.	d.
To the dominions of Great Britain	2,106,768	12	0
Ditto France	1,057,215	7	6
Ditto Spain	451,329	1	6
Ditto Portugal	288,778	19	0
Ditto United Netherlands	441,873	0	0
Ditto Denmark	50,493	7	6
Ditto Sweden	10,629	0	0
Ditto Flanders	3,217	1	0
Ditto Germany	109,752	1	6
Ditto Mediterranean	9,292	1	0
Ditto Africa and African Iſlands	31,488	6	0
Ditto Eaſt-Indies	30,415	14	6
Ditto N. W. Coaſt of America	2,331	9	0
	£. 4,593,584	0	6

No. III.

Owing to France by the United States, payable in twelve equal portions of livres 1,500,000 each, the firſt payment to be made in the year 1786	18,000,000	
Of which there has been paid -	9,000,000	
Remains unpaid		9,000,000
Alſo another debt to be reimburſed by ſix equal payments, the firſt payment to be made in the year 1797		6,000,000
Borrowed by France in Holland, for the uſe of the American States, which the States are to repay to France in ten equal payments, beginning the 5th of November 1787 - - -	10,000,000	
Of which there has been paid -	6,000,000	
		4,000,000
livres Tournois		19,000,000

Total owing by the United States to France, is 791,666l. 13s. 4d. ſterling.

The aggregate ſaving of the revenue of the United States of America for three years, ending in December 1792, was ſterling - - - -	1,151,301 16 6

The ſtate of the exports, No. I. is confined to proviſions only; and in 1790, amounted to 2,275,405l. But the total of the exports for the ſame year, as ſtated in No. II. was 4,593,584l.

In 1791, the increaſed export of proviſions only, was at leaſt 500,000l. and in 1792, the increaſe above the export of 1791, about 600,000l. ſo that 1,100,000l. is to be added to the above, making the preſent annual export of proviſions 3,375,405l.

The annual increaſe on the general export has been at leaſt 500,000l. ſo that the total annual amount of exports muſt now be above 6,000,000l.

America imports from foreign countries to the value of 7,000,000l. annually; three-fourths of which is from Great Britain and the Weſt Indies.

America remits for ſale to Great Britain to the annual value of 2,300,000l. the balance is remitted through France, Spain, and Portugal. Above 1,000,000l. of the balance is remitted through France, and inſured by American agents in this country. In-

deed both the American imports and exports have been generally insured in Great Britain, and the premiums at the lowest computation 200,000l. a year, of which one half has been clear profit for some years past.

We are then in the first instance to sacrifice an annual profit of 100,000l. for the sake of distressing the French; but will it really have that effect? The best informed merchants are clearly of opinion that America and France can establish new correspondencies, and have insurances done at the Hague, Amsterdam, Hamburgh, or Bremen.—Thus France will receive supplies, although the profit of the insurance trade is transferred from the Exchange of London to a foreign country. The export of our manufactures to America will also be materially checked, in consequence of the difficulty of obtaining remittances, which must now be made at the risk of foreign agency; and as the Marquis of Lansdowne said in the House of Lords, trade is a *hare*, not a *lion*, when once frightened, she starts from her pasture, and returns no more.

Before the independence of America, the whole of her commerce centered in Great Britain, and was carried on by British subjects. In the statement of her exports to different countries, No. II. we see that in 1790, only seven years after the peace, one half of the American exports were transferred to other countries, and that France had got one-fourth of the whole. Yet Ministers seem not to be aware how much our depot and real trade is lessened or diverted into other channels. Instead of devising means to reduce the exorbitant charges in our ports, and to encourage the importation of neutral property, they are passing a bill, the principle of which is to legislate for, and control neutral property. A little time will convince them that America will retaliate, and that her subjects will seek a direct communication with more friendly powers.

By the account, No. III. it appears, that the debt due to France by America, is about 800,000l. It is an undoubted fact, that Colonel Smith, formerly secretary to the American ambassador, is gone from France to America, accompanied by French agents, to treat with the government of the United States for the payment of this debt in wheat, flour, rice, &c.

April 16.

TRAITEROUS CORRESPONDENCE BILL.

The order of the day being for going into a committee on this bill, Lord Walsingham took his seat at the table, and the clerk proceeded to read the bill.—At that part of the first clause which enacts,

enacts, that, "if any perſon reſiding or being in Great Britain, ſhall knowingly and wilfully, &c. agree to ſell," &c.

The EARL of GUILDFORD propoſed an amendment, by omitting the word "*agree*," and ſubſtituting, in its place, the words, "make any agreement in writing."—His Lordſhip ſaid, that although he could, by no means, approve of that part of the clauſe in any ſhape, yet he would not preſs the total omiſſion of it, but only that it ſhould not extend to verbal agreements, which he thought would be highly dangerous and unjuſt.

The EARL of GRAHAM (Duke of Montroſe) oppoſed the amendment, and ſtated that, in his opinion, it would totally defeat the intent and object of the preſent bill, becauſe the prohibitions and penalties of the bill would not attach, either where the agreement was not reduced into writing, or where ſuch writing, if it exiſted, could be kept out of ſight.

The EARL of LAUDERDALE ſpoke ſtrongly in favour of the amendment, and ſaid, he truſted that Noble Lords on the other ſide of the Houſe would meet a ſubject of this importance with fair and rational argument; and would not think it right, or decent, to truſt to the force of a majority, and to drown the voice of reaſon.—Here his Lordſhip was called to order by

LORD SYDNEY, who ſaid with ſome warmth, that it was ſurely, in a high degree, diſorderly to ſuppoſe that that Houſe would drown the force of reaſon by the force of a majority.

The EARL of LAUDERDALE explained that he had not ſaid, nor did he believe that it was poſſible the Houſe would do ſo; but only if thoſe Noble Lords, who ſupported the preſent bill, ſhould preſerve a ſtubborn ſilence, inſtead of coming forward to a fair diſcuſſion upon argument, ſuch conduct would naturally appear to proceed from an indecent confidence in the ſupport of a majority.

The LORD CHANCELLOR ſaid, that the Noble Earl (Graham) had not certainly ſpoken at much length, but the argument he had made uſe of appeared to him ſtrong, clear, and deciſive; viz. That by adopting the amendment, the whole purpoſe of the preſent bill would be defeated.—His Lordſhip then proceeded to ſtate, that it was a matter fixed and ſettled in the exiſting law of treaſon, that treaſonable words might be the ſubject of an indictment, and might conſtitute an overt act of treaſon, under each of the general clauſes of the act of Edward the Third.—He did not by this mean, that general expreſſions, or *verba jactantia*, but words ſpoken with the deliberate purpoſe of counteracting any of the prohibitions of that ſtatute, by compaſſing the King's death, or aiding and abetting the King's enemies, &c. The Noble Lord (Lauderdale) had ſtated that the

bill applied to foreigners reſident in this country, and that words ſpoken by them might be peculiarly liable to miſconception and miſconſtruction.—This might perhaps lead to a difficulty of conviction, from the doubt it might leave in the minds of a jury, but it appeared to him to afford no objection againſt the proviſion in the bill which was now objected to, and he would therefore oppoſe the amendment.

LORD THURLOW agreed entirely with all that had been ſaid in the progreſs of this bill, as to the neceſſity of proſecuting the war with vigour, and of uſing every proper means to diſtreſs, during its continuance, that enemy which had unjuſtly forced us into it. His Lordſhip entered into a long and learned hiſtory of the law of treaſon, and ſaid that, on particular emergencies, it was no doubt proper to declare, by a particular enactment, what ſpecific acts would fall under the general terms of the act of Edward the Third; but it appeared to him that this ought to have been done in a much more ſimple form than had been adopted by the framers of the preſent bill. Nothing was more important than certainty and preciſion in the definition of crimes, particularly of crimes to which the penalties of treaſon were to be annexed; becauſe nothing could be more unjuſt, or more abhorrent to the principles of liberty, than to leave any doubt or uncertainty in a matter of this kind.—The firſt clauſe of the bill appeared to him to be all that was neceſſary, and he objected to it in its preſent form, as much too long and too intricate; at any rate, the addition of the words "*knowingly and wilfully*," in ſeveral parts of the clauſe where they were at preſent omitted, would be indiſpenſably neceſſary. His Lordſhip ſtated, that, in proſecutions for treaſon under the act of Edward the Third, it is neceſſary to charge, in the indictment againſt the priſoner, ſome one of the treaſons generally defined in that act, as the compaſſing the King's death, levying war againſt the King, or aiding and comforting the King's enemies. It is alſo neceſſary to ſtate the particular facts charged as overt acts of that treaſon—the court determine whether the overt acts charged amount to the crime of treaſon; and afterwards it ſtill remains with the jury to ſatisfy themſelves from all the circumſtances, whether theſe overt acts were done with a treaſonable purpoſe and intent.—His Lordſhip ſaid it was no doubt true, that *words* ſpoken with the view of exciting another to compaſs the death of the King, would amount to an overt act of treaſon, under that branch of the ſtatute; but he denied that words could be deemed to be an overt act of treaſon, under either of the other branches of it, as to levying war againſt the King, or aiding and abetting the King's enemies.

LORD

LORD KENYON ſpoke in favour of the bill, and againſt the amendment.

The EARL of GUILDFORD ſaid a few words, importing, that the great objection he had to this part of the bill, was, that it was not left to the jury to decide *quo animo* the fact might be committed.

After which the queſtion was put on Lord Guildford's amendment, and negatived without a diviſion.

The EARL of LAUDERDALE ſtated, that the clauſe, as it ſtood, would prevent the exportation of any of the prohibited articles to any part of France, which might even happen to come into the poſſeſſion of this country; for inſtance, if we ſhould take Dunkirk, it would be in the power of his Majeſty to grant a monopoly to particular merchants.—To remedy this, his Lordſhip propoſed an amendment, by leaving out the word 'or.'

The EARL of GRAHAM (Duke of Montroſe) ſpoke againſt the amendment, which was negatived without a diviſion.

EARL STANHOPE ſtated the high importance to the country of paying the ſtricteſt attention to public credit, and to the ſecurity of the public creditor. He ſaid, that as the clauſe now ſtood, an Italian reſiding in France, and having property in the funds here, would have no mode left of receiving his dividends, except by bills of exchange, the negociation of which would be rendered impracticable by the operation of the bill:—he therefore moved an amendment, to leave out the following words, "or any note or bill, notes or bills of the governor and "company of the Bank of *England*, or any gold or ſilver bul-"lion, or any gold or ſilver coin, either being coin of this king-"dom, or of any other country."

LORD GRENVILLE admitted the high importance of every thing that regarded the public credit of the country; but inſiſted that the public creditor, who might be reſident in France, was not put, by the operation of the preſent bill, into any other ſituation than was the neceſſary conſequence of the war betwixt the two countries.

The queſtion being put on Earl Stanhope's amendment, it was negatived without a diviſion.

EARL of MANSFIELD (late Lord Stormont) approved of the general principle of the bill as juſtified by the preſent circumſtances, and entered at ſome length into the law of nations, ſo far as regarded the effects of a ſtate of hoſtility with reſpect to the ſubjects of the reſpective countries engaged in war:—he approved of all the prohibitions contained in the firſt clauſe of the bill, but objected to the omiſſion of woollen goods, as he ſaid he believed the French were very much in want of cloathing for their

their army; and he concluded with moving that the words, "woollen goods," ſhould be inſerted.

The LORD CHANCELLOR ſaid that was a ſubject which had been much attended to by the framers of the bill; and, if any mode of expreſſion could have been deviſed which would have prevented the ſupply of the French army with the articles alluded to, and which would not go to prevent their being ſent to the uſe of private individuals, ſo as to carry the operation of the bill in this reſpect much too far, he would certainly be happy to meet the ideas of the Noble Earl; but after the moſt ſerious attention he could beſtow upon it, it did not occur to him that this could be done. As to the prohibition with reſpect to boots and ſhoes, there was this material diſtinction betwixt theſe articles and woollen goods, that, from the high price of leather in this country, they had never formed any article of export to France; and if they were to do ſo now, it could only originate from the preſſure of the preſent moment, requiring a ſupply on any terms.

EARL of MANSFIELD declared himſelf ſatisfied with this explanation, and withdrew his motion.

On that part of the clauſe which declares, that every perſon offending againſt the prohibitions therein contained, "being thereof lawfully convicted or attainted, &c. ſhall ſuffer death as in caſes of high treaſon in counterfeiting the King's money,"

The EARL of GUILDFORD mentioned that, on this part of the clauſe, he thought it right to ſtate his intention of moving an amendment, for the purpoſe of extending the benefit of the ſtatute of the 7th of King William to perſons brought to trial for offences againſt the enactments of the preſent bill.

EARL SPENCER, in an animated and pathetic ſpeech, while he declared his entire approbation of the general principle of the bill, and that he had promiſed and would give to his Majeſty's Miniſters a fair and honourable ſupport in the proſecution of the war into which we had been dragged by the French, whoſe principles were deſtructive of all regular government; yet he conjured the Noble Lords who ſupported the preſent bill, to recollect that they profeſſed the ſupport and preſervation of the conſtitution; and that they were therefore peculiarly called upon to be watchful againſt giving a mortal ſtab to Britiſh liberty. This, he thought, would be at leaſt in great danger of being done, by excluding perſons brought to trial under this act from the benefit of the ſtatute of King William; and feeling this ſo ſtrongly as he did, if the excluſion of this benefit was perſiſted in, he muſt unwillingly give his negative to the whole of the bill.

The

The LORD CHANCELLOR ſaid, he was ſure their Lordſhips muſt have felt a deep impreſſion from what had fallen from the Noble Earl who ſpoke laſt, and ſaid he had no objection to go into his idea, although it had been generally underſtood that the benefit of the ſtatute of King William was only meant to extend where corruption of blood took place.

The firſt clauſe, as amended, was then agreed to, and it was underſtood that a clauſe ſuggeſted by the Duke of Norfolk, making an exception of cutlery ware, ſhould be afterwards drawn up, and introduced. On the ſecond clauſe,

The EARL of KINNOUL roſe, and, in a ſpeech of conſiderable length, objected to that and to all the remaining clauſes of the bill, as unneceſſary and impolitic.

LORD HAWKESBURY ſtated, that this clauſe in particular appeared to him the moſt important in the whole bill.

The EARL of LAUDERDALE moved, to omit the words "any perſon" in the beginning of the clauſe, and to inſert "any ſubject of his Majeſty," which was agreed to.

The Earl of Lauderdale propoſed another amendment for the purpoſe of limiting the prohibition to lands actually in the poſſeſſion of the exiſting government of France, which was oppoſed by Lord Grenville and Lord Sydney, and negatived without a diviſion.

On the latter part of the clauſe—"If any perſon being a ſubject of his Majeſty, and out of his Majeſty's dominions, ſhall, &c. &c. and ſhall afterwards voluntarily return, or come to Great Britain, &c."

LORD LAUDERDALE ſaid, the operation of theſe words was to legiſlate indirectly for Iriſhmen. If, for inſtance, an Iriſhman not now in his Majeſty's dominions, ſhould do any of the acts prohibited in the clauſe, he might return to Ireland as an innocent man; but if he preſumed to ſet foot in England, he became guilty of treaſon, although he had violated no law which as an Iriſh ſubject he was bound to know.

LORD GRENVILLE ſaid, the clauſe had been drawn with particular care to avoid the appearance of legiſlating for Ireland; and as it was not to be ſuppoſed, that the Iriſh Parliament would differ in opinion from the Britiſh Parliament on the ſubject of the bill, the Noble Lord's objection would ſoon be done away.

The clauſe being gone through,

The DUKE of NORFOLK ſaid, he ſhould move an amendment on the report, unleſs a proviſo to the ſame effect were introduced in the committee, to prevent the bill operating as an *ex poſt facto* law.

LORD

LORD STANHOPE objected to the whole clauſe, which, in his opinion, ſhewed that Miniſters had involved us in a war on the preſumption that the whole reſources of the French conſiſted in the lands which they had declared national property, and that if the immediate ſale of thoſe lands was ſtopped, their reſources muſt be ſtopped alſo. Nothing could be more erroneous; for it was obvious, that whether the lands were immediately ſaleable or not, they could avail themſelves of the value, by iſſuing paper to the amount of it.

The four following clauſes were gone through without any debate.

On that which enacts that any of the offences committed out of the kingdom may be inquired of, and tried in any county of the kingdom, Lord Grenville, to give time for conſidering ſome of the amendments that had been ſuggeſted, moved that the chairman report progreſs, and aſk leave to ſit again to-morrow.

The chairman reported progreſs accordingly; and the Houſe adjourned at eleven.

April 17.

TRAITEROUS CORRESPONDENCE BILL.

The order of the day being read, and the Houſe having gone into a committee on this bill, Lord Cathcart took his ſeat at the table, and the clerk proceeded to read the remaining clauſes of the bill.

On that part of the 7th clauſe which enacts, that *any* offence againſt the act committed within Scotland, "may be alleged, &c. either before the court of juſticiary in *Edinburgh*, or in *any* of the circuit courts in that part of the united kingdom;"

The EARL of LAUDERDALE expreſſed a doubt, that from the manner in which this part of the clauſe was expreſſed, an offence committed at Inverneſs might be tried not only before the court of juſticiary at Edinburgh, or the circuit court at Inverneſs, but even at Air, or Jedburgh, or at any other of the circuit courts.

The LORD CHANCELLOR ſtated, that by the peculiar conſtitution of the court of juſticiary in Scotland, crimes could only be tried either before the circuit court held for the particular diſtrict where the crime happened to be committed, or before the court of juſticiary at Edinburgh."

On that part of the ſame clauſe which enacts, that, "every "perſon or perſons, &c. accuſed or impeached of any offence, "made or declared to be treaſon by this act, ſhall or may be "indicted, arraigned, tried, convicted, or attainted by ſuch like "evidence, and in ſuch manner and form, as now are, or may

" may, &c. be had or uſed againſt any offender or offenders " for counterfeiting the King's money."

The EARL of GUILDFORD ſaid, that their Lordſhips had now come to that part of the bill, to which the amendment would apply, which he had mentioned to the committee yeſterday his intention to propoſe: the diſcuſſion which then took place, and the effect it had produced, afforded him the moſt ſincere ſatisfaction; he knew how ſtrong an impreſſion the nervous eloquence and manly patriotiſm of the Noble Earl near him (Earl Spencer) muſt have made on the minds of all their Lordſhips; and he would not therefore go over the argument which had been ſo well and ſtrongly enforced, but would only move that the part of the clauſe juſt read ſhould be omitted, in order to give room for introducing ſome proper clauſe, to extend the benefit of the act of the 7th of King William to perſons tried for the offences made or declared to be treaſon by the preſent act.

LORD GRENVILLE ſtated ſeveral reaſons which induced thoſe by whom the preſent bill had been framed, to conſider that there was not the ſame grounds for extending the benefit of the act of the 7th of King William to perſons brought to trial for the ſpecific offences declared to be treaſon by this act, as to perſons brought to trial for treaſon under any of the general deſcriptions of treaſon in the act of Edward the Third. He did not, however, ſtate this, as meaning in any ſhape to oppoſe the amendment now propoſed; he felt the ſtrongeſt impreſſion from the warmth of conſtitutional attachment which the Noble Earl (Spencer) had expreſſed on the preceding evening, ſo eloquently and emphatically, and he felt the weight that was juſtly due to any thing that came from that Noble Earl: He conceived it to be the duty, at the preſent criſis, of thoſe who conducted the affairs of this country, to uſe every means of cementing the union of thoſe, who, however they might differ on minute points, had in view only one great object, the preſervation of the conſtitution and the general welfare of their country. He for one would have been ready at ſuch a time, and for ſuch a purpoſe, to concede a matter of much greater importance than he conſidered this to be, and in doing ſo, he ſhould not conceive that he made any unworthy conceſſion. He would, however, ſubmit to the Noble Earl (Guildford) that it might be right to attach corruption of blood to treaſons committed againſt the preſent bill, in the view of extending to thoſe brought to trial for offences againſt it the benefit of the act of the 7th of King William.

The EARL of GUILDFORD ſaid, he would not object to this propoſition.

EARL SPENCER expreſſed his thanks to the Noble Secretary of State, for the candid manner in which he had treated the ſubject;—he felt, in the ſtrongeſt manner, the compliment much more than he deſerved, which had been paid perſonally to himſelf; and he felt a ſtill greater ſatisfaction in the adoption of the amendment propoſed by his Noble Friend near him (Earl of Guildford), to whom his beſt thanks were alſo due for bringing forward that amendment. He concluded with ſaying, that he truſted neither their Lordſhips, nor the country, would ever have cauſe to regret, that, on the preſent occaſion, they had followed that rule, which had juſtly influenced the conduct of the beſt and wiſeſt of our anceſtors, *nolùmûs leges Angliæ mutari.*

It was then agreed to go through the bill in the committee, and to delay till the report the amendment propoſed by the Earl of Guildford, and any others which might be thought proper.

After which the remaining clauſes of the bill were gone through, and ſome trifling alterations made;—and, the Houſe being reſumed, the report was ordered to be received to-morrow.

APRIL 18.

LORD CATHCART brought up the report on the traiterous correſpondence bill.

The EARL of MANSFIELD moved an amendment to the clauſe permitting the exportation of cloth, the ſubſtance of which was, that no cloth or woollen goods for the uſe of the army or navy of France ſhould be ſold or exported, *(if known to be for ſuch uſe)* without ſubjecting the perſon ſo offending to the penalties of the act.—The amendment was adopted.

The EARL of GUILDFORD's amendment for allowing all perſons accuſed of treaſon the benefit of the act of King William was alſo agreed to. The report was ordered to be printed, and the bill to be read a third time on the 22d.

LORD WALSINGHAM preſented the following petition:

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of Great Britain in Parliament aſſembled: the humble petition of Warren Haſtings,

Sheweth,

That your petitioner once more makes his appeal, in the hope that it will be his laſt, to the juſtice of your Lordſhips; that he forbears to ſtate the too well known hardſhips of his caſe, or the grounds on which he moſt ſolemnly aſſerts his belief, that unleſs your Lordſhips, feeling as he feels, *the enormity of the delays which have attended his long protracted trial,* ſhall reſolve that

that it be brought to a concluſion during this ſeſſion of Parliament, it will not in the ordinary and permitted courſe be ended, until the adjournment of another year ſhall have added to the chances of its being concluded by other cauſes than the legal verdict of your Lordſhips, which your Lordſhips have been told *by one of the managers of the proſecution, muſt inevitably fall with infamy either on the head of your petitioner, or on thoſe who have conſumed ſo many years of your Lordſhips attendance in labouring to eſtabliſh their allegations againſt him*: that although it may not be poſſible for your petitioner to know the time which may be deſtined to the duration of the preſent ſeſſion of Parliament, yet he cannot be inſenſible to the reports which he has heard of the ſhort term which is aſſigned to it; and even its uncertainty is to him a ſource of continual alarm: that as an humble individual, impreſſed with the firmeſt conviction of your Lordſhips juſtice and humanity, he implores your Lordſhips to grant to him that grace, which as a Britiſh ſubject he might demand as his *undoubted and unforfeited birthright, the benefit of undenied and undelayed juſtice*; and that your Lordſhips will not leave him *a ſingle exception* to the reſt of his fellow ſubjects of this kingdom, whoſe hearts atteſt the wiſdom of its conſtitution, and who boaſt of the bleſſings which they enjoy under it; bleſſings in which he cannot be ſaid to participate, who having been the ſubject of a criminal proſecution during ſix years, is yet doomed to linger out his life in the ſame unmerited ſtate of depreſſion, ſuſpenſe, and (but for the breath of public opinion, and the hopes of life ſuſtaining him) of univerſal and perpetual ignominy.

Your petitioner therefore moſt humbly and fervently prays your Lordſhips, on whoſe juſtice and honour he places his firmeſt reliance, to adopt ſuch means as to your Lordſhips wiſdom may ſeem beſt calculated to accompliſh the end which your petitioner ſo anxiouſly ſolicits, namely, a cloſe of this long depending trial during the preſent ſeſſion of Parliament.

(Signed)

W. HASTINGS.

April 18, 1793.

April 19.

Day appointed for a general faſt.

April 20.

HASTINGS's TRIAL.

Adjourned the trial to the 25th.

Adjourned the Houſe to the 22d.

APRIL 22.

Received ſeveral bills from the Commons.

The bill for the better ſupply of marines was read a firſt time.

TRAITEROUS CORRESPONDENCE.

The order of the day being read, for the third reading of the traiterous correſpondence bill,

The EARL of STANHOPE propoſed a clauſe to be added to the bill. The purport of the clauſe was to provide, that nothing in the preſent bill ſhould extend or be conſtrued to extend to any money in the funds, or the payment of its intereſt, or to any debt lawfully incurred before the paſſing of the act, belonging to any perſon reſiding in France. His Lordſhip ſaid, that this clauſe appeared to him to be founded in juſtice, ſo plain in words, and ſo neceſſary for the preſervation of public faith in our commercial dealings, that he ſhould abſtain from making any comment upon it; he then moved that this clauſe be now received.

The clauſe being read from the woolſack, LORD HAWKESBURY ſaid he did not wiſh that the public faith in the funds of this country ſhould be in any degree diminiſhed, but the preſent bill was a neceſſary meaſure, and he apprehended that if the clauſe now propoſed ſhould be adopted, the whole tenor of the bill would be changed. There ſeemed to him to have been a miſtake entertained by the Noble Lord as to the extent of the public pledge to foreigners, or ſubjects of this realm living abroad, and to the mode of remitting to them the intereſt of their money in the funds, or the purchaſe money for their capital. Unqueſtionably all money, &c. either at the Bank or the Exchequer, was by law to be paid in the current coin of this realm, but there the reſponſibility ends; for as to the remittance of that money into any foreign country, and eſpecially one at war with this, there was no public pledge whatever; money in that caſe was ſubject to all the perils of all property in its paſſage from one country to another in time of war. This clauſe, as it appeared to him, had a tendency to alter the colour of the whole bill, and therefore he felt himſelf bound to oppoſe it.

LORD STANHOPE defended the clauſe, and pointed out the hardſhips under which proprietors in our funds living abroad would labour. They would have no action againſt their agent here if they ſent a bill of exchange which was not honoured, nor was he ſure that if theſe agents acted truly to their truſt they might not incur the penalties of high treaſon, as defined by the preſent bill. He again entreated their Lordſhips to reflect on the ſacredneſs of public faith before they agreed to reject this clauſe, and the dreadful ſituation in which they would place the proprietor

proprietor of funds living abroad, by leaving him entirely without any remedy againſt malverſation of his own agent, for the agent's right to receive the money and refuſal to tranſmit it; this reminded him of the caſe of a man who complained of being ſtarving in priſon, and when told that his agent had received money for his uſe, replied that was very true, but that he ſhould never be the better for that while there were iron bars between him and that agent.

The EARL of LAUDERDALE ſaid, that the anſwer given by the Noble Lord to the Noble Earl who had propoſed the clauſe in queſtion, appeared to him to be wholly inadequate. His Lordſhip maintained that all the capital laid out in our funds by foreigners was much to our advantage, and that therefore we ought to give that practice all the encouragement in our power. The bill now before the Houſe, without ſuch a clauſe as that now propoſed, would tend to defeat that object. Indeed foreigners would be deceived in the ideas they had hitherto entertained of the character of the Britiſh Parliament, if this clauſe was rejected, for they had always thought this country would keep the ſtricteſt faith with regard to the payment of all debts due to them. How was this to be verified if ſome meaſure of a nature ſimilar to the preſent clauſe was not adopted? The medium of bills of exchange would indeed appear to be very inadequate when it was conſidered that all commerce between the two countries was to be at an end. His Lordſhip ſaid, that the preventing any ſubject of this country from purchaſing lands in France was very unjuſt, and, in his opinion, quite unneceſſary; but if the payment to foreigners of any of their property in the funds was retarded, or in any degree obſtructed, we ſhould ſhake the ſecurity which foreigners all thought they had for the regular payment of their demands upon us. He warned their Lordſhips of the danger which might follow, if care was not taken to provide againſt theſe evils.

LORD HAWKESBURY contended that this bill did not go as far as many others which had paſſed in caſes of leſs emergency than the preſent.

The queſtion being put, the clauſe was rejected.

On the queſtion, that this bill do now paſs,

The EARL of GUILDFORD ſaid, that although the preſent bill had undergone many important amendments, yet it ſtill contained too much of its original and objectionable matter for him to aſſent to its paſſing, without ſtating his objections. His Lordſhip obſerved, that words of themſelves had never by law been deemed treaſon, and yet by one of the proviſions of this bill, an agreement in words only was declared to be treaſon; he requeſted their Lordſhips to reflect upon the inconſiſtency of making

making that an act of treaſon which would not amount to a common agreement in any court in Weſtminſter-Hall. There was another obſervation which he could not help making, and which aroſe in his mind from a ſpeech which he had heard from the Woolſack in the courſe of a former debate on this bill—that Noble and Learned Lord had ſaid, that notwithſtanding all the proviſions of the preſent bill, there ſtill remained treaſons under the act of the 25th of Edward III. Having no doubt of the legality of that opinion, he felt himſelf bound to obſerve that the lives of the people were put in great danger by this bill, for a man of an ordinary underſtanding would naturally take it for granted that if a bill paſſed, ſpecifying certain acts to be treaſon, all things not included in that bill were not treaſon; for this reaſon he ſhould think it would be proper to inſert a clauſe, ſtating, that no man ſhould be convicted of treaſon on any law except the preſent bill; indeed he had ſeen nothing in the ſituation of this country that called for any alteration of the law of treaſon, but if there was to be any alteration, it ſhould be ſuch as every man liable to fall a victim to it might underſtand. His Lordſhip added ſeveral other obſervations, and ſaid, that the bill in its preſent form muſt have his negative.

LORD ABINGDON ſaid, not to give a ſilent vote upon this bill, he roſe to ſay that it had his moſt hearty concurrence; as this, or any other meaſure whatever, would have that could prevent, or had even a tendency to prevent, the importation and propagation of French principles into this country. His Lordſhip ſaid, he was born and bred, as his anceſtors before him were, an *Antigallican*; that he had lived to be confirmed in theſe principles, to find that they were not falſely implanted in his mind, and to know, from experience, that the *old* philoſophy was better than the *new*. He had been taught to conſider France not only as the natural enemy of this country, but of all the world. Univerſal dominion had ever been her aim. She tried it under a *monarchical*, ſhe is now trying the ſame thing under a *republican* form of government. What ſhe attempted under Louis the XIVth, ſhe is now aiming at under citizen Egalité. The governments are different, but the object is the ſame. He had learnt too that French liberty would be Engliſh ſlavery; and therefore he was not one of thoſe that much wiſhed for French freedom: for, although a chriſtian, he was not ſo good a one as to love his neighbour better than himſelf. I have, thank God, ſaid his Lordſhip, enough of that Roman *amor patriæ* in my boſom, to prefer my own to any other country, and thus to ſay with Pope;

" *Friends, parents, neighbours,* firſt *we do embrace,*
" *Our country* next; *and* then *all human race.*"

The

The MARQUIS of LANSDOWNE oppoſed not merely the clauſes, but the whole principle of the bill. He ſaid it was extremely impolitic to bring within the deſcription of high treaſon things in their nature indifferent or unimportant. High treaſon was the higheſt crime which the law or the legiſlature knew, and therefore the puniſhment annexed to it ought not to be made to fall on petty offenders. The life and liberty of the King were of the greateſt importance to the ſtate; for upon them reſted the peace and happineſs of the whole community; it was conſequently wiſe and juſt that an attempt to deprive his Majeſty of either, ſhould be called high treaſon, and puniſhed as ſuch; but it would be ridiculouſly abſurd that a man who ſhould, during the preſent war, ſell to the French a pair of *old boots*, ſhould be deemed exactly as criminal as if he had actually taken away the life of the King, or robbed him of his liberty. Great puniſhment ſhould be reſerved for great offences; for it would be extreme folly and injuſtice to confound acts of great and of little importance to ſociety under the general denomination of high treaſon. Mankind could bear to ſee the utmoſt rigour of the law fall upon a man who ſhould have been guilty of the enormous crime of compaſſing the King's death; but he ventured to ſay that, in the preſent enlightened day, the public could not bear to ſee a man drawn upon a ſledge, hanged by the neck, but not till he was dead, cut down alive, his bowels taken out, his head then chopt off, and his body divided into quarters, for no other crime than that of having ſold a pair of ſhoes or boots, or ſome proviſions to the French during the preſent war. His Lordſhip ſaid, he had at all times been diſpoſed to uphold the Majeſty of the throne; and he was ſtill more diſpoſed to do ſo at preſent, when the tide of democracy was running ſo ſtrongly againſt royalty; he was ready therefore to give his ſupport to any bill calculated to give greater ſecurity to the crown, and inſure ſtill more the perſonal ſafety of the King; for ſuch purpoſes he was willing to extend the ſtatute of treaſon; but he could not bear to think that the ſelling of a pair of ſhoes to the French ſhould be made in the eye of the law as criminal an act as the murder of the King. As wiſe legiſlators, who ſhould accommodate themſelves to the ſpirit and temper of the times, and to the changes in the public mind, he ſaid, their Lordſhips ought to make allowances for the change of opinions which had taken place in Europe ſince the revolution in America; that great event had been productive of many others; and no one could tell how many more would ſpring out of it. Three millions of men in a neighbouring kingdom, (the catholics of Ireland) who had bent under the weight of oppreſſion, and had been obliged for a century paſt to go upon all fours, now ſtood

erect

erect upon two legs like the reſt of their fellow ſubjects: this was an important change, and ought to influence the legiſlature in its future ſyſtems; for a government, in which three millions of people who had hitherto been doomed to ſilence, and who now could raiſe their voice in their country, muſt perceive that that very circumſtance would call for ſerious attention to the opinions and wiſhes of the governed. In Scotland there was a growing democracy, becoming daily more powerful, becauſe more wealthy through the medium of commerce. Theſe two circumſtances would make it neceſſary that government ſhould be peculiarly careful to rule the people with prudence and wiſdom; and to take from them all temptation to emigrate from Europe to America, whither he underſtood that many of our moſt uſeful and ſkilful artificers and manufacturers were preparing to carry their induſtry and ingenuity. No man, he ſaid, ſhould go farther than he would in maintaining the authority of the King; he would on account of the new doctrines broached in France, conſent to place him a hundred miles higher than ever he was before; but at the ſame time he would not revolt the feelings of the people by prepoſterouſly puniſhing an unimportant act with the ſame ſeverity, as if it were levelled againſt the life of the monarch, and the ſafety of the ſtate. Hiſtory ſhewed that there had always been a propenſity in Parliament to enact new ſtatutes of treaſon; before the 25th of Edward the Third, they were ſo numerous, that it was ſcarcely ſafe for a man to ſtir a ſingle ſtep, or open his lips, without ſaying or doing ſomething which by thoſe ſtatutes was declared to be treaſon. That wiſe monarch found it neceſſary to repeal them all, and to paſs the famous act of the 25th of his reign, which was conſidered as the ſtandard for defining treaſon. In the reign of his ſucceſſor Richard the Second, ſtatutes of treaſon began again to ſpring up, but to ſhew the little efficacy of them he had only to obſerve that they could not ſave the unfortunate monarch who had ſo multiplied them, or prevent him from being depoſed and murdered. Henry the Fourth, who ſucceeded him, followed the example of Edward the Third, and repealed all the acts of treaſon, except the 25th of that King. Both Houſes of Parliament indeed wanted him rather to extend than to repeal ſtatutes of treaſon; they both propoſed to him a bill for making *ſacrilege* treaſon; but Henry the Fourth, inſtead of giving it his royal aſſent, rejected it by means of his negative, ſaying *le roi s' aviſera*. From this time to that of Queen Mary the Firſt ſtatutes of treaſon again multiplied to ſuch a degree, that Mary found ſhe could not do the nation a greater pleaſure than to repeal them all except the 25th of Edward the Third. From the time of that Queen to the preſent day, new ſtatutes of

of treaſon were enacted againſt Papiſts, againſt coiners, and againſt ſuch as ſhould endeavour to prevent or overturn the Hanover ſucceſſion. The ſtatutes againſt the firſt were deemed in our liberal days too bloody and unjuſt to be put into execution, and were laſt year repealed. The acts againſt coiners were now found inadequate to the end for which they had been paſſed; and muſt very ſoon be reviſed by the legiſlature. The ſtatutes of treaſon made for the ſecurity of the Hanover ſucceſſion were now completely uſeleſs, that ſucceſſion being firmly eſtabliſhed and undiſturbed by any claim or pretenſion in oppoſition to it. At preſent he did not ſee any neceſſity for ſtatutes of treaſon, except for the ſecurity of the life and dignity of the ſovereign, and the ſafety of the ſtate. He therefore could not bear to ſee a bill paſs that Houſe for puniſhing acts of little or no importance, with juſt the ſame rigour as if they were done againſt the life of the King, or the very being of the community. The authority of Grotius, he ſaid, might perhaps be quoted againſt him; but he was confident, that as the opinion of that able man had been governed by the principles and ſentiments entertained in his day by the different nations, he would, if he was now alive, give quite another opinion, on account of the revolution which he muſt perceive in the public mode of thinking. Revolutions in public opinions were much more rapid than men in general might think; ſo late as the year 1755, it was ſtipulated that the plunder acquired by the Ruſſians at the capture of Berlin ſhould be conſidered as part of the ſubſidy to be paid to Ruſſia. Such a ſtipulation did not at that time hurt the public feelings; but no one would dare to propoſe ſuch an one at this moment; the world would not endure it. With reſpect to the war in which we were at preſent engaged, and on account of which the bill then under conſideration had been framed, his Lordſhip ſaid, he could not better deſcribe the injuſtice of it, than by quoting a paſſage from the Engliſh Grotius, the learned Archdeacon Paley, in which that author, ſetting down what were the cauſes which could juſtify war in general, obſerved that nothing could be more unjuſtifiable than that one nation ſhould take advantage of the weakneſs, misfortunes, or diſtraction of another, and thus make war upon it with views of conqueſt and aggrandizement; ſuch he conſidered the nature of the preſent war. Having thus argued both againſt the war and the bill, his Lordſhip ſaid that the bill, though it ſhould have been as juſt in its principle as it was evidently otherwiſe, would never be able to anſwer its own object; for it never could prevent the traders of this country from ſupplying the French with the enumerated articles, when the profit to be made was likely to be great. He wiſhed their Lordſhips would order to their bar twenty of the moſt reſpectable

merchants of London, and aſk them, upon their honour, whether it was their opinion that the preſent bill would effectually prevent ſupplies of the enumerated articles from finding their way from this country to France during the war; he was ſure, he ſaid, before hand, that theſe gentlemen would be of opinion, that the bill never could anſwer the end for which it was made. He remembered very well an anecdote of a chairman of the Eaſt India Company, now no more. Their Lordſhips knew that the Company took great pains to prevent ſupplies of arms or ammunition from being carried out in its ſhips for the uſe of the native princes in India; but though the Company poſſeſſed ſome domeſtic power over its own ſhips both here and abroad, yet its endeavours to prevent the Nabobs from getting ſupplies of arms from England, even in its own ſhips, had ever proved ineffectual. The anecdote which he was going to relate, he ſaid, would prove the truth of this aſſertion. A chairman of the Eaſt India Company once queſtioned an officer in the Company's ſervice, and aſked him whether it was not true that he had furniſhed ſuch a Nabob with a ſupply of gunpowder? The officer then anſwered in the affirmative. The chairman then aſked what profit he had made? The anſwer was—"about 10 "per cent. leſs than you made, Mr. Chairman, on the artillery "with which *you* ſupplied ſuch a Nabob?" Such, his Lordſhip remarked, was the inefficacy of all regulations made by the Company for preventing its ſervants from ſupplying the native princes of India with arms and military ſtores; and juſt ſuch, he believed, would be the inefficacy of the preſent bill. Some Noble Lords, he obſerved, had defended the bill on this ground, that there was ſomething in the internal ſtate of this country which called for and made it neceſſary: he knew of no ſuch ſtate; he believed nothing of what he had heard about plots, and conſpiracies, and ſeditions in Great Britain; he did not, indeed, ſay that there might not be ſome diſcontented and diſaffected people in the nation, for ſuch were to be found in every nation; but all that was neceſſary for the purpoſe of counteracting them was vigilance on the part of the executive government; nothing could be more abſurd than, for the purpoſe of keeping them under, to extend the ſtatutes of treaſon. Upon all theſe grounds his Lordſhip ſaid, he not only oppoſed the bill, but was determined even to take the ſenſe of the Houſe upon it.

The DUKE of LEEDS ſupported the bill. His Grace ſaid he had not been preſent at any other diſcuſſion of it, or he would have taken an earlier opportunity of returning his thanks to his Majeſty's Miniſters for the vigorous exertions which they had made for the ſuppreſſing the ſpirit of diſcontent and ſedition which had begun to ſhew itſelf in many parts of the kingdom.

H

He would have thanked them alſo for the readineſs with which they had ſent relief to our allies the Dutch, and prepared to carry on a war as unprovoked as it was unjuſt on the part of France. The correſpondence between the Noble Secretary of State and M. Chauvelin, he conſidered as having done great honour to the former, who had diſplayed a firmneſs in the negociation, which could be equalled only by his moderation. His Grace ſaid, he believed the perſons who were at the head of affairs in France had wiſhed to be able to accompliſh their views on the continent without a war with England; but then they did not wiſh that England ſhould in the mean time be at peace; they had hoped that they ſhould have been able to raiſe ſuch diſturbances in the heart of the country, as would have been fully ſufficient to take up all the attention of the Britiſh Miniſtry, ſo that France might be at liberty to purſue her views of ambition, without any oppoſition from England: but finding that the Engliſh nation had too much ſenſe to be duped, the prevailing party in France immediately declared war againſt us, and compelled us to arm in our own defence. We were at war therefore, not for purpoſes of aggrandizement or ambition, but for that of ſelf-defence; and our only object was to concur with the other confederated powers in reſtoring the general tranquillity of Europe, which the new philoſophy and principles of France had diſturbed. He was happy that Holland was now ſafe, and that the Netherlands were evacuated by the French; but he ſaid he would be very ſorry that this ſucceſs, however great, ſhould make his Majeſty's Miniſters relax their efforts for ſecuring the general tranquillity. They ought ſtill to keep a watchful eye upon the prevailing party and principles in France: were we to relax, that party might make ſome great effort, and retard the object which the belligerent powers had in view; the reſtoration of happineſs to France, and of peace to that diſtracted kingdom and to Europe

LORD GRENVILLE thanked the Noble Duke for the obliging terms in which he had been pleaſed to ſpeak of his Majeſty's Miniſters, who, he aſſured him, would endeavour to ſecure the continuance of his Grace's approbation by the ſame means through which they had gained it, a ſteady attention to the intereſts of their country, and regard for the tranquillity of Europe. In anſwer to Lord Lanſdowne, he ſaid, he would ever maintain that the war in which we were actually engaged was on our part a war of defence; that his Majeſty's Miniſters had not provoked it, but on the contrary had done every thing, conſiſtent with national honour, to avoid it: it could not be on our part a war of ambition or aggrandizement; for we remained unarmed ſpectators of the diſtractions of France, till the faction

which prevailed in that country had actually violated the territory of our allies the Dutch, and diſputed with them the navigation of a river which we were bound by treaty to ſecure to them excluſively. This was the plain ſtate of the caſe, and therefore he was aſtoniſhed how any one could be found, who would venture to ſay that we were aggreſſors, or had provoked the war. His Lordſhip then proceeded to defend the principle and the clauſes of the bill, which he ſaid, in point of fact, did not make a new law, or make any act criminal which was not ſo already by the exiſting ſtatute of treaſon: the Noble Marquis muſt be aware that to ſupply the enemy with articles neceſſary for carrying on the war againſt us, was already treaſon under the act of the 25th of Edward III. The Noble Marquis had endeavoured to raiſe a ſmile, by aſking whether it was fit that a man ſhould ſuffer as a traitor, merely becauſe he had ſold the French an old pair of boots? he might have gone on in the ſame ſtrain, and have aſked whether a man ought to be put to death merely for having accidentally ſold to the French ſome ſhoes, or ſome *arms*, or ſome *gunpowder*, or ſome *ball*, to a nation actually at war with his own; theſe ſurely were all inſtances of adhering to the King's enemies, and conſequently would come within the law of treaſon, though the preſent bill ſhould never have been thought of. The Noble Marquis had, for reaſons which he himſelf could beſt explain, dwelt upon the ſentence paſſed upon perſons convicted of treaſon; but ſurely the Noble Marquis might well have ſpared that affecting appeal to the paſſions, when he knew that this dreadful ſentence never was executed literally; but that the criminal was not cut down till he was completely dead. Lord Grenville expreſſed great ſatisfaction at our recent ſucceſſes, and obſerved that the circumſtances in which we now ſtood, was a matter of exultation to this country.

The EARL of GUILDFORD ſaid, the ſpirit of the country was ſo completely awake, and attachment to the conſtitution ſo ſtrong, as to defeat all the attempts of domeſtic enemies, if any ſuch there were. The exiſting laws were ſufficient for every purpoſe avowed as the object of the bill, and therefore it was that he oppoſed enacting a new code of treaſon.

The EARL of LAUDERDALE ſaid, that whenever any Noble Lord thought proper to boaſt of the ſituation into which the country had been put by the war, he ſhould think it his duty to call their Lordſhips' attention to all the circumſtances of that ſituation, and the ſituation in which the country might have been, had a different line of conduct been purſued. Miniſters ought to recollect, that over-eagerneſs in aiming a blow at an enemy, might not only prevent the blow from taking effect, but be the cauſe of miſchief to ourſelves. The bill, which

which he was not to be called the enemy of his country for oppoſing, was not only objectionable in its general principle, but in the detail of its clauſes. The making a mere verbal agreement to ſupply any of the prohibited articles treaſon, although no act ſhould follow the agreement, was, he believed, new in the laws of treaſon. If any part of the French territories ſhould be conquered and occupied by us or our allies during the war, all commerce with ſuch part would be prohibited, except by licence from his Majeſty's Miniſters; which was in fact veſting them with a new diſcretionary power. Their exerciſe of the diſcretionary powers veſted in them by the alien bill, ſhewed the impropriety of granting ſuch powers. Perſons ſubject to the regulations of that bill were ſuffered to be preſent at their Lordſhips' debates, only in order to calumniate their members; while others were ſent out of the country for cauſes which it would be ludicrous to ſtate. The clauſe for prohibiting the purchaſe of lands in France was at variance with the principle; for while the profeſſed object was to prevent France from raiſing ſupplies on lands declared to be public property, it prohibited buying lands the property of private perſons, and this too at a time when nothing ſhort of abſolute folly could induce the ſubjects of this country to lay out their money in the purchaſe of national property in France. The new clauſe, attaching corruption of blood to the penalties of the bill, he conceived to be an infringement of the law of entail in Scotland, as ſanctioned by a ſupplementary ſtatute to the act of union. He ſhould be ſorry if, in any war, the country had not better means of defence than any that the bill could afford. But in what was the preſent war more dangerous than former wars? Was France, with Auſtria, Pruſſia, and Spain, leagued againſt her, more formidable than when ſhe combated with Spain, Holland, and America on her ſide? When Noble Lords exulted in the conſequences of the war, he muſt ſay that he had ſeen thoſe conſequences in a melancholy liſt of more than 400 bankrupts. When they talked of the ſituation in which this country now ſtood, he muſt deſire them to recollect what might have been its ſituation if, inſtead of engaging as principals in the war, we had, now that the French were driven back into their own territories, reſerved our force to interpoſe for the reſtoration of general peace. It did not appear that our exertions had contributed to make the French abandon their conqueſts. Highly as he thought of the illuſtrious perſonage ſent to command our few troops on the continent, and confident as he was in the valour and the vigour of thoſe troops, whenever they ſhould be brought into action, he could not ſuppoſe that 1900 men had ſaved Holland, or driven the French from the Auſtrian Netherlands.

The

The LORD CHANCELLOR replied to Lord Lauderdale: he ſaid he did not know whether he might venture to oppoſe his own unlearned lay opinion to the great legal knowledge of the Noble Lord; but if he might, he would take upon himſelf to ſay that though words ſpoken without deliberation did not come within the ſtatute of treaſon, yet an *agreement* to furniſh the King's enemies with the means of carrying on the war againſt him, muſt be the reſult of deliberation, and though not committed to writing did certainly amount to treaſon, being an actual bargain concluded for doing that which no man could do without being guilty of treaſon; an agreement therefore of ſuch a nature, whether in writing or merely verbal, was undoubtedly treaſonable. The war, he contended, was unprovoked by us: ſome Noble Lords he knew were of opinion that we might have avoided it by ſending an ambaſſador to France, but he differed widely from them, and ſo, he believed, did all the thinking part of the nation. He aſked whether ſending an ambaſſador to Paris would have been a very likely way to ſuppreſs the ſpirit which was beginning to ſhew itſelf in England? a ſpirit fraterniſing with the prevailing party in France. Whether the beſt way to defend the conſtitution would have been to negociate and fraterniſe with thoſe who in all their decrees ſhewed themſelves the avowed enemies of that conſtitution, and of every regular government in Europe? Whether the ſending an ambaſſador to Paris would have produced that unanimity among the great powers on the continent, to counteract thoſe deſtructive principles which, under a ſpecious appearance, were let looſe upon the conſtitution of every European ſtate? and which, if not oppoſed, muſt have made every country in Europe like France—a ſcene of anarchy, confuſion, and blood. The Noble Lord who had ſpoken laſt had aſked, whether 1,900 Britiſh guards could have ſaved Holland; he would not heſitate to anſwer that queſtion with a direct affirmative. The diſpatch with which that aid, however ſmall, was ſent, the ſpirit of the men, and the high character of the illuſtrious perſonage who commanded it, had, he was bold to ſay, been the *ſalvation of Holland*. The Learned Lord obſerved that, if the objection made by the Noble Lord to the clauſe relating to the purchaſe of lands was allowed to have any weight with the Houſe, it would completely defeat the whole purpoſe of the clauſe. If Britiſh ſubjects were to be at liberty to purchaſe the landed property of individuals in France, but not the property of the public, the conſequence would be that the buſineſs would be ſettled this way:—A Frenchman would buy lands from the public, and ſell them immediately, as his own private property, to an Engliſhman: and thus would the bill allow that to be done *circuitouſly*, which

which cannot be done *directly* without the guilt of high treaſon. Such a regulation would well warrant the epithet *nugatory*, which ſome Noble Lord had been pleaſed to apply to the bill; but as he wiſhed it to be effectual and not nugatory, he would not conſent to any amendment which would defeat the end for which the bill was brought in. With reſpect to the proviſo reſpecting the heirs of entail in Scotland, he wiſhed the Noble Lord had mentioned it ſooner, and not waited till the laſt ſtage of the bill; he conſidered the proviſo, however, as unneceſſary, as by a conſtruction of law the heirs of entail in Scotland were placed on the ſame footing as remainder-men in England; who, though the perſon enjoying a life-eſtate in that property, the remainder to which was veſted in them, ſhould be convicted of high treaſon, ſucceeded nevertheleſs to the eſtate, which was not forfeited by the conviction.

The EARL of LAUDERDALE roſe to explain; he ſaid, he could not pretend to give a legal opinion of his own, becauſe he knew he was not qualified for ſuch a taſk; but he might quote the opinion of others, who ſtood high in profeſſional rank, and ſay, under their authority, that a *verbal* agreement to ſell, without any ſubſequent delivery, did not amount to treaſon.

At nine o'clock the Lords called for the queſtion, which was put by the Lord Chancellor, and the Houſe divided.

Contents - -	51
Not Contents -	7

The bill was accordingly paſſed, and ordered back to the Commons with the amendments made by their Lordſhips; and then the Houſe adjourned.

The ſeven Noble Peers who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by voting againſt the paſſing of the bill, were

The Duke of Bedford	Earl of Derby
Marquis of Lanſdowne	Earl of Thanet
Earl of Guildford	And
Earl of Lauderdale	Earl Stanhope.

April 23, 24.

No debate.

April 25.

HASTINGS'S TRIAL.

Adjourned the trial to the 30th.

April 26.

No debate. Adjourned to the 29th.

April

APRIL 29.

In a committee of privileges on the Scotch peerage election, reſolved, on the motion of the Lord Chancellor, that the votes given by the Earl of Moray, at ſaid election, were good. The queſtion with reſpect to the votes given by ſuch Peers of Scotland as have been created Peers of Great Britain ſince the union was, on the motion of Lord Grenville, deferred till May 7, to which day the committee was adjourned.

APRIL 30.

The royal aſſent was given by commiſſion to ſuch bills as were ready.

The order of the day was for the ſecond reading of the Dudley canal bill.

LORD PORCHESTER objected, in ſtrong terms, to the injuſtice of obliging any of the proprietors of the old Dudley canal navigation, againſt their will and without their conſent, to embark as adventurers in the newly projected canal, authoriſed to be carried on under the preſent act:—his Lordſhip inſiſted, that the majority of the whole company could not poſſibly bind the minority, except by ſuch acts as came within the purview of their original charter, or act, by which they were conſtituted as a corporation; and that the majority (if ſuch they could be deemed) of the old Dudley canal navigation, who had brought forward the preſent bill, muſt have an equal right to oblige the diſſentient proprietors to engage in any other undertaking or enterprize whatever, as become adventurers in the propoſed canal, which had no connexion whatever with the object of their original eſtabliſhment as a corporation. His Lordſhip did not diſpute the juſtice and propriety of the general principle, that *private* individuals ought to be obliged to part with their property, for the purpoſe of an evident *public* benefit; but this ought never to be done, unleſs when the ſacrifice of the *private property* is indiſpenſably neceſſary to the carrying on the *public work* from which that benefit is to be derived:—if this rule were once to be deviated from, there could be no ſecurity for private property; and in this view he conceived the principle of the preſent bill to be in the higheſt degree dangerous:—his Lordſhip concluded with moving, that a queſtion ſhould be put to the judges whether the majority, in ſuch a caſe as the preſent, could have a right to bind the minority?—When their Lordſhips ſhould be informed from ſuch high authority how the law ſtood, they would then have to determine what, in this particular inſtance, it was right for them to do in their legiſlative capacity.

The

The EARL of COVENTRY ſpoke in favour of the bill; and mentioned an inſtance, with reſpect to Worceſter, where a number of proprietors would be obliged to part with their houſes, much againſt their will, for the purpoſe of widening, beautifying, and improving the entry into the town.

LORD PORTCHESTER replied, that the caſe mentioned by the Noble Lord was very different from the preſent, for there the *public* work could not, by any poſſibility, be carried on without the ſacrifice of *private* property; for which, however, full indemnification ought to be given.

LORD BAGOT ſpoke againſt the bill, and in favour of the motion.

The LORD CHANCELLOR ſaid a few words with reſpect to the proper form of the queſtion propoſed to be put to the judges; after which the Houſe divided,

Contents	- -	7
Not contents	-	18

The bill was then read and committed.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

APRIL 10.

On the queſtion for bringing up the report of the committee on the Rochdale canal bill a ſhort debate took place; the Houſe divided,

For receiving the report	-	68
Againſt it	- - -	48

MESSAGE FROM THE KING.

The meſſage from his Majeſty being read, as alſo the order of the day for taking it into conſideration,

The Houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee for that purpoſe.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER moved, that one million five hundred thouſand pounds be granted to his Majeſty, to enable him to defray the extraordinary expence of the year 1793, in proſecuting the preſent war with vigour, and in taking ſuch meaſures as the exigence of the caſe may require; ſuch ſum to be charged upon Exchequer bills, &c.

The reſolution was put and carried, and ordered to be reported to the Houſe.

LORD FIELDING ſaid, that an end of this war was deſirable, and he hoped that would ſoon happen. Inſurrections and violent alarms had taken place in ſeveral parts of France, particularly in Brittany. His Lordſhip thought that government had but one reaſon for not ſending troops to France for the

purpoſe of aſſiſting in theſe alarms to diſtreſs the enemy, namely, that there were no troops to ſend. He therefore recommended that ſuch of our militia as ſhould be willing to go ſhould be added to a number of regulars, ſo that no more than a third of the whole number ſhould be employed in this ſervice; the remainder would be quite ſufficient to preſerve the internal tranquillity of our own country. This he propoſed to be done by a bill to enable his Majeſty to add to eſtabliſhed ſoldiers, &c.

The report of the reſolution juſt entered into was ordered to be received to-morrow.

By a meſſage from the Lords the Houſe was informed, that their Lordſhips had agreed to the bill for paying and cloathing the militia of England, and ſeveral private bills.

CORN HARVEST AND CANALS.

Sir CHARLES MORGAN moved the order of the day, which was to go into a committee on a bill to prevent the working of canals in the time of the corn harveſt.

Mr. FRANCIS oppoſed this motion, and maintained it to be impoſſible to frame a bill upon the principle of that which the preſent motion ſought for, without violating the principle of freedom and juſtice. No man ſhould be compelled to give up the advantage of chooſing his mode of labour, and making what profit he could by it. If the farmers found that the proprietors of canals paid better than they did for the labour of others, the farmers ſhould increaſe the wages of their labourers; the legiſlature ought not to aſſiſt them in compelling the labourers to work for them at the price they pleaſed.

Mr. DENT was againſt the bill in queſtion; he ſaid there were hundreds of people who came from Scotland and from Ireland, for the purpoſe only of working in canals, and who knew nothing of corn harveſt. If this bill paſſed, they would be entirely deprived of the only honeſt means they had of ſubſiſtence. If they ſhould return to their native country, would the farmers pay their expences, and give them an equivalent for their loſs of wages?

Mr. POWYS was againſt an unqualified bill to the reſtraint of labour, but thought that one might be modified ſo as to meet the ends of juſtice and expediency.

Mr. CAWTHORNE was nearly of the ſame opinion.

Mr. COURTENAY oppoſed the whole principle of the bill upon the ſame grounds as thoſe ſpecified by Mr. Francis.

Mr. BURKE alſo oppoſed the whole principle of the bill. He ſaid there could not exiſt any neceſſity for it; for where there was a competition for raiſing the price of labour, there would labourers be found.

Sir

Sir CHARLES MORGAN ſaid, if this bill did not paſs, he deſpaired of getting in the corn.

Sir WILLIAM MILNER was againſt the motion.

Sir WILLIAM DOLBEN in favour of it, and thought the bill might be modified to obviate objections.

A diviſion was called for, but it was afterwards agreed to poſtpone this buſineſs until this day three months.

STOCKBRIDGE ELECTION.

The order of the day being read, for taking into conſideration the adjourned debate, on the motion for leave to bring in a bill to prevent bribery and corruption in the future election of members to ſerve in parliament for the borough of Stockbridge, in the county of Southampton; and alſo for leave to bring in another bill, to diſfranchiſe certain electors of that borough,

Mr. POWYS ſaid, that as to the firſt bill he had no objection, but unleſs he had better evidence laid before him, he ſhould not think himſelf juſtified in voting for the ſecond.

Mr. SALISBURY ſaid a few words in explanation of the evidence on which the report of the committee was founded.

Mr. FOX approved of the mode which had been adopted in the preſent caſe, in ſeparating the two objects of the report of the committee.—He conſidered the bill to diſqualify the electors, as a bill of pains and penalty; and he remembered in the caſe of Shoreham, when a bill of pains and penalties paſſed, he heard a great deal of evidence in the Houſe, but not thinking that evidence ſufficient he voted againſt that bill. He had no particular objection to this bill being brought in, in order that the ſubject might be fully diſcuſſed, but then he ſhould require evidence to be given at the bar of that Houſe in a very ſatisfactory manner, of the clear guilt of theſe electors, before he ſhould agree to the paſſing a bill to deprive them of their right of election.

Mr. ELLIOT ſaid a few words.

Mr. HUSSEY thought the proceeding in this bill to be, properly ſpeaking, a proceeding upon an *ex poſt facto* law; if the law was perfect, why not proceed upon the law as it ſtands—if otherwiſe, why make a law for this caſe in particular, why not alter the law in general? He conſidered this meaſure as an act of oppreſſion upon theſe perſons, for was it poſſible for them to appear properly before the Houſe to make their own defence?—He moved "that this debate be adjourned to this day three months."

The SOLICITOR GENERAL objected to the principle of the bill. There was an act of parliament, the 2d of George II, which regulated the mode of trying perſons for bribery at elections, and of puniſhing them if convicted. The time of proſe-

cution was by that act limited to two years after the commiſſion of the offence, and this bill might be ſaid to be a bill for enlarging the powers of that act.

Mr. BUXTON was decidedly in favour of leave to bring in the bill in queſtion. He thought the care that Houſe ought to take of the conſtitution of this country required it.—He thought that every man in this country, who had the right of an election of members to ſerve in parliament, ought not to conſider himſelf as holding it for his own intereſt, or even for the intereſt of the place in which he lived, but that he held it for the general intereſt of the whole country, and that ſo regarding it, he ſhould give his vote for the wiſeſt and the beſt man he knew, in order that the people at large ſhould be ſatisfied with the ſtate of their repreſentation; for theſe reaſons he thought that Houſe could not be too eager to puniſh thoſe who had been guilty of bribery and corruption.

Sir FRANCIS BASSET ſupported the motion.

Mr. WINDHAM was not of opinion that the preſent was ſuch a caſe as called for the ſeverity of a bill of pains and penalties, ſuch a meaſure ſhould be reſerved for great offenders; he was therefore againſt the bringing in of the bill in queſtion.

Mr. FRANCIS ſaid, he was againſt this proceeding, for two reaſons; firſt, it was inconſiſtent with juſtice; ſecondly, it would be inexpedient to take a few individuals out of a great maſs of miſchief in the repreſentation of the people of this country.—It would be vain and idle to ſelect a few ill-educated and ignorant men out of a maſs of general miſchief, and point them out for the unavailing ſeverity of the law. It was ſilly to ſuppoſe that any great end of juſtice could be anſwered by taking notice of a few poor creatures for ſelling their votes for a paltry borough, when we all knew that in former Parliaments (not in the preſent) boroughs by wholeſale were ſold by individuals.—When we ſhould go to that broad and general reform which was univerſally acknowledged abroad to be neceſſary, whatever opinions might be entertained in that Houſe, he was afraid of going to a few partial remedies to paltry defects, when there was ſo much occaſion for a general remedy to a mighty evil. Taking it for granted that all thoſe perſons who were now accuſed ſhould be found guilty of the crime alledged againſt them—What then?—Nothing to the public—nothing in favour of that great public good, which ought to prevent men altogether from ſelling themſelves and being ſold by others. He wiſhed to ſee a general reform in Parliament, and therefore he oppoſed this meaſure, becauſe proceedings like this would only tend to lull the people, already too tame upon that ſubject, into an idea that by ſuch ſteps Parliament would reform itſelf.—This would

prevent

prevent that great and ſcandalous nuiſance from being removed, until it ſhall in time be too ſhameful even to ſuffer itſelf to go any further.

Mr. POWYS diſclaimed all the ſentiments he had juſt heard, and begged it to be underſtood, that he voted againſt the bill, not on any theoretic ideas of general reform, but on the inſufficiency of the evidence in this ſpecific caſe.

Sir WATKIN LEWES was for leave to bring in the bill.

Colonel M'LEOD was alſo in its favour.

Mr. HUSSEY explained.

The Houſe divided.

For leave to bring in the bill	19
Againſt it - -	18

The Houſe then proceeded to ſome private buſineſs, and afterwards adjourned.

APRIL 11.

The reſolution of yeſterday's committee on his Majeſty's meſſage having been agreed to,

Ordered in a bill upon the ſaid reſolution, of granting to his Majeſty the ſum of 1,500,000l. for the extraordinaries of the year 1793.

The Houſe in a committee went through the loan bill.

Mr. GASCOYNE preſented a petition from the corporation of Liverpool, praying for leave to raiſe a loan on the ſecurity of their eſtates, for the purpoſe of ſupporting for a time thoſe merchants and manufacturers who might be endangered by the preſent temporary embarraſſments occaſioned by the ſhock of paper credit.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER obſerved, that the petition juſt preſented, contained matter of ſuch great importance, that he hoped gentlemen would render it an object of their particular attention. It was, he ſaid, highly to the honour of the liberality and ſpirit of the corporation of Liverpool that they had ſtood forward in ſupport of their individual credit, which had been materially affected by the ſtagnation of negotiable paper. That ſtagnation had affected a conſiderable number of individuals throughout the country, who, though not in need of abſolute property to anſwer ultimately every demand that could be made upon them, had been, by expoſure from ſudden calls, reduced to the painful neceſſity of ſtopping payment. So laudable an example of liberal ſupport might lead to conſequences highly beneficial to the public. It was not, however, his intention at preſent to ſay any thing farther upon the petition than to entreat gentlemen to come forward to diſcuſs it, and if, upon the report of the committee who were

were to conſider its contents, the facts alleged by the corporation could be fully proved, to intimate a hope that the prayer of their petition might be readily granted.

Mr. THORNTON roſe and ſaid, that the ſtate of credit for ſome time paſt had encouraged the merchants and manufacturers to extend their engagements ſo rapidly, that the moſt ſerious conſequences were to be apprehended unleſs Parliament ſhould ſpeedily interfere. He confeſſed himſelf aware that the bank of England might be looked up to on an occaſion which was hitherto unprecedented. The bank however had moſt liberally ſtepped forward and granted every poſſible degree of ſupport and indulgence, and gentlemen muſt be conſcious, that an undue extenſion of their credit would be highly improper, and prove ultimately injurious to the public.

The petition was referred to a committee to conſider and report upon.

GREAT GRIMSBY COMMITTEE.

LORD ARDEN brought up the report from the ſpecial committee appointed to try the merits of the petitions complaining of an undue election for the borough of Great Grimſby. The ſubſtance of the report, which was long, was, that Dudley Long North, and —— Harriſon, Eſqrs. the ſitting members, were not duly elected; that the Honourable Weſley Pole, Eſq. one of the petitioners, was not duly elected; that the laſt election for Great Grimſby was void; and that at the ſaid election the ſaid Honourable Weſley Pole had been guilty of notorious acts of bribery.

The Houſe ordered that the report ſhould lie upon the table; and it further ordered, on the motion of Lord Arden, that new writs ſhould be iſſued for the election of two burgeſſes to ſerve in the preſent Parliament in the room of Dudley Long North and —— Harriſon, Eſqrs. whoſe election for the ſaid borough had been declared void.

STOCKBRIDGE.

A petition was preſented from ſeveral electors and proprietors of houſes in the borough of Stockbridge, complaining of the injury which their property would ſuſtain if the bill then depending in the Houſe, extending to the freeholders of the adjacent hundreds the right of voting for members to repreſent the ſaid borough in Parliament, which right was at preſent confined to houſeholders paying ſcot and lot, ſhould paſs into a law; and praying that they might be heard by their counſel againſt the ſaid bill.

A motion

A motion was accordingly made that the petition ſhould lie upon the table, *and that on the ſecond reading of the bill to which it referred, the petitioners ſhould be heard by their counſel againſt the ſame.*

Mr. E. J. ELLIOT conſidered the prayer of this petition extremely indecent, as it went the length of inſinuating, that the right of voting for members to ſit in Parliament was a matter of *property*; and that the legiſlature ought not to paſs a law, however neceſſary it might be to the purity of repreſentation, becauſe, forſooth, what the electors very indecently called their *property* would be injured by it. The fact was, the right of voting was a *truſt*, and whenever it was evident that it had been groſsly abuſed, it was a duty upon Parliament to guard as much as poſſible againſt a repetition of the abuſe, and to attend ſolely to the public good, regardleſs of private conſiderations. He ſaid, that irreſiſtible evidence had been given in the committee, of which he had been chairman, appointed to try the merits of the laſt election for the Borough of Stockbridge, of groſs and notorious bribery and corruption practiſed at the ſame; ſo that the committee had directed that a motion ſhould be made in the Houſe, for leave to bring in a bill for disfranchiſing 62 electors of that Borough, and for extending to others the right of election. Under theſe circumſtances, he conſidered it to be his duty to reſiſt the prayer of the preſent petition, and to refuſe to hear the petitioners by their counſel againſt the disfranchiſing bill which the Houſe had ordered in, and which was to be this day read a ſecond time. He moved, by way of amendment, that the words marked in Italics in the motion ſhould be left out.

Mr. MARTIN concurred in opinion with Mr. Elliot; he conſidered the elective franchiſe as a *truſt*, and not as a matter of property; and therefore he hoped the Houſe would not grant the prayer of the petitioners.

Mr. HUSSEY was of a different opinion; he thought that the elective franchiſe, when attached to a houſe, rendered that houſe more valuable than it could be without it; and conſequently he was of opinion, that to ſtrip it of that valuable appendage muſt be an injury to the proprietor. In his mind, it was laudable in a man to endeavour to acquire property in a houſe which would give its owner or inhabitant the right of voting; and the man who ſhould be deprived of that right might complain, that both his property and importance would be thereby diminiſhed. He ſaid, he remembered very well that one of the beſt plans for a parliamentary reform which had ever been laid before the Houſe of Commons was formed on the principle, that the elective franchiſe in boroughs was a matter of property, and

on

on that ground it went to propoſe and provide for the purchaſe of all burgage tenures. The bill againſt which the petition was directed, enacted, that the right of voting for the Borough of Stockbridge ſhould be extended to the freeholders of the neighbouring hundreds. If by this, the right of voting was to be given to perſons who did not poſſeſs it before, ſomething might be ſaid in ſupport of the meaſure; but they were electors already in right of their freeholds, and were repreſented by the knights of the ſhire. With reſpect to the petitioners whoſe caſe was then under conſideration, he thought the Houſe could not in juſtice or decency refuſe to hear what they had to ſay; and therefore, though he ſhould ſtand alone, he was determined to take the ſenſe of the Houſe upon the amendment moved by an Honourable Member.

The queſtion was put, and the Houſe divided, when the amendment was rejected by a majority of 27.

For the amendment -	12
Againſt it - -	39

The original motion was then carried, which ſecured to the petitioners a hearing by their counſel.

The bill againſt which the petition was preſented, was, according to the order of the day, to be read a ſecond time.

To oppoſe the ſecond reading Mr. Pigot and Mr. Douglas appeared at the bar as counſel for the petitioners. The former gentleman firſt addreſſed the Houſe, and having proceeded for half an hour in his ſpeech, he was interrupted by

Mr. HUSSEY, who moved that the counſel ſhould withdraw; and the reaſon he aſſigned for this motion was, that the arguments which the learned gentleman was uſing were of too much importance to be addreſſed to almoſt empty benches; they were well entitled to the conſideration of a full Houſe; and to uſe them then, when ſo few Members were preſent, could be of little uſe to the parties concerned. He deſired that the Houſe might be counted; it was accordingly counted, and it was found that only 31 Members were preſent; the ſitting of courſe broke up, as by the forms of the Houſe there muſt be at leaſt 40 Members preſent to make a Houſe.

APRIL 12.

Received a meſſage from the Lords, informing the Houſe, that their Lordſhips will proceed further in the trial of Mr. Haſtings on Thurſday next.

The bill for granting to his Majeſty one million and half for the extraordinaries of the preſent year was brought up by Mr. Roſe, read a firſt time, and ordered to be read a ſecond time on Monday next.

Mr.

Mr. HOBART brought up the report of the conſolidated fund bill; read, and agreed to; and the bill ordered to be read a third time on Monday, if then engroſſed.

A ſhort converſation took place between Mr. Elliot, Mr. Huſſey, and ſeveral other members, after which it was agreed to move the order upon the Stockbridge election on Thurſday next.

Mr. HUSSEY moved that the order of the day on the million bank bill for Monday next be diſcharged, and appointed for Monday fortnight.—Ordered.

On a motion to revive a committee upon a private bill, Mr. Cawthorne moved, that the Houſe be counted; 19 only appeared in the Houſe, and therefore an adjournment took place to Monday next (the 15th).

April 15.

No debates.

April 16.

COLONEL MACLEOD roſe to aſk the Secretary of State whether it was his intention to bring forward his propoſition, of which he had given notice in the early part of the ſeſſion, for taking off the duty payable on coals in the northern parts of Scotland. The ſeſſion he obſerved was now far advanced, and, if credit was to be given to certain reports, was drawing to a cloſe; and yet the Right Honourable Gentleman had not yet thought proper to bring in his propoſition for the relief of the Highlands, in lowering the price of fuel. There was no great ground for hope that if the buſineſs was taken out of the Right Honourable Gentleman's hands, it would meet with ſucceſs; ſtill it was the duty of thoſe who were acquainted with the people in that northern part of the kingdom, ariſing from the ſcarcity and dearneſs of coals, to make an attempt to relieve them; and therefore he gave notice that a motion would certainly be ſubmitted to the Houſe by ſome other gentleman, if the Right Honourable Member was not prepared himſelf to make one this ſeſſion.

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS ſaid, that ſo far from having abandoned the idea of relief to be granted to the Highlands, of which he had given notice in the early part of the ſeſſion, he then held in his hand a clauſe which he had framed for this purpoſe, and which he intended, with the leave of the Houſe, to have inſerted in a bill that was then in its progreſs through the houſe. This explanation ſatisfied the Houſe, and here the buſineſs reſted.

LORD FIELDING roſe to ſpeak on the ſubject of a motion which ſome days ago he ſaid he had intended to have made. He obſerved that the torrent of French invaſion, which with fraternity in its mouth, and havoc in its heart, had threatened to overrun this country and all Europe, was, by the bleſſing of Providence, now happily repulſed, and the French armies were driven within their former boundaries. But this fortunate event ought not to make England relax in her efforts; ſhe ought, on the contrary, to follow up the blow with vigour, leſt a change of fortune ſhould enable the enemy to reſume their projects of conqueſt and ambition, and make them return to the charge with redoubled energy. A happy opportunity now offered, which, if we properly availed ourſelves of it, might help us to wound France in the moſt ſenſible part; this opportunity was to be found in the inſurrections in Bretagne (Brittany), a maritime province of that country, and the ſeat of her principal naval ſtrength. Sound policy required, that we ſhould co-operate with, and ſupport the inſurgents; but he admitted that it was not very eaſy to find the means of an effectual co-operation. It was deſirable that we ſhould ſend over to Bretagne a powerful body of troops; but he was ſorry to ſay that our army was very far from being complete, for we had little more than ſkeletons of battalions, and thin ranks. In ſuch an emergency, it was natural for him to look to thoſe from whoſe patriotiſm the nation had every thing to expect; he meant the corps of militia. He was aware that they could not be made to ſerve out of the kingdom; but he was ſure, that when the intereſt of their country was at ſtake, the men who were in the militia would readily wave their privilege and conſent to ſerve abroad. He did not mean that this conſent ſhould be the reſult of trick, recruiting ſtratagem, or undue exertion of influence, or authority: he did not wiſh that any militia-man ſhould be employed on foreign ſervice, who ſhould not be truly a *volunteer*. When his Majeſty intended to ſend a detachment of his guards abroad, he did not make uſe of the authority which belonged to him by law, he therefore did not iſſue his orders for the embarkation of any ſpecific officer or company, but cauſed it to be ſignified to the three regiments, that he wiſhed for a certain number of volunteers; the conſequence was, that they all turned out of their own accord, and voluntarily made a tender of their ſervices. Juſt ſo would he proceed with the militia, if his plan was to be countenanced by the Houſe, and he would venture to foretell, that the example of the guards would be nobly followed by the militia; as a proof that he was not without good grounds for entertaining ſuch an opinion, he ſaid he was ſpeaking in the hear-

ing of an Honourable Member, who was a colonel in the militia, and who was authoriſed by the officers and ſoldiers of his regiment to ſay, that they were extremely willing to ſerve their country either abroad or at home, in a word, wherever their ſervice might be moſt advantageous to the public. He lamented that the Lord Lieutenants of counties and the principal officers of the militia did not ſee his plan in a favourable point of view; he wiſhed they had ſuſpended their judgment till they had ſeen the whole of his meaſure detailed in a bill; if they had, he flattered himſelf that they would find it far leſs objectionable than they thought it at preſent. However, as he could not think of acting in a buſineſs of this kind againſt the opinion of ſuch weighty and reſpectable men as the Lord Lieutenants of counties and the principal officers of the militia, he begged leave to inform the Houſe that he abandoned the idea of proceeding further with the meaſure, and would therefore decline making the motion of which he had given notice. Having ſaid thus much about the plan itſelf, his Lordſhip ſaid that his motives for bringing it forward were purely patriotic, and diſintereſted; as a profeſſional man (Lord Fielding was bred a ſoldier, and is a colonel in the army) his plan was directly againſt his own private intereſt. His Lordſhip was proceeding to vindicate his motives, when he was called to order by

Mr. BAKER, who ſaid, as the Noble Lord had declared that he did not intend to conclude with a motion, and as there was other buſineſs which many members were waiting to diſpatch, it could not be orderly in his Lordſhip to take up the time of the Houſe in vindicating his own conduct, which had not been impeached by any one.

In this opinion the Speaker having concurred,

LORD FIELDING ſaid, that he would bow to the authority of the old member and reſpectable gentleman who had called him to order, and to the ſtill higher authority of the chair, and would therefore proceed no farther.

COLONEL HARTLEY begged leave juſt to obſerve, that he was the perſon to whom the Noble Lord had alluded, whoſe regiment (the Berkſhire militia) had expreſſed a readineſs to ſerve abroad. The fact was, he had received a letter from the officers of his corps, in which they declared that, ſhould the Noble Lord's plan be paſſed into a law, they and their men would certainly be at his Majeſty's command, and would go upon any ſervice on which he might be pleaſed to employ them; but at the ſame time they gave no opinion about the propriety of bringing forward ſuch a plan.

LORD AUCKLAND.

Mr. SHERIDAN hoped that the House would suffer him to speak, though he did not know whether he should, any more than the Noble Lord (Fielding), conclude with a motion; on that head he said he should be determined by the answer to a question which he was going to put to his Majesty's Ministers over against him. The question was, whether a paper which had appeared in all the public prints, and was therein styled a state paper, delivered to their High Mightinesses the States General on the 5th instant, and signed Auckland and Louis de Starhemberg, was an authentic copy of a paper delivered on that day by the English and Imperial Ambassadors at the Hague?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER replied that a paper signed by the English and Imperial ambassadors at the Hague was delivered by them to the States General on the 5th of April; that he had seen an authentic copy of it; but that he could not tell whether that which the Honourable Gentleman said had appeared in all the public prints was a correct copy or not, as he had not read it in print. If the Honourable Gentleman wished to be fully informed on that head, the most proper step for him to take for that purpose would be to move for an official copy of the paper in question.

Mr. SHERIDAN desired to know whether the Right Honourable Gentleman would have any objection to his moving for it that moment?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said he had; and as the Honourable Member might probably intend to ground some proceeding on this paper, he would recommend it to him to give notice of the day on which he should move for the production of the state paper to which he had referred.

Mr. SHERIDAN accordingly gave notice, that he would make such a motion on Thursday; and he said that if it should be found that the printed paper was an exact copy of the state paper delivered by Lord Auckland to the States General, he hoped the Right Honourable Gentleman would agree with him, that it was as execrable and as unprincipled a paper as had ever disgraced the diplomatic world; and that the Noble Lord who had dared to present it ought to be immediately recalled, and then *impeached*.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER made no reply, and there the matter rested for the present.

The House then proceeded to dispatch the private business of the day, and having got through it by half after five o'clock, adjourned to the next day.

Memorial

Memorial preſented on the 5th of this month, by the Britiſh and Imperial Miniſters, to the States General.

" High and Mighty Lords,

" It is known that towards the end of the month of September, laſt year, his Britannic Majeſty and your High Mightineſſes gave, in concert, a ſolemn aſſurance, that in caſe the imminent danger which then threatened the lives of their Moſt Chriſtian Majeſties and their families ſhould be realiſed, his Majeſty and your High Mightineſſes would not fail to purſue the moſt efficacious meaſures to prevent the perſons who might render themſelves guilty of ſo atrocious a crime from finding an aſylum in your reſpective States. This event, which was with horror foreſeen, has taken place, and the divine vengeance ſeems not to have been tardy. Some of theſe deteſtable regicides are now in ſuch a ſituation, that they can be ſubjected to the ſword of the law. The reſt are ſtill in the midſt of a people whom they have plunged into an abyſs of evils, and for whom famine, anarchy, and civil war are about to prepare new calamities. In ſhort, every thing that we ſee happen induces us to conſider as not far diſtant the end of theſe wretches, whoſe madneſs and atrocities have filled with terror and indignation all thoſe who reſpect the principles of religion, morality, and humanity.

" The underſigned, therefore, ſubmit to the enlightened judgment of your High Mightineſſes, whether it would not be proper to employ all the means in your power, to prohibit from entering your States in Europe, or your colonies, all thoſe members of the ſelf-titled *National Convention*, or of the pretended *Executive Council*, who have directly or indirectly participated in the ſaid crime; and *if they ſhould be diſcovered and arreſted, to deliver them to juſtice, that they may ſerve as a leſſon and example to mankind.*

" Done at the Hague, this 5th of April 1793.

Signed, " Auckland,
" Louis C. de Starhemberg."

April 17.

ROCHDALE CANAL.

The order of the day being moved for the third reading of the Rochdale canal bill,

Mr. PEELE oppoſed the bill on the ground chiefly, that an advantage had been taken of its oppoſers, and that a clauſe which had been amply diſcuſſed in a large committee above ſtairs had been expunged in a Houſe conſiſting of five Members below. He alluded very ſtrongly to the intereſt of the Duke of Bridgewater

water in this bill, and concluded with moving that the word "*now*" be expunged, for the purpoſe of ſubſtituting "this day ſix months."

Mr. FOX thought the proceeding ſcandalous, and was of opinion that the Houſe, for its own honour, ſhould either throw out the bill, or in ſome way reſcind the proceedings.

Mr. Gilbert, the Maſter of the Rolls, and ſome others, ſpoke againſt the bill.

The Houſe divided on the motion, that this bill be *now* read a third time,

Ayes	- -	58
Noes	- -	59

Then the queſtion was put to inſert *ſix months*, inſtead of *now*, upon which the Houſe divided,

Ayes	- -	54
Noes	- -	51

So the bill is loſt.

APRIL 18.

LORD AUCKLAND.

Mr. SHERIDAN reminded the Houſe, that when he firſt ſuggeſted the idea of a motion for a copy of the ſtate paper delivered on the 5th of April to the States General by Lord Auckland, a Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Pitt) had expreſſed a wiſh that he would defer that motion to this day; in compliance with the Right Honourable Gentleman's wiſh he had ſo done. What remained now for him to do, was to move for the paper in queſtion; and until he ſhould know whether any oppoſition would be made to the production of it, he ſaid he would not enter further into the buſineſs, or urge thoſe arguments which, in his opinion, ought to have ſufficient weight with the Houſe to induce it to agree to his motion; one obſervation, however, he ſaid he muſt make, which was, that the character of his Majeſty's Miniſters was ſo implicated with this queſtion, that they could not in juſtice to themſelves withhold the paper for which he intended to move. If it was by their order that Lord Auckland had delivered the ſtate paper of the 5th of April, they were as reſponſible for it as the Noble Lord was; if it was without their order, the whole blame ought to reſt with Lord Auckland, and he ought immediately to be called from his embaſſy, as unworthy of the ſtation that he filled, and afterwards be impeached. But without the production of an authentic copy of the paper in queſtion, he could not proceed one ſtep in the buſineſs, becauſe without it he could not tell whether the copy which he had ſeen in the public prints was faithfully taken from the original; if it ſhould appear that it was,

was, he would moſt certainly move an addreſs to his Majeſty, praying that he would recall Lord Auckland from the Hague; and that motion he as certainly would follow up by another, that his Lordſhip ſhould be impeached. Having ſaid this, Mr. Sheridan moved for the production of the memorial delivered on the 5th of April to the States General by Lord Auckland.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER ſaid, that when the Honourable Member firſt communicated his intention of moving for the above ſtate paper, and ſtated the uſe which he intended to make of it when produced, he gave to the affair an importance which entitled it to ſerious conſideration; and therefore it was that he had requeſted the Honourable Member to defer his motion to this day. His object in wiſhing for this delay was, that he might have time to peruſe and examine the contents of the ſtate paper, of which he had at the time a pretty accurate recollection; but not wiſhing to truſt to mere recollection in a buſineſs which might be conſidered as of ſome magnitude, he wanted to have an opportunity of reading the diſpatch again; this he had accordingly done; and he could now ſay with certainty, not only that it did not contain any thing which would make it improper to produce it; but that when it ſhould be laid before Parliament, it would be found that the ſentiments which it conveyed were ſuch as had been previouſly expreſſed by his Majeſty, and had received the unanimous approbation of that Houſe. Further than this he did not mean to go at preſent, becauſe he would not anticipate what might be urged on this head when the paper ſhould hereafter be made the ſubject of the debate; and as he was ready to meet any diſcuſſion to which it might give riſe, and under the preſent circumſtances it was become neceſſary that it ſhould be fully diſcuſſed, he would moſt willingly agree to the Honourable Gentleman's motion. At the ſame time he obſerved, that the paper in queſtion referred to ſome other papers, for the production of which the Honourable Member ought alſo to move, becauſe they were explanatory of the former; and he himſelf would move for them, if the Honourable Gentleman did not.

Mr. SHERIDAN ſaid, he wiſhed that the Right Honourable Gentleman had forborne his remarks on the merits of the paper in queſtion, becauſe that was not the proper time for diſcuſſing them. He obſerved, that he was rather at a loſs how to word his motion, ſo as to make it reach the papers to which the Right Honourable Gentleman had alluded; he did not know how to ſpecify them accurately; but he thought that the object he had now in view would be anſwered, if the motion was for the production of all the papers or memorials delivered by Lord

Auckland

Auckland to the States General, ſince the month of November laſt.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER objected to the extent of ſuch a motion; it had never entered his head, he ſaid, to conſent to the production of *all* the ſtate papers delivered during that period by Lord Auckland; what he was ready to produce were ſuch ſtate papers as related to the melancholy event of the Moſt Chriſtian King; they were not many in number, and he would then ſpecify them: one was a note from the Imperial and Neapolitan Miniſters at the Britiſh Court to Lord Grenville, together with his Lordſhip's anſwer in November laſt; another was a note from Lord Auckland to the States General, in which he communicated to them the above, and the anſwer of their High Mightineſſes; and the laſt was the memorial delivered on the 5th inſtant to the States General by Lord Auckland and the Imperial Ambaſſador at the Hague, in which there was a reference to the former.

Mr. SHERIDAN replied, that he did not wiſh for the production of any diſpatch which did not relate to the ſubject of that of the 5th of April; he looked not for the diſcloſure of any ſtate ſecret; he wanted only that authentic copies ſhould be laid on the table of the houſe of papers which his Majeſty's Miniſters had already publiſhed in the Gazette, a place where they were not much in the habit of putting what they thought unfit for the public eye.

After all theſe explanations there was ſtill a difficulty about the wording of the motion.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER at laſt ſuggeſted, that it would be beſt if the Honourable Member would move for the paper of the 5th of April, and he (Mr. Pitt) would take care that the others which he himſelf had mentioned ſhould be ready to be preſented at the ſame time.

Mr. SHERIDAN adopted the ſuggeſtion, and worded his motion accordingly, which was agreed to without further debate.

It was next propoſed that the papers in queſtion ſhould be printed.

Here the SPEAKER interpoſed, and ſaid that the Houſe could not regularly give orders for printing them until they were actually on the table; but as the Houſe was to meet on Saturday for the purpoſe of attending the trial of Mr. Haſtings, and as he underſtood that the papers would be preſented on that day, an order might then be made for printing them. In this opinion of the Chair all parties acquieſced.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER wiſhed the Honourable Member would then ſay on what day he intended to

to make the motion, which he was to ground on thoſe papers.

Mr. SHERIDAN anſwered that he could not poſitively fix the day, becauſe he muſt firſt ſee the papers, before he could frame his motion; but it was probable that he might make it on Monday.

BRIBERY AT GRIMSBY ELECTION.

Mr. GREY read from the clerk's book a ſtanding order, which declared that ſhould any perſon procure himſelf to be elected a member of that Houſe by bribery or corruption, or endeavour to procure himſelf to be ſo elected, he ſhould, on being convicted thereof by a committee, be puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity. He remarked, that the committee appointed to determine the merits of the laſt election for the borough of Great Grimſby had reſolved, that the Honourable William Weſley Pole had, by his agents, committed acts of bribery and corruption, and had cauſed the ſaid reſolution to be reported to the Houſe. That reſolution, however, did not appear in the Journal; the omiſſion was to be accounted for in this way. Such part of the report of an election committee as related to the right of an individual to a ſeat in that Houſe was by law to be entered in the votes without any motion, and was thence copied into the Journal; but when the report touched upon any other point, no notice was taken of it in the votes or journal, except a motion was made that it ſhould be read at the table; for that was the only way by which the *Houſe* could have any knowledge of it. In the caſe in queſtion, the Noble Lord (Arden) who had brought up the report, had not moved that it ſhould be read at the table, but ſimply that it ſhould lie upon the table. The *Houſe*, therefore, as a *houſe*, had as yet no knowledge of the charge of bribery brought againſt the Honourable Member. [Mr. Weſley Pole, though he loſt his election for Great Grimſby, is, notwithſtanding, a member of the Houſe, as repreſentative of the borough of Eaſt Looe.] The proceeding by which that knowledge was withheld from the Houſe was, in his opinion, rather irregular, and he was now going to make a motion for curing that irregularity. He was aware, he ſaid, that it was rather an invidious taſk for a perſon, who had not been on the Great Grimſby committee, to take the ſtep which he was going to take; but ſtill he conſidered it to be the duty of ſome one to bring the buſineſs before the Houſe, and leave it then to the wiſdom of that aſſembly to inſtitute ſuch a proceeding upon it as might appear conſiſtent with its own dignity. He ſaid he did not know that when the report in queſtion ſhould have been entered on the journal he ſhould

make any further motion; but he thought that when ſuch a report ſhould find its way into its records, the Houſe could not, without completely diſregarding its own ſtanding order, ſuffer it to remain there unnoticed. He concluded by moving that the ſpecial report from the ſelect committee appointed to try the merits of the laſt election for the borough of Great Grimſby ſhould be then read.

The SPEAKER ſaid there was no irregularity in the caſe to which the Honourable Member had alluded. The Houſe was bound by the act of the 10th of his preſent Majeſty for its vote to enter, without any previous motion, ſuch part of the report of an election as ſhould relate to the ſeat, but when any ſpecial matter was reported not immediately relating to the ſeat, the Houſe was not bound to record it, unleſs a motion was made for that purpoſe by ſome member. The only motion made by the Noble Lord who preſented the report in queſtion was—"that it ſhould lie upon the table;" a motion which did not bring the caſe within the knowlege of the Houſe, and no notice of it could be taken in the journal. But there was nothing irregular in this proceeding. He ſaid, he believed the Noble Lord had obſerved, when he preſented the report, that the Houſe, being then very thin, he would not propoſe any reſolution for going to a diſcuſſion of it.

Mr. GREY ſaid, he meant not to charge either the Chair or the Noble Lord with irregularity on the occaſion; if he had uſed the word irregular he did not intend it, and was ſorry for it; what he meant to ſay was, that not to move that the report ſhould be read at the table was an *unuſual* circumſtance.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER obſerved, that when the Honourable Gentleman's motion ſhould have brought the caſe before the Houſe, there ſtill would remain ſomething more to be done; for the Houſe could not decide whether the ſelect committee had judged right unleſs the evidence on which the judgment had been founded was alſo laid before the Houſe. It would be proper therefore that the minutes of the committee ſhould be produced.

Mr. SHERIDAN declared he was not a little embarraſſed on this occaſion; his Honourable Friend had ſaid he did not know whether he ſhould follow up his preſent motion with another for inſtituting ſome proceeding on the report; now he, for one, did not wiſh that the caſe ſhould find its way into the journal, there to remain unnoticed, a monument of diſgrace to the character of the Houſe. On the other hand, when he conſidered the ſtate of the repreſentation of the people in that Houſe, and ſaw the abſolute neceſſity of a great and radical reform, he thought it a miſerable meaſure to faſten upon a ſingle individual, or even upon

upon a whole borough, and puniſh them for that which aroſe from a radical defect in the general repreſentation. That defect was not to be cured by a partial remedy, but by a complete reform, which would render bribery and corruption at elections, if not abſolutely impracticable, at leaſt of very little uſe or effect. Should the preſent caſe come to a deciſion before the Houſe, it was not for him to ſay how many members could lay their hands upon their hearts, and with conſiſtency vote for puniſhing a colleague for bribery at an election.

Mr. POLE obſerved, that the report did not charge him with having done any act of bribery in his own perſon, but by an agent: the evidence on which the conviction was founded, and which induced the committee to decide the perſon who did bribe was actually *his* agent, was long; but he wiſhed it might be produced; and then the Houſe would be able to judge whether the deciſion of the committee was warranted by the evidence.

As the minutes of the committee were very voluminous, it was propoſed that ſuch parts of them ſhould be produced as related to the agency and bribery.

But the SPEAKER obſerving that there was no proper officer to make the ſelection, it was agreed that the whole of the minutes ſhould be called for.

Mr. Grey's motion was carried without further debate; and then another was made for producing the minutes of the committee, which was alſo carried.

STOCKBRIDGE ELECTION.

The order of the day having been read for hearing counſel againſt the bill to open the election of the borough of Stockbridge, for the more effectual prevention of corruption in that borough, a tedious converſation aroſe, in which ſeveral Gentlemen took part, upon the impropriety of proceeding with the preſent bill prior to that which went to prove the guilt of, and to diſfranchiſe, thoſe who had been charged with corruption.

Thoſe members who argued for the priority of the diſfranchiſing bill, oppoſed the motion for calling in counſel, and Mr. Sheridan being one of that number, moved an amendment to defer the hearing of counſel until Monday.

The Houſe divided, and negatived the amendment, there being for the original queſtion

Ayes	- -	68
Noes	- -	15
Majority		53

Counſel were then called in and heard againſt the ſecond reading, after which the Houſe adjourned.

April 19.

Day appointed for a general faſt.

April 20.

No debate. Adjourned to the 22d.

April 22.

The order of the day being read for the ſecond reading of the Bolton and Bury canal bill—on the queſtion that the bill be now read a ſecond time,

COLONEL EGERTON moved, as an amendment, to leave out the word 'now,' and to inſert, 'this day three months.'

After a ſhort debate the Houſe divided—.

Ayes, for the amendment	80
Noes - -	65

Before ſtrangers were again admitted into the gallery, Mr. Sheridan, we underſtood, having been applied to by both ſides of the Houſe, agreed to put off his motion, on Lord Auckland's memorial, for the accommodation of public buſineſs, until Thurſday next.

Some converſation then took place on the ſubject of the Liverpool petition: after which leave was given to bring in a bill, to authorize the corporation of Liverpool to iſſue negociable notes for a time limited.

Sir WILLIAM SCOTT ſtated, that it had been uſual, at the commencement of a war, to paſs an act regulating the diſtribution of prize money:—he had beſtowed a good deal of attention upon this ſubject, and had it in contemplation to bring forward a propoſition for a general plan of regulation as to this matter; at preſent he meant to move for leave to bring in a bill for the better encouragement of ſeamen, and manning his Majeſty's navy, the chief purpoſe of which would be to regulate, in the mean time, the diſtribution of prize money. Leave was given to bring in the bill.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER moved, that the thanks of the Houſe be given to the Rev. Dr. Huntingford, for his ſermon preached before that Houſe on Friday laſt, and that he be requeſted to print the ſame.

CATHOLICS OF SCOTLAND.

The LORD ADVOCATE of SCOTLAND ſtated, that his Majeſty's catholic ſubjects in Scotland are at preſent incapacitated by law either from holding or tranſmitting landed property, and are liable to other very ſevere reſtrictions, which could not now

now be juſtified by any neceſſity or expediency, and therefore moved, that leave be given to bring in a bill to relieve perſons profeſſing the Roman Catholic religion from certain penalties and diſabilities impoſed on them by acts of Parliament in Scotland, and particularly by an act of the 8th of King William.—This motion was ordered to be referred to a committee of the whole Houſe to-morrow.

INDIA.

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS ſaid, he thought it right to repeat the notice he had formerly given—he meant to ſubmit to the Houſe to-morrow certain propoſitions with reſpect to the trade of India.

Mr. RYDER moved, that the Houſe ſhould go into a committee of the whole Houſe to-morrow, to conſider of the duties on tobacco.—Ordered.

Mr. ROSE begged to call the attention of the Houſe to a ſubject, which was certainly of conſiderable importance; he had conſidered it a good deal; he was hopeful that the regulations in the bill which he meant to bring forward would be found beneficial. Throughout the whole country of England there exiſted, he ſaid, a great number of ſocieties, called friendly ſocieties, for the mutual relief of their ſick and indigent poor.—Theſe ſocieties were extremely uſeful, and were not at preſent ſufficiently protected by the law: for one thing, they had no ſufficient check upon their ſtewards, who were generally entruſted to lend out their money, either on private ſecurity, or in the public funds. To remedy this he would propoſe, that theſe ſocieties ſhould be entitled to ſue perſons whom they may ſo entruſt. It frequently happened, that ſocieties of this kind, formed for the beſt purpoſes, adopted improper rules and regulations, either from ignorance or bad advice. He would therefore propoſe, that the rules and regulations of every ſuch ſociety ſhould be ſubmitted to, and approved by, two juſtices of the peace, before they ſhould be entitled to the benefit of the act. He meant alſo to reſtrain the removal of induſtrious perſons, not chargeable on the pariſh, from their place of reſidence, to their pariſh of ſettlement, which was often productive of the greateſt hardſhips.—He ſaid, that when the bill was brought in, he would wiſh it to be printed, and concluded with moving, that leave be give to bring in a bill for the encouragement and relief of friendly ſocieties.

Mr. WILBERFORCE ſeconded the motion, which was agreed to.

STOCKBRIDGE

STOCKBRIDGE ELECTION.

The bill for incapacitating a number of perſons from voting at elections for the borough of Stockbridge, was read a firſt time.

APRIL 23.

ROMAN CATHOLICS OF SCOTLAND.

The Houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee, LORD FREDERIC CAMPBELL in the chair, to take into conſideration a motion read yeſterday to the Houſe by the Lord Advocate of Scotland, for granting relief in certain caſes to ſuch of his Majeſty's ſubjects in Scotland as profeſs the Roman Catholic religion.—The orders of the Houſe render it neceſſary that, before leave is given to any Member to bring in a bill for altering any law connected with religion, the ſubject be previouſly diſcuſſed in a committee; and that no motion for altering ſuch a law be entertained by the Houſe, unleſs made by the chairman of ſuch committee, in conſequence of directions from the ſame.

The LORD ADVOCATE of SCOTLAND informed the committee that the Roman Catholics of the country to which he immediately belonged laboured under many hardſhips and diſabilities on account of their adherence to their religion. By one law an oath, called a formula or ſolemn declaration, was impoſed upon them, which they could not take without renouncing the religion which they profeſſed; and if they refuſe to take it, their neareſt Proteſtant relation might deprive them of their eſtates. His Lordſhip obſerved, that it was repugnant to juſtice and humanity that a ſubject not convicted, nay not ſo much as accuſed or even ſuſpected, of any crime againſt the ſtate, or againſt ſociety, ſhould be deprived of his eſtate for no other reaſon than that he profeſſed the religion moſt agreeable to his judgment and his conſcience; or that he ſhould be placed in the wretched ſituation of holding his eſtates at the mercy of any Proteſtant relation who ſhould be profligate enough to ſtrip him of it by enforcing this very penal law. The liberality which had induced the Houſe laſt year, and on a former occaſion, to grant relief to the Roman Catholics of England would, he was perſuaded, induce them to extend relief alſo to the Roman Catholics of Scotland, whoſe loyalty and conduct gave them an equal claim to the indulgence of the legiſlature. He admitted that the particular law to which he referred was too odious to be often carried into execution; but if it was not fit that it ſhould be executed at all, it ought not to be ſuffered to remain merely as a temptation to the profligate to ſtrip honeſt and meritorious people of their property. He ſaid he was extremely ſorry to inform the committee, that there was at this moment a ſuit actually

tually depending in the courts of law in Scotland, founded on this particular ſtatute. A Roman Catholic gentleman, as reſpectable and amiable in character as any man in this or any other kingdom, was poſſeſſed of an eſtate of 1000l. a year, which had been in his family for at leaſt a century and a half; this gentleman, loved and reſpected by all who knew him, was now on the point of being ſtripped of his property by a relation, who could have no other ſhadow of claim to it, than that which he might derive from this penal law, which he was endeavouring rigidly to enforce. In the courts as much delay as poſſible was thrown in his way; but it was to be feared that he muſt ſucceed at laſt, and reduce to beggary a gentleman in every reſpect a moſt meritorious ſubject. If it was too late to ſave him from ſuch a misfortune, the legiſlature, he truſted, would interpoſe and take care that he ſhould be the laſt victim to a cruel law, and that it ſhould never operate in future to the deſtruction of any other perſon; for ſurely it was no longer to be endured that a man ſhould be placed in the horrid ſituation of either renouncing the religion of his heart, or by adhering to it conſcientiouſly forfeit all his worldly ſubſtance. His Lordſhip concluded by moving, "that the chairman ſhould be directed "to move the Houſe for leave to bring in a bill requiring an "oath of abjuration and declaration from his Majeſty's Roman "Catholic ſubjects in that part of Great Britain called Scotland."

COLONEL MACLEOD ſaid he did not riſe for the purpoſe of oppoſing the motion; on the contrary, he was anxious to return his thanks to the Learned Lord who had made it; ſuch a motion did honour to his humanity and liberality; if it could be ſaid to be liable to any objection, it was that it did not go far enough. He had never heard before this day of the caſe to which the Learned Lord had alluded; it was a hard one indeed; and he hoped that, if it was poſſible, it might be included in the bill to be brought in, and that the gentleman in queſtion might be reſcued from deſtruction by the kind interpoſition of the legiſlature. He did not know why Scotland ſhould adhere with more pertinacity to an old ſyſtem of intolerance than other countries; and after what had lately been done in Ireland, he could not ſee any reaſon why what was now propoſed ſhould be the ſum of relief to be granted to Roman Catholics in Scotland; for he could not conceive why it ſhould be thought that a Catholic could not with ſafety to the ſtate be allowed as much liberty in Scotland, as was allowed to a Catholic in Ireland.

The queſtion was put without farther obſervation, and was carried unanimouſly.

The

The Houſe was then reſumed, and Lord Frederic Campbell made the motion which he was directed by the committee to make; it was carried without any oppoſition.

THE TRAITEROUS CORRESPONDENCE BILL

was brought down from the Lords with the amendments made by their Lordſhips.

Mr. CURWIN wiſhed to know whether the Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Pitt) had any objection to have the bill with the amendments printed.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER replied, that he had; the amendments he ſaid were few in number, and a ſingle reading of them from the chair would be ſufficient to enable every Gentleman to make himſelf complete maſter of them.

Mr. ADAM admitted that the amendments were few; but then it muſt be allowed, he ſaid, that they were very important in their nature; and therefore they ought to be printed, to the end that Gentlemen might have an opportunity of ſeriouſly conſidering and weighing them.

Mr. CURWIN ſaid, he was the more anxious to have the bill with the amendments printed, as he was informed that alterations of ſo very ſingular a nature had been made in the bill, as that in its preſent ſhape it would allow the merchants of this country to ſupply France even with naval and military ſtores.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER ſaid, that if ſuch would be the effect of the amendments it would be very contrary indeed to the intentions of thoſe by whom they were propoſed. [Mr. Curwin ſaid in a low voice acroſs the Houſe that he took that for granted, but that the effect of the amendments would nevertheleſs be ſuch as he had ſtated.] The Chancellor of the Exchequer inſiſted that it ought to be preſumed that the perſons who had ſuggeſted the amendments were not quite ſuch bunglers as to defeat the very object which they had in view; but that on the contrary they had ſo worded them as to make them convey the meaning which they intended to convey; at all events a ſlight reading would ſerve to ſhew whether they had ſucceeded or not; and therefore he would not conſent to any propoſition for printing the bill with the alterations.—He concluded by moving, that they ſhould be taken into conſideration on Friday next.

The queſtion was put and carried.

GOVERNMENT AND TRADE OF INDIA.

The Houſe, on the motion of Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS, reſolved itſelf into a committee, to take into conſideration the

the petition of the East India Company, relative to the renewal of the charter.

Mr. BEAUFOY having taken the chair of the committee,

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS roſe: he ſaid, he felt no ſmall degree of embarraſſment in finding himſelf under the neceſſity of propoſing ſuch a ſettlement of the government of India as was repugnant to the general opinions of all the able writers on government; for he was going to propoſe that the exerciſe of ſovereign power ſhould, for a time to be limited, be veſted in a body of *merchants*; and that the trade to the East Indies ſhould be carried on by an *excluſive* company, inſtead of being thrown open to the whole community. All able writers on trade and government agreed that the more free, the more unreſtrained was trade, the more it would flouriſh and the wider it would extend: the truth of this propoſition was in general ſo clear, that it had been his ſtudy and his wiſh to act upon the principle which it laid down; and therefore it was very natural that he ſhould feel embarraſſed when he was about to depart from it; however, he had this conſolation to ſupport him, that he had practical advantages, and the benefit of experience, to oppoſe to untried theories and ſpeculation; and he believed no wiſe man would ever relinquiſh a certain good, for the purpoſe of purſuing a theory which, whilſt it promiſed him an increaſe of good, might poſſibly deprive him of that which he actually enjoyed. The East India Company, he ſaid, was at preſent the organ through which the ſovereignty of Great Britain over her Aſiatic provinces was exerciſed; and the channel through which, by the medium of trade, the tribute paid by them was brought into this country. Whether the commerce of the Company, and the uſe it made of the ſovereignty, had been productive of great benefits to England, the committee would be able to judge from this ſhort ſtatement, that the Company actually employed 81,000 tons of ſhipping, and 7000 ſeamen; that it brought annually into the kingdom the raw materials of manufacturers to the amount of 700,000l.; that it paid into the Exchequer 1,000,000; that it enriched the people of England with a tribute from the ſurplus of revenue in India with another million; that the fortunes made by the Company's ſervants abroad, and remitted home, might be eſtimated at half a million a year; and finally that it added not leſs than ſeven millions to the general circulation of Great Britain. From this ſtatement, the committee muſt ſee that the advantages of which the nation was actually in poſſeſſion, through the medium of the East India Company, were very great indeed; it would be for gentlemen to conſider ſeriouſly whether there would be any wiſdom in running the riſk of ſacrificing them entirely, in a wild and perhaps

viſionary purſuit of greater: and whether it would not be better to prefer the good which they *actually* enjoyed, to the proſpect of benefits which by *poſſibility* they might derive from a different ſyſtem of trade and government. By continuing the preſent ſyſtem, the King would remain the direct ſovereign of the Britiſh poſſeſſions in India; the Parliament would be, as at preſent, the guardian and ſuperintendant of the happineſs and proſperity of the inhabitants, and of the intereſts of the Company and of the empire; both the immediate government of the territories, and the care of the revenue, would be veſted in the Company itſelf. Under the management of the Company, the trade and revenue of India had been improved, and a war againſt a powerful ſtate had been carried on with vigour, and brought to a glorious and honourable concluſion. It was evident then that this organ of government and trade was equal to the end for which it was employed. Should it enter into the heads of men to change that organ, and take out of the hands of the Company the exerciſe of the ſovereignty over our provinces in the eaſt, and the management of the revenues ariſing from them, he would beg leave to ſuggeſt ſome of the many difficulties which muſt neceſſarily be produced by ſuch a meaſure. In the firſt place, the Company would probably lay in its claim to the direct ſovereignty of thoſe provinces; a claim which he would not heſitate to call unfounded, and which, no doubt, the public would never admit; but ſtill, though it ſhould be reſiſted with ſucceſs, there would remain many knotty and embarraſſing points to be ſettled, which would require very ſerious conſideration. It muſt be determined to whom belonged the forts, ſtores, guns, &c. and if to the Company, what allowance ſhould be made for them when the crown ſhould take poſſeſſion of them. How the Company's debts ſhould be liquidated, and when and how the trade ſhould be carried on. While theſe important queſtions remained under conſideration, the commercial purſuits of the Company would of courſe ſlacken, and the fatal effects of ſuch an event would be felt not only by the manufacturers in India, but alſo by thoſe of Great Britain. But this was not all; the ſudden ſhifting of power from the hands of the Company to thoſe of the crown might be attended with the moſt alarming convulſion in India. In that country, more than in any other in the world, government was founded upon opinion; a ſudden exchange of opinion might ſhake our ſovereignty over thoſe valuable territories to its very centre. The people had long been accuſtomed to know no other rulers than the Company, who had derived its authority from the Great Mogul, acknowledged all through India as the lawful ſovereign of the empire: a tranſfer of power from the Company to the King of England would

would give to the new government an air or appearance of uſurpation, which might occaſion the moſt diſaſtrous conſequences to the Britiſh power in India. When Lord Clive, who might be conſidered as the founder of the Britiſh empire in that quarter of the globe, was ſettling the government of it, he paid the utmoſt reſpect and attention to the opinions of the natives, and in every department of the ſtate took care to ſtrengthen it by grants and firmans from the Great Mogul, to whom all India looked up as to the only ſovereign of India. The native princes acted upon the ſame principle; and were we to be ſeen purſuing a different one, we ſhould run the riſk of being conſidered in the light of robbers and uſurpers. Was it prudent then, he aſked, to run ſuch a riſk merely (barely poſſible) for the attainment of benefits ſomewhat greater than thoſe which we enjoyed by leaving the exerciſe of the ſovereignty and the management of the territorial revenue to the Company? Surely it would be infinitely wiſer, he ſaid, to leave theſe things juſt as they were, than to riſque the conſequences which might follow, when the natives of India ſhould hear, that the power of the Company, to which they uſed to look up as lawfully derived from the ſovereign of India, was no more, and that the crown of England, with which they were but little, if at all acquainted, had aſſumed it. Having dwelt a conſiderable time on theſe topics for the purpoſe of proving that it was better to abide by what experience had ſhewn to be practically good, than to run into wild theories and viſionary ſpeculations, however plauſible and promiſing they might be, he next adverted to the patronage of India, which he was of opinion ought to be left in the hands of the Company; and he maintained that it would be of infinite prejudice to the public at large to take it out of thoſe hands; for were the patronage of India to be added to that which already belonged to the executive power of the crown, it would give the latter a prevailing influence that would endanger the very exiſtence of the conſtitution. Gentlemen might imagine that through the board of controul the executive power actually enjoyed the patronage of India; but he would take upon himſelf to declare that this was by no means the caſe. Conſidering the regular manner in which the Company's ſervants roſe abroad, the great ſource of patronage might be ſaid to be the appointment of writers. He would not pretend to ſay that the court of directors would not pay great attention to the recommendation of the executive power, neither would he ſay that it was not able to procure a writerſhip, but he would affirm that the number of applications made by Miniſters ſince the formation of the board of controul for ſuch appointments was very ſmall, and he ſaid that in ſome other ſtage of this buſineſs

he would fairly ſtate how many ſuch places had been granted by the directors at the recommendation of Miniſters, and what ſhare they had had in the diſtribution of the Company's patronage. The board of controul, he ſaid, had hitherto acted up to the beſt of its judgment and information, in correcting ſuch abuſes as had crept into the government of India. The members who compoſed it had at firſt but little experience in the cuſtoms, manners, or habits of the people, who were to be governed; but they had taken all means in their power to procure the beſt information on that head. In this they were powerfully aſſiſted by ſeveral reports which had been ſent from India, in anſwer to queſtions tranſmitted by Lord North, when that Noble Lord was at the head of affairs, to ſeveral very able men then in the ſervice of the Company; theſe queſtions turned upon various important points reſpecting the beſt mode of legiſlating for the Britiſh poſſeſſions in the Eaſt, and of adminiſtering juſtice, managing the revenue, carrying on trade, &c. &c. The reports ſent back in anſwer were drawn up by different perſons, all very able men, and all poſſeſſing great local knowledge and experience; theſe gentlemen were Mr. Haſtings, Mr. Francis, Sir W. Chambers, General Clavering, Colonel Mulſon, Mr. Barwell, &c. They all agreed in ſtatement of facts, but ſcarcely any two of them agreed in opinion reſpecting the ſyſtem which, in their judgment, ought to be purſued for the better government of India. From all this he thought he might fairly draw this inference; that as we had hitherto experienced great benefits from the ſyſtem which had been hitherto purſued, we ought not to pull it down, as no two men, thoroughly acquainted with the country, could agree about the ſyſtem which ought to replace it; and if men who had paſſed ſo many years in the country, which was the ſubject of diſcuſſion, could not agree upon a point on which they were ſo well qualified to ſpeak, ſurely it would be the wiſeſt courſe for the Houſe of Commons (whoſe members poſſeſſed leſs information on the ſubject) to ſteer, to purſue the line which experience had proved led to proſperity, and not to hazard the good of the public, by liſtening to theories, which, however plauſible, had never yet been tried. It was his earneſt wiſh that the internal ſtate of India might be ſtudied by gentlemen of that Houſe, ſo that they might become familiar with the ſubject, and better able to aſſiſt his Majeſty's Miniſters with their advice: there was one circumſtance which deprived the board of controul of able aſſiſtance in its arduous functions; and that was, that the King was reſtrained by act of Parliament from calling to that board any perſon who was not in the liſt of privy counſellors; the gentlemen who were put upon that liſt were ſuch as poſſeſſed ſhining talents,

talents, and were of courſe candidates for high offices in the ſtate, ſo that they ſeldom retained for any length of time their ſeats at the board of controul, where they were conſidered as birds of paſſage, on the wing to more exalted ſituations. [Here he alluded to Lords Auckland and Grenville.] He was of opinion, therefore, that it would be for the advantage of the public if the King was to be at liberty to ſummon to that Board others than privy counſellors, and ſuch as were more likely to ſit at it, and conſequently to acquire more intimate knowledge of Indian affairs. With reſpect to the nomination of the governor general of India, and of the members of the ſupreme council, there were two opinions; one was, that theſe great officers ſhould be appointed by the King; the other, that they ſhould continue to be appointed by the Company. He himſelf was of the latter opinion, but had the misfortune in that reſpect to differ from a very high and reſpectable authority, that of Lord Cornwallis, who recommended that the right of naming to thoſe high offices ſhould be veſted in the King. His reaſon for differing from the Noble Marquis was, that a Miniſter in his cloſet might be more likely to be worked upon by private friendſhip, partiality, and influence, if the nomination reſted with him, than if he was to recommend a perſon to be nominated by the court of directors. In the one caſe, he might eaſily be induced by private friendſhip to name a perſon perhaps not the beſt qualified for the place; but he would certainly be more upon his guard, when he ſhould be called upon to recommend an improper perſon to twenty-four directors, who would have a right to remonſtrate againſt ſuch perſon, and who would probably exerciſe that right the more readily, when they were not influenced by any friendſhip for the individual, whoſe only merit perhaps might be the favour of the Miniſter. On the other hand, as the Crown had a negative upon the choice made by the Company of governor general and members of the ſupreme council, it would be impoſſible for the Company to nominate improper perſons. He admitted that by this negative the crown poſſeſſed *indirectly* the right of nomination, but for the reaſon which he had already aſſigned, he would not wiſh to ſee it exerciſed *directly:* however the Parliament would act according to its own diſcretion, when the buſineſs ſhould come forward in the ſhape of a bill; and make ſuch alterations in the different parts of his plan, as it ſhould think likely to be for the benefit of the public. Having hitherto ſpoken of the government or political capacity of the Company, he now called the attention of the committee to its commercial concerns. It was well known, he ſaid, from the earlieſt accounts handed down by hiſtory, that the trade of India found its way to the different

parts

parts of the world, and miniſtered to the luxury of the moſt diſtant nations. At firſt it was carried on by means of caravans and navigable rivers, till it reached the ſhores of the Mediterranean, whence the manufactures and produce of the eaſt were conveyed to the free ſtates of Italy, and thence to every part of Europe. At laſt a new channel was opened for this trade by the diſcovery of the Cape of Good Hope; the Portugueſe firſt availed themſelves of it, and made numerous eſtabliſhments on the coaſt of India: the Dutch ſoon followed, and entering into a competition with them, deprived them of ſeveral of their ſettlements; the French, the Engliſh, and other nations, were not long behind, and the trade of India became and long continued a bone of contention between them: bloody and expenſive wars enſued, till by the peace of 1763 the Engliſh acquired a decided ſuperiority over all their competitors, and the Company found itſelf transformed from a body of merchants into a ſovereign, exerciſing a ſupreme power over twenty millions of ſubjects, and receiving an immenſe revenue from the conquered provinces. How this revenue could beſt be remitted to England was then a ſerious conſideration; if it was to be remitted in ſpecie, the Indian empire muſt ſpeedily be ruined; it could with ſafety, then, be done only by tranſmitting the ſuperfluity of induſtry, in the ſhape of manufactures, or articles of commerce. It was evident that this was not to be done otherwiſe than through the medium of trade; but then a queſtion might ariſe whether this could be beſt effected through the medium of private traders, or through that of a Company poſſeſſing vaſt reſources and great eſtabliſhments in India. If an uncontrouled intercourſe was to be ſuffered between the merchants and ſeamen of Great Britain, and the natives of India, the conſequences might be fatal to the ſtability of our power in that part of the world. It ſo happened that the native Indians looked upon Europeans as beings of a ſuperior race and dignity; and upon that opinion depended, in a great meaſure, the ſupport of our empire in India. How ſuch an opinion ever came to be entertained by them, he could not conceive; it might have been the effect of religious prejudices, or of ſome other cauſe with which we were unacquainted, but ſo it was; if any doubted it, he would quote to him the declaration of a Nabob, who complained in a letter to Mr. Vanſittart, that a number of Engliſh had reſorted to his country, to the very great inconvenience of his people and government. Mr. Vanſittart, who was then at the head of Engliſh affairs in India, wrote to him for anſwer, that the perſons about whom he complained were a ſet of contemptible fellows, whom he might drive away, if he pleaſed. The Nabob's anſwer to this was, "that "they might be contemptible in his (Mr. Vanſittart's) eyes,

"but

"but that in the eyes of an Indian, even the dog of an Euro-"pean was a creature of conſequence." This idea of European ſuperiority might be deſtroyed by an uncontrouled intercourſe between the natives and our people; and it muſt be uncontrouled, if the trade to India were to be thrown open to every adventurer, inſtead of being carried on by an excluſive Company. He doubted much whether thoſe who were for an open trade were aware of all the conſequences to which ſuch a meaſure would lead. He wiſhed to know whether they had any idea of coloniſing India; or whether this country could bear the drain of men which an open trade would carry out to India: who having nothing in view but to make their fortunes, would ſoon offer their ſervices to the native princes; and then we might find Britiſh ſubjects ſwelling the armies of our enemies, and helping them to pull down the Britiſh empire in the eaſt. The nature of the trade to India was againſt the idea of throwing it open to private adventurers; on account of the diſtance of the country, the returns muſt be ſlow; and therefore companies alone, and not individuals, could afford to wait for them. But this was not all; though the Company's *excluſive* charter ſhould expire to-morrow, yet the Company would ſtill continue a corporation, with a great capital, and advantages from ſettlements in India, which muſt remain to it even after the expiration of its excluſive charter, all which circumſtances would give it a decided ſuperiority over private competitors. An idea had gone forth that, becauſe there were 20 millions of people under our government in India, an immenſe market might be found for Britiſh manufactures, if our trade to the eaſt was releaſed from the ſhackles of an excluſive charter. He wiſhed the moſt ſanguine expectations on this head might be realized; but there were many circumſtances which induced him to think it likely that it would be diſappointed. Our firſt and principal manufacture was that of woollens; but ſurely when the heat of the climate in India, and the ſimplicity of the dreſs of the natives were taken into conſideration, it would appear very improbable that much of our woollens ſhould be conſumed there. The next great ſource of our wealth was the cotton manufacture; but ſurely it could not be expected that we could ſurpaſs our maſters in that branch; from the Indians we had learned, and though we might prevail upon them to wear ſome of our fancy works in cotton, we could not hope that we ſhould be able to ſell cotton goods to any very great amount, as the Indians could work ſo very much cheaper than we could. The earthenware was another important manufacture with us; but the very bulk of it would be againſt ſending it to advantage to ſuch a diſtance; and ſuch were the religious tenets of many of the caſtes

into which that people were divided, that they could not, without being deemed polluted, make uſe of any veſſels or utenſils made by us. He was aware that the cry of the day was that *monopoly* was a grievance, and an intolerable reſtraint upon trade. But the Eaſt India Company's monopoly was very unlike thoſe monopolies againſt which the voice of the nation was ſo very juſtly raiſed in the courſe of the laſt century. It certainly was intolerable that articles which were in general uſe ſhould be put ſo much in the power of one or two individuals, as that they ſhould be able to ſet upon them their own prices, without any regard to the intrinſic value. But the caſe was different with reſpect to the branches of trade which could not be carried on without great capitals, and ſuch as individuals could not advance; and Parliament itſelf admitted the difference; for in the very act by which the crown was reſtrained from granting monopolies, there was a ſpecial exception in favour of companies formed for the purpoſe of carrying on trade. It was an eaſy matter, he ſaid, for great manufacturing towns to meet and reſolve that the monopoly enjoyed by the Eaſt India Company was a grievance, and a ruinous reſtraint upon trade; but it was not quite ſo eaſy to prove it. He might fairly aſk what was the nature of this Company, whoſe monopoly was made a ſubject of complaint. The anſwer was at hand. It was a body of men, who, upon the profits of a capital of 5 millions of money, did not divide among themſeves more than 400,000l. a year; and yet paid into the Exchequer of this country a million a year; to the ſhip owners and merchants 800,000l. who brought into England a revenue of 1,500,000l; ſo that out of 3,700,000l. they had for their own uſe no more than 400,000l. a year, a ſum hardly equal to the legal intereſt of their capital, conſidering the many riſks which they ran. They had increaſed the tonnage of their ſhipping from 15,000 to 81,000, and had added an immenſe ſum to the capital of Great Britain; now that our manufacturers wanted to pull them down, they might be ſaid to be kicking down the ladder by which they were now enabled to cope with the Company. The merchants and manufacturers ſeemed to think, that if the excluſive charter was taken away, there would be an end of the Company; but this was a miſtake; for it would ſtill continue a corporate body by virtue of other charters, and poſſeſſed of Fort William in Bengal, Fort George at Madras, St. Helena at Bombay, and various other ſettlements acquired by purchaſe, which could not be taken from it with even a colour of juſtice. It was a pretty general complaint that the Company was not ſufficiently attentive to the intereſts of the manufacturers of England; that it did not import raw materials in as great abundance as it might;

nor

nor export Britiſh manufactures in any degree equal to the demand that might be found for them in India. This charge, he ſaid, would appear not to be founded; for the Company formerly imported materials to the amount of 600,000l. a year; but raw now the importation amounted to 700,000l, a year; whilſt the value of Britiſh manufactures exported annually amounted to 1,000,000l. The commutation act, he ſaid, had brought back to this country a great portion of the Indian trade, which had been thrown into hands of foreigners by the abſurdity of our regulations. It had been enacted, that the Company ſhould not accept bills from India to the value of more than 350,000l. a year; this had prevented the Company's ſervants from remitting home, through the medium of the Company, the fortunes which they had made abroad; and at the ſame time the law forbad them to ſend them home through the medium of foreign nations; this compelled them to have recourſe to clandeſtine trade carried on under foreign colours, but with Britiſh capitals. This was not the fault of the Company, but of our own law, as appeared from the repeal of it; for before the paſſing of the commutation act, the tea imported into England and paying duty fell ſhort of ſix millions of pounds weight; whereas near 18 millions of pounds of tea now paid the duty. The conſequence was that the trade of foreign nations, carried on with Britiſh capitals, was almoſt wholly at an end; Denmark and Sweden had formerly ſeven ſhips arriving annually from China; they had now only one; the ſame kind of trade carried on by the Portugueſe, Dutch, and French, had fallen in the ſame proportion, and was now almoſt annihilated. America indeed had opened a trade with China upon her own capital; but it being yet in its infancy, he would ſay nothing about it; nor did he care how many other nations ſhould trade to China with their own riches; all he wiſhed was that they might not trade with Britiſh capitals. The queſtion of an open or excluſive trade to India was much diſcuſſed, he ſaid, in the laſt century. A very able merchant in England, in 1655, was for the former, whilſt in Holland the De Witts as ſtrongly argued in favour of the excluſive trade. Oliver Cromwell, who was then Protector of England, put down the excluſive trade of the Engliſh Company, and threw it open to the whole nation. His ambaſſador in Holland wrote him word that the Dutch were in the utmoſt conſternation for the ſafety of their trade to India, as they were perſuaded that ſo able a man as the Protector would not put down the monopoly, if it was not injurious to the trade; and they imagined that De Witts would ruin them by maintaining the monopoly. It ſo happened, however, that ſoon after the Dutch gained ſuch an aſcendancy by the diſſolution of the Engliſh

liſh Company, and the conſequent throwing open of the trade to all England, that they were able to wreſt from England Colombo, Ceylon, and other places, which they retained to this day, and which they conſidered as the ſureſt foundation of their India trade. It was not very long before Oliver diſcovered his error, for in 1657 he reſtored the excluſive charter to the Company, and ſhut out the reſt of the nation from the trade to India. Here was then the experience of foreign nations, and of our own, in favour of an excluſive trade: but there was another fact, which ought to have great weight in this queſtion; when there were two Companies in Great Britain trading to the Eaſt Indies, one traded on a joint ſtock, the other allowed a liberty to its members to trade on their own private ſtock; and yet when the two Companies were afterwards united, it appeared that the ſum employed by private adventurers on their own account had dwindled down to 7000l. A ſtriking proof that a joint ſtock account was the only profitable one in the trade to India. In the reigns of Charles II. and James II. many private adventurers procured licences from the crown to trade to India; but their bankruptcy, notwithſtanding their golden dreams and ſanguine expectations, proved to the world, that a trade to India, in order to be profitable, muſt be carried on by companies, not by individuals. Upon the whole he ſaid he was, after the moſt mature conſideration, decidedly of opinion that an excluſive trade was not only uſeful to the Company, but abſolutely neceſſary to the nation; and that thoſe who were for throwing it open, did not ſee the intereſt of their country, and were erroneouſly purſuing meaſures big with ruin to it.

Having been on his legs two hours and a half, Mr. Dundas begged pardon for having taken ſo much of the time of the committee: he ſaid he held then in his hand a great number of reſolutions, which he did not intend to move that day; he intended to have them printed firſt, and on Monday next he would begin to move them, and then go on with them from day to day, until he ſhould have got through them all. For the preſent, therefore, he only moved that the chairman ſhould report progreſs and aſk leave to ſit again.

Mr. FRANCIS roſe, and having profeſſed himſelf incapable of following the Right Honourable Gentleman in every part of his ſpeech, declared, that ſome obſervations had been made by that gentleman, which he could not permit to paſs to the public without expreſſing his ſtrong and decided objection to them. The Right Honourable Gentleman had avowed it his intention to propoſe the renewal of the Eaſt India Company's excluſive charter, and alſo the continuance of the government of India in the handsof the Company; matters ſo diſtinct, that he begged

the committee not to confound them. The commercial charter, in his opinion, ought to be renewed; if he entertained any doubts on that head, they were doubts as to facts, and not as to principles. However ſtrongly the Right Honourable Gentleman had talked of theory and ſpeculation, the power of government, he was firmly convinced, ought not to be united to the power of trade. A man that was a good merchant, muſt neceſſarily be a bad governor; for he would of courſe turn the objects of government to the advantage of trade. Mr. Francis quoted the opinion of Cicero, in illuſtration of his remark. With reſpect to the Right Honourable Gentleman's aſſertion that his argument was ſupported by the teſt of experience; experience, he ſaid, had proved juſt the contrary; for what, he aſked, had been the conſequence of the Company poſſeſſing the territories they held in India, and acting at the ſame time as a commercial company? the conſequence had been neither for the benefit of the Company, nor for that of government; for the Company's ſervants employed in the collection and management of their revenues, had accumulated conſiderable fortunes, while the Company itſelf had decreaſed in affluence, having been repeatedly compelled to recur to Parliament for aſſiſtance. The Right Honourable Gentleman had deprecated delay in the buſineſs; why, then, had he himſelf been dilatory? With regard to any difference of opinion among the gentlemen whoſe names the Right Honourable Gentleman had thought it proper to mention, General Clavèring, Colonel Mulſon, and himſelf, had not entertained a different opinion on the ſubject. He never had thought, nor even could think it right, Mr. Francis ſaid, to continue the government of India in the hands of the Company, or in thoſe of their delegates, real or pretended—on that point he was at iſſue with the Right Honourable Gentleman. But the queſtion was, whether or not the government was in the hands of the Company, or in thoſe of the executive government of this country? Of the numerous appointments in India, there were ſcarcely any of profit or importance which were not under the patronage of adminiſtration, and at their immediate or indirect diſpoſal: the writers only who, when fortunate, were mentioned, but when unſucceſsful were not heard of, were appointed by the court of directors; and every poſt in the army, both among the King's troops and thoſe of the Company, was in the appointment of adminiſtration: the fears of the Right Honourable Gentleman, therefore, for the conſtitution were rather ludicrous than otherwiſe. Mr. Francis ridiculed the ſcrupulous attention to the feelings of the natives of India by the Right Honourable Gentleman, and the idea of convulſions enſuing from a transfer of the territorial property

from the poſſeſſion of the Company to that of the King of Great Britain. With regard to the obſervation, that the Eaſt India Company were looked up to by the natives with reverence and reſpect, Mr. Francis remarked, that ſo limited was the comprehenſion of the natives of India, that it was but lately that he had heard that nine-tenths conceived the Company to be an *old woman locked up in a Zenana!* As to any apprehenſions reſpecting the eſtates which the Right Honourable Gentleman had ſaid the Company poſſeſſed in India, thoſe eſtates would neceſſarily be governed by the ſame laws and regulations that obtained in regard to other eſtates in that country. Such obſervations of the Right Honourable Gentleman were made for the purpoſe of ſerving as a maſque merely, and concealing from the public the true ſtate of the caſe. The preſent government had been ſaid to be adequate and ſufficient; and the committee had been requeſted not to regard any theories or ſpeculations. Was it theoretical and ſpeculative, Mr. Francis aſked, to ſeparate trade from government? The commercial charter, he ſaid, ought to continue, but he would reſtore to them the advantages enjoyed before they had the territorial poſſeſſions they now held, by making them merchants merely. He made ſome obſervations on the board of controul, and ſaid that if new perſons were to be put in, they muſt be paid. Were the directors any real check on miniſtry in their appointments? If they were not, one, in fact, had the power, and the other the reſponſibility. Britiſh natives were actually ſcattered over the country; he wiſhed they were more effectually reſtrained. Mr. Francis made mention of the export of Woollens, and touched upon Mr. Dundas's obſervations reſpecting colonization. As to the great remittance of revenue from India, ſo it might be, he ſaid, if the government of India were in other hands. He noticed alſo the agreement relative to the conveyance of tribute through the medium of trade, and ſtated, that more bullion was ſent to China at preſent than had ever been remitted before. No argument, he obſerved, for ſeparating the government from the trade, went to deſtroy the excluſive charter. As to the profits of the Company, the dividend on their capital, Mr. Francis ſaid, was very ſmall, and their trade, even with the territorial revenues, had not been beneficial. Mr. Francis alluded to the private eſtates of the Company in land, and obſerved that twenty-four Perguanas did not belong to the Company, but to Zemindars, who had been re-inſtated, he ſaid, in his time. He adverted to the letter of Mr. Dundas, and ſubmitted it to the committee, whether Mr. Dundas had not told the directors that it was of little conſequence to the Company or to the public, whether the charter was renewed or not. Was the excluſive

charter,

charter, he aſked, effectual? Did it give to the Company an excluſion? Was not the Bengal river in fact full of European ſhips, freighted by Britiſh ſubjects, under foreign colours? Britiſh capitals in ſhort, to ſupply foreign trade. Mr. Francis ſaid, as occaſion might offer, he ſhould ſtate his opinion more fully and explicitly on the ſubject, but on the points on which he had obſerved, he never could agree with the Right Honourable Gentleman. Mr. Francis concluded by declaring, that to ſeparate the trade and government of the Company, and to replace the Company in their former commercial ſtate, was no novelty, much leſs a raſh ſpeculation.

COLONEL MACLEOD truſted that the Right Honourable Gentleman would adopt ſome means of deſtroying thoſe jealouſies and heartburnings which might hitherto have ſubſiſted between the officers of his Majeſty's regiments and thoſe of the Eaſt India Company.

GENERAL SMITH beſtowed much praiſe on Mr. Dundas for the excellent plan he had propoſed to be adopted in regard to the affairs of the Company. So far from the Company's affairs having been better before they had territorial poſſeſſions, Lord Clive's ſucceſſes, he ſaid, in 1757, were the ſalvation of the Company; for had not theſe ſucceſſes happened they would have been bankrupt. The General ſaid, that the poſſeſſions of the Company were in a much ſuperior ſtate of cultivation to thoſe of any Nabob in the country.

Mr. FRANCIS ſaid that it would have been fairer to have made the compariſon not between the territories of the Company and thoſe of a Nabob impoveriſhed by European avarice, but thoſe of an independent prince, ſuch as Tippoo Saib.

COLONEL MACLEOD replied to ſome part of General Smith's ſpeech.

Mr. DUNDAS ſaid that the provinces in the poſſeſſion and under the management of the Eaſt India Company, compared with thoſe of any independent prince in India, were perfect gardens in point of cultivation. With reſpect to his letter to the directors, Mr. Dundas declared, he meant to ſay, that independent of an excluſive charter, the revenues and the ſtate of the Company would enable them to divide ten per cent. and to pay beſide 500,000l. to the country.

COLONEL MACLEOD requeſted to know whether any thing would be done for the officers of whom he had before made mention?

Mr. DUNDAS anſwered, that he ſhould certainly wait till the arrival of Lord Cornwallis before he ſhould adopt any deciſive line of conduct on that matter.

Mr.

Mr. BEAUFOY then moved that he do leave the chair, which being agreed to,

The SPEAKER reſumed his ſeat; and

Mr. BEAUFOY having reported progreſs and aſked leave to ſit again,

The Houſe adjourned.

APRIL 24.

After the private buſineſs was diſpoſed of, the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER roſe, and ſaid, that in conſequence of the embarraſſments of ſeveral commercial houſes applications had been made to him for the purpoſe of concerting means to ſupport the credit of thoſe who might be embarraſſed, and who could prove that their inability to diſcharge the demands made upon them aroſe from temporary circumſtances and unforeſeen accidents. He roſe now chiefly for the purpoſe of giving notice, that he ſhould bring forward this ſubject to-morrow, but from the manner in which he ſhould propoſe the meaſure, he did not apprehend that any debate would neceſſarily ariſe, for that he ſhould only propoſe a ſelect committee to be choſen, and he believed they would, without much delay, be able to make a report upon which the Houſe might afterwards ſafely proceed. He obſerved, however, that having attentively conſidered this ſubject, and having had, as he believed, the beſt information on it, he could not help thinking that it would be found that many perſons in trade and commercial dealings had failed to diſcharge the demands upon them, not from want of a ſolid capital, but from the natural conſequences of a check on circulation of credit, in time to meet a temporary preſſure which ſingular circumſtances had produced, and that time being given, with temporary aid, theſe parties would be found to be ultimately ſolvent. He ſhould not have to trouble the Houſe to-morrow at any conſiderable length upon this ſubject, becauſe the committee would be the beſt means of maturing it for the conſideration and diſcuſſion of the Houſe.

HUSBANDMEN.

Sir JOHN ROUS ſaid, there were two points reſpecting day labourers being employed on the public roads, which he wiſhed to ſubmit to the conſideration of Parliament. It was unneceſſary for him to ſtate, that every indulgence ſhould be granted to that uſeful body called huſbandmen. He conceived therefore that the laws which obliged men to give a day's work, gratis, to the public roads in each year, or elſe pay a fine of two ſhillings, was a great hardſhip. The ſum, though apparently trifling, was a heavy tax upon ſuch men; and he thought all whoſe rent did not

not exceed 4l. per annum, as well married as ſingle, ſhould be exempt from the penalties of the exiſting act. The other point to which he would call the attention of the Houſe was, the mode practiſed of ſerving them with notice. This was attended with great inconvenience, and often followed by litigation, when, in addition to other hardſhips, probably ſummoning them before a magiſtrate would be attended with an expence of ſix or ſeven ſhillings. He inſiſted, that to ſay good roads were of advantage to the peaſant was a falſe argument, as they accelerated the removal or carriage of proviſions to the capital, and thereby rendered them dearer to the day-labourer and huſbandman. In the pariſh where he reſided, the huſbandmen were exempted who did not pay 4l. per annum rent, and he thought the ſame practice ſhould generally prevail. He, therefore, to obviate the difficulties which he had ſtated, moved for leave to bring in a bill.

Sir CHARLES BUNBURY expreſſed his moſt ardent approbation of any meaſure that would afford to the huſbandman relief—and leave to bring in the bill was granted.—Adjourned.

APRIL 25.

COMMERCIAL CREDIT.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, purſuant to the notice he gave yeſterday, moved for the appointment of a ſelect committee to conſider the preſent ſtate of commercial credit in this country, and to report their opinion thereupon to the Houſe. This was an object which, under the preſent circumſtances, was unqueſtionably of great importance; and ſuggeſtions had been made to him of meaſures which he truſted might be highly beneficial.

A committee was then appointed.

ADDRESS ON LORD AUCKLAND'S MEMORIAL.

Mr. SHERIDAN ſaid, that the motion which he ſhould have the honour of ſubmitting to the Houſe was one that not only involved the character of the Right Honourable Gentleman (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) and the whole of his Majeſty's Miniſters, but alſo the character of the Britiſh nation, and therefore was of the higheſt importance. It had in view that of calling for an explanation of the real intent, nature, purpoſe, and object of the war in which we were now engaged. That was the right character and deſcription of the motion which he ſhould offer to the Houſe.

In the courſe of the diſcuſſions which had taken place on the preſent war, there had appeared in that Houſe three deſcriptions of perſons. One who thought there ſhould appear in this country,

try, at this time, ſomething like a general concurrence of opinion, and that inconſiderable differences ſhould not appear upon the ſubject.

The next were thoſe who entertained a juſt apprehenſion of danger to this country from the power of France, ſuppoſing ſhe ſhould be able to overrun Holland, and therefore, to prevent the increaſe of their enemy's power, agreed to ſupport government in their efforts to prevent it.

The third deſcription of gentlemen were thoſe who thought that this was a war of neceſſity on our part, for that it was for the ſafety of our allies and the general ſecurity of Europe, therefore we ſhould purſue vigorous meaſures againſt the French, and for that reaſon they gave their ſupport to government.—Of the ſecond claſs he declared himſelf to be, and admitted their principle, that the enormous power and aggrandizement of France in the event of the acquiſition of Holland would be dangerous to Great Britain, and therefore he ſhould ſupport government in oppoſing France for the ſecurity of this country, upon a hope and truſt that nothing would be omitted on the part of our Miniſter which future negociation might effect, taking care at the ſame time to proteſt againſt a war of extirpation, or of vengeance, pledging themſelves to ſupport nothing that did not immediately belong to the ſafety of this country. The third deſcription of gentlemen who ſupported the war carried their principle, from what appeared to them to be the danger to which all Europe was expoſed, by the example of the French, to the recommendation of a ſyſtem of a war of extermination of the principles and opinions of our neighbours; and in ſupport of this idea they quoted all the crimes alleged to have been committed by the men whoſe principles they thus oppoſed. He, and others with whom he had the honour and pleaſure to agree, had endeavoured to draw from theſe gentlemen ſomething like a definition of the extent to which their principles would or might lead them, but from all the diſcuſſion which took place upon that ſubject nothing like an explanation was given upon that point. This day, however, he was determined to put that ſubject to the teſt, and he ſhould maintain that Miniſters had abandoned the principles of the war, upon which alone they had the aſſiſtance of the moderate, and the general concurrence of the country, and the only principle they themſelves were fond of profeſſing, namely, to keep faith with our allies, or check the aggrandizement of France, and to preſerve the ſafety of this country. If in entering upon this ſubject any gentleman expected that he ſhould be brought to pledge himſelf in the leaſt degree for the principles or the politics of the Noble Lord (Auckland), or that he ſhould be influenced by any conſidera-

tions

tions with regard to that nobleman, ſuch a gentleman would certainly be diſappointed, for he muſt frankly declare that perſonally againſt him, or any other perſon in adminiſtration, he had no ill will, but at the ſame time he had no heſitation in ſaying, that he did not reſpect or eſteem the man; he would ſay no more upon that ſubject, for a reaſon always concluſive with him, becauſe he was not preſent; all, therefore, he ſhould ſay of him, he begged to be underſtood as ſpeaking of his Majeſty's Miniſter at the Hague. In this view he muſt ſay that he diſapproved of every memorial that Noble Lord had ſet his name to, from the firſt diſturbances in France, down to the time of his ſigning that of the fifth of the preſent month, upon which the motion he ſhould conclude with would be founded. All he was concerned in was marked by a ſort of officious oſtentation, which ill became the character he ought to repreſent. Inſtead of the moderate language of a Miniſter, deſirous to ſhew that he was only an ambaſſador, he appeared always in the ſtile of a viceroy, whoſe buſineſs it was to dictate and command. The paper with which he announced the war with France was of this haughty, arrogant ſtyle, in which he called the national aſſembly of France miſcreants. Such language, Mr. Sheridan ſaid, was not only improper, but rather inexcuſable, for they were not the effect of an overpowering warmth, which frequently accompanied the animation of debate; they were the cool, collected words of an ambaſſador, who ought to have reflected that he repreſented his Majeſty of Great Britain, and the people of England, both of whom he was ſure would be aſhamed of ſuch expreſſions—ſuch expreſſions could anſwer no good purpoſe; neither our ſoldiers nor our ſailors would enliſt the ſooner, or fight the better for it; and the people of this country ought not to be ſuppoſed to agree to uſe harſh words againſt any others who had the direction of the public force of a nation, ſtill leſs that they could inſtruct their ambaſſador to be a bluſterer: ſuch conduct would be diſgraceful and ignominious. Here, to illuſtrate this point, Mr. Sheridan made a quotation from Vatel, on the law of nations, who ſays, that for nations at war it is neceſſary to obſerve, that they ought to abſtain from all harſh expreſſion of hatred, animoſity, or contempt of each other, &c. This, he ſaid, appeared to him to contain ſo good and ſo neceſſary a leſſon to Lord Auckland, that in the next diſpatches a copy of it ought to be ſent to him. With regard to the particular paper of the 5th of April, he objected to it not only on account of its particular indecency, but alſo on account of its opening and diſcloſing a new principle for carrying on the war; a principle hitherto in this country entirely without foundation. The firſt tranſlation from the French ſtated, "That ſome of theſe

deteſtable regicides are now in ſuch a ſituation, that they can be ſubjected to the ſword of the law." But from that which was now upon the table, a new colour was attempted to be given to the ſentence by ſaying *liable* to be ſubjected to the ſword of the law; this, he ſaid, was not warranted by the original; for the plain ſenſe of the ſentence was that theſe perſons might be ſacrificed, becauſe they were in the hands of the Dutch. Again, the paper ſtated a recital of a former declaration, that his Britannic Majeſty and their High Mightineſſes would not fail to purſue the moſt efficacious meaſures to prevent the perſons who might themſelves be guilty of ſo atrocious a crime from finding any aſylum in their reſpective ſtates.—To which the Dutch gave anſwer, that they will refuſe any aſylum to ſuch perſons, that they will drive them away; but not one word about putting them to death.—The war was declared on the 21ſt of January, and there the matter reſted until the 5th of April, and for what reaſon?—Becauſe it was not until this time the commiſſioners of the convention came into cuſtody.—It was only then neceſſary to ſay, that theſe regicides ſhould be ſubjected to the ſword of the law, which was in other words that they ſhould be put to death. If Miniſters ſaid they gave no inſtruction for this, he ſaid he ſhould be perfectly ſatisfied, and very glad to hear it; becauſe then the nation would be reſcued, and the infamy would only fall upon the individual.—The Noble Lord proceeded to ſtate in his memorial, that the divine vengeance ſeemed not to have been tardy;—upon this he had only to obſerve, that we were engaged in a war which for our ſafety we had purſued, to the accompliſhment of its originally avowed object, and for the divine vengeance, for reſpect, for decorum and piety, we ought to be ſilent.—The memorial was as follows:

MEMORIAL

Preſented on the fifth of this month by the Britiſh and Imperial Miniſters to the States General.

Hauts et Puiſſans Seigneurs!

Il eſt connu que, vers la fin du mois de Septembre de l'année dernière, S. M. *Britannique* & *V. H. P.* ont donné de concert l'aſſurance ſolemnelle, que dans le cas, où le danger imminent, qui menacoit dès-lors les jours de L. M. *Très-Chrétiennes* & de leur famille, ſe réaliſat,

"High and Mighty Lords,

"It is known that towards the end of the month of September, laſt year, his Britannic Majeſty and your High Mightineſſes gave, in concert, a ſolemn aſſurance, that in caſe the imminent danger which then threatened the lives of their Moſt Chriſtian Majeſties

S. M.

S. M. & *L. H. P.* ne manqueroient pas de prendre les meſures les plus efficaces pour empêcher que les perſonnes, qui ſe ſeroient renduës coupables d'un crime auſſi atroce, ne trouvaſſent aucun aſyle dans leurs etats reſpectifs. Cet evénement, qu'on preſſentoit avec horreur, a en lieu; & la vengeance divine paroît ne s'être pas longtems fait attendre. Quelques-uns de ces déteſtables régicides ſont deja dans le cas de pouvoir être ſoumis au glaive de la loi. Les autres ſont encore au milieu du peuple, qu'ils ont plongé dans un ahîme de maux, & anquel la famine, l'anarchie & la guerre civile préparent de nouvelles calamités. Enfin tout ce que nous voyons arriver, concourt à nous faire regarder comme prochaine la fin de ces malheureux, dont la démence & les atrocités ont pénétré d'*épouvante* & d'*indignation* tous ceux qui tiennent aux principes de religion, de morale, & d'humanité.

En conſéquence les ſous-ſignés ſoumettent au jugement éclairé & à la ſageſſe de *Vos Hautes-Puiſſances*, ſi elles ne trouveroient pas convenable d'employer tous les moyens, qui ſont en leur, pouvoir, pour défendre l'entrée de leurs etats en *Europe* ou de leurs colonies à tous ceux des membres de la ſoi-diſante *Convention Nationale*, ou du prétendu *Conſeil Executif*, qui ont pris part directement ou indirectement au dit crime, &, s'ils etoient decouverts &

and their family ſhould be realiſed, his Majeſty and your High Mightineſſes would not fail to take the moſt efficacious meaſures to prevent the perſons who might render themſelves guilty of ſo atrocious a crime from finding any aſylum in your reſpective dominions. This event, which was foreſeen with horror, has taken place, and the divine vengeance ſeems not to have been tardy. *Some of theſe deteſtable regicides are already in ſuch a ſituation that they may be ſubjected to the ſword of the law.* The reſt are ſtill in the midſt of a people whom they have plunged into an abyſs of evils, and for whom famine, anarchy, and civil war, are preparing new calamities.—In ſhort, every thing that we ſee happen, induces us to conſider as at hand the end of theſe wretches, whoſe madneſs and atrocities have filled with terror and indignation all thoſe who reſpect the principles of religion, morality, and humanity.

"The underſigned, therefore, ſubmit to the enlightened judgment and wiſdom of your High Mightineſſes, whether it would not be proper to employ all the means in your power to prohibit from entering your ſtates in *Europe*, or your colonies, all thoſe members of the ſelf-titled National Convention, or of the pretended Executive Council, who have, directly or indirectly, participated in the ſaid crime; and if they ſhould be diſcover-

arrêtés, de les faire livrer entre les mains de la juſtice pour ſervir de lecon & d'exemple au genre-humain.

Fait à la Haye ce 5, Avril 1793.

(Signé) Auckland,
Louis C. de Starhemberg.

ed and arreſted, to deliver them up to juſtice, that they may ſerve as a leſſon and example to mankind.

"*Done at the Hague this 5th of April 1793.*

(Signed) "Auckland,
"Louis C. de Starhemberg.

[The tranſlation above given is the ſame with that originally inſerted in moſt of the Newſpapers; from which the tranſlation preſented to the Houſe of Commons differs by ſubſtituting for the ſentence printed in Italics—*Some of theſe deteſtable regicides are already in the caſe to be liable to be ſubjected to the ſword of the law*—a verſion which is not even Engliſh—and for wretches, *Malheureux*, unhappy perſons; contrary to the obvious meaning of the original.]

Theſe men were delivered up by the treachery of Dumourier, and Lord Auckland recommended to the Dutch that they might be murdered and aſſaſſinated. He wiſhed to know if it was poſſible for a more horrid principle to be entertained, or one, if followed up, more likely to be attended with the moſt horrid conſequences.—Could we ſuppoſe that the French would not retaliate?—What then would reſult, a general maſſacre of all priſoners of war. Such ſentiments were odious to any man poſſeſſing the leaſt feeling of humanity.—The fate of theſe people it ſeemed was to be a leſſon and example to mankind.—He was ſure the people of this country deteſted ſuch leſſons and examples.—It reminded him of a proclamation recommending the deſtruction of America during that war, and while the Noble Lord was commiſſioner there, and to which there was a very ſenſible proteſt, which was ſuppoſed to be the production of a Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Burke) now in the Houſe. This was drawn after the able ſpeeches of Mr. Fox, Mr. Powis, and others in that Houſe, and the Duke of Grafton, Duke of Richmond, and others in the other. The proteſt was ſigned by a great number of the firſt perſons in this country. This proteſt admirably explained the fatal effects of attempting the deſtruction or diſmemberment of an empire. Here Mr. Sheridan read the proteſt, and then obſerved, that he wiſhed this alſo to be ſent in the next diſpatches to Lord Auckland. But again to return to the paper of the 5th of April, Mr. Sheridan ſaid, he objected to it for a reaſon which was independant of the general ground he had already ſtated; it was that of declaring all peace with the people of France utterly unattainable, until there ſhould

ſhould be dictated, according to the deſire of the combined powers, a certain form of government to France. Were we, he aſked, at war with the nation of France at this moment?—If the principle on which we proceeded to the war was followed, he would ſay that we were not at war with the nation of France.—The object we profeſſed to have in view was accompliſhed; and we ſhould negociate with thoſe who had the direction of the public force.—Of what uſe was it for us to call their armies a banditti of robbers, and their mariners pirates; at laſt we muſt negociate with them or go the length of deſtroying them all, a fruitleſs and a vain attempt.—Was it the object, or was it not, of this war, on our part, to aſſiſt the conſpiracy to dictate a form of government to France, or totally to deſtroy the whole nation?—He wanted a plain explicit anſwer to that—let the Miniſter ſpeak fairly out upon that ſubject—the people of England ought to know what were the views of the Miniſter upon this war—to what extent it was to be carried, that they might not be proceeding under a deluſion. Suppoſing we had gained our original purpoſe, he wanted to know how peace was to be obtained, without negociation with thoſe who have the exerciſe of government. If we countenanced the memorial of Lord Auckland, we ſhould ſay, that the whole national convention—all the members of the municipalities—all the members of the diſtricts—in ſhort, about eight or nine millions of people, muſt be put to death before we can negociate for peace. Suppoſing that we were to join the conſpiracy to dictate a form of government to France, he then ſhould wiſh to know what ſort of government it was that we were to inſiſt on. Were we to take the form of it from that exerciſed by the Emperor—or that of the King of Pruſſia—or was it to be formed by the lady who ſo mildly conducted the affairs of Ruſſia—or were they all to lay their heads together, and by the aſſiſtance of the Pope to dictate a form of government to France?—were the French to have a conſtitution ſuch as the Right Honourable Gentleman Mr. Burke was likely to applaud?—Indeed, he feared, that this was not yet ſettled, and there were various ſpecimens of what had been already thought of by different powers.—There were two manifeſtos of the Prince Cobourg, the one promiſed the form of government choſen by themſelves, in which they agreed to have a monarchy, and afterwards, in the courſe of four days, this was retracted in conſequence of the acceſſion of Dumourier to the confederacy.—What would the Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Burke) ſay if they ſhould not give the French the form of the conſtitution of Poland, or would he content himſelf with ſaying, they ought not to have ſuch a conſtitution?—He believed that neither the Chancellor of the Exchequer, nor any of his ſupporters, would ſay any thing

thing at preſent upon that ſubject.—It appeared however ſomewhat myſterious, perhaps, that after the congreſs at *Antwerp*, in which Great Britain was not unrepreſented, that the intention of the combined powers had altered, and that a much more ſanguinary mode was to be purſued againſt France than had been before intended; and perhaps the time might come when the parties might follow the example ſet by the manifeſto of the Duke of Brunſwick, that theſe were threats which were not intended to be carried into execution.—But this was not the way to amuſe us.—The people of England would not long be content to remain in the dark as to the object of the war. Again he muſt aſk what was the object of our purſuit in conjunction with the other powers againſt France? Was it to reſtore the ancient tyranny and deſpotiſm of that nation? This would pleaſe ſome people in this country he knew, particularly emigrants, but nothing would be ſo hateful to the people of this country, or any other, where there was the leaſt love of freedom; nor could any thing be more deſtructive to the tranquillity and happineſs of Europe. Were we to join Dumourier in a declaration not to reſt until we had put to death thoſe deteſtable regicides, calling themſelves philoſophers, and all the miſcreants who had deſtroyed all lawful authority in France? If we were, he would venture to ſay, this would be a war for a purpoſe entirely new in the hiſtory of wars; and as it was called a war of vengeance, he muſt ſay that we arrogated to ourſelves a right which belonged to the Divinity, to whom alone vengeance ought to be left. If the Miniſter ſaid, that on our part there was no intention to interfere in the internal government of France, he muſt then aſk what were the views of the other powers with whom we now acted in concert againſt France?—Was it to make a partition of France, as they did of Poland?—If he was told that it was impoſſible for the crowned heads, acting in concert upon this great occaſion, to have any but juſt and honourable views; he would anſwer, that the ſubject was of too much magnitude to be paſſed away in ſuch a manner, and for his ſuſpicions he was juſtified by example; and he was fortified by the obſervation of an Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Jenkinſon) with reſpect to the father of the preſent Emperor, that no man ought to take his word for one hour. No material alteration, he believed, had taken place in the views of that court ſince the death of that prince, nor of others in the preſent confederacy. Were we to forget that the King of Pruſſia encouraged the Brabanters to revolt, and then left them to their fate? Were we to forget the recent conduct with reſpect to Poland? Were we to forget the taking of Dantzick and Thorn? Indeed he thought, that thoſe who every day told us in pompous language of the neceſſity there was for kings, and of the

the ſervice they were to the cauſe of humanity, they ſhould at leaſt have ſpared the public the pain of thinking of theſe ſubjects by not entering into the views of that unnatural confederacy. Indeed it was impoſſible for him to diſmiſs the conſideration of Poland, without adverting to an eloquent paſſage in the work of a Right Honourable Gentleman, who was an enthuſiaſtic admirer of the late revolution there.—Here Mr. Sheridan quoted a part of Mr. Burke's appeal from the old to the new Whigs, which relates to the revolution of Poland, upon which he beſtows the higheſt of all encomiums.—Such, Mr. Sheridan ſaid, was the deſcription which the Right Honourable Gentleman gave to that revolution; was it to be ſuppoſed that this man would afterwards ſay that this ought to have been trampled upon and deſtroyed, or ſhould ſuffer it to happen, and never to utter a word upon the ſubject: he did not think that monarchs of the preſent day had fulfilled the promiſes that ſome perſons had made for, and what was expected of them, ſo that their names might be handed down to poſterity as a glorious example of integrity and juſtice!—With reſpect to the future views of the different powers, they might beſt be conjectured by what had already happened. The Empreſs of Ruſſia, upon the ſincerity of whoſe motives, and integrity of whoſe actions, there could be no doubt, previous to the attack on Poland, among other things in her manifeſto, ſaid by her Miniſter—

"From theſe conſiderations, her Imperial Majeſty, my moſt gracious miſtreſs, as well to indemnify herſelf for her many loſſes, as for the future ſafety of her empire and the Poliſh dominions, and for the cutting off at once, for ever, all future diſturbances and frequent changes of government, *has been pleaſed now to take under her ſway*, and to unite for ever to her empire, the following tracts of land, with all their inhabitants."

This was the language for which the confederates were to juſtify perhaps the future taking to their own ſway, and unite for ever the dominions of France. We had heard much of the abominable ſyſtem of affiliation adopted by the French; but this was a Ruſſian impartial affiliation, and no doubt the confederate powers approved of it. So will they affiliate all France, if they can. So will they England, when they have it in their power; and he was ſorry to ſay, that if we joined in that infamous confederacy, and the people agreed to it, England would deſerve it.—The Empreſs then proceeded to ſtate what ſhe expected for the favour ſhe had conferred—

"Her Imperial Majeſty expects from the *gratitude* of her new ſubjects, that they being placed by her bounty on an equality with Ruſſians, ſhall, in return, *transfer their* love of their former country to the new one, and live in future attached to ſo great and generous an Empreſs."—

On

On an equality with Ruſſia! This was a glorious equality—liable to be ſent to Siberia with other Ruſſian ſlaves. For this mighty favour they were to transfer, as naturally might be expected, the whole love they had for their native country to Ruſſia, their new and happy land—for the ſame Miniſter of this equitable and generous Empreſs proceeded to ſay,

"I, *therefore, now inform every perſon, from the higheſt to the loweſt, that, within one month, they* MUST *take the oath of allegiance before the witneſſes whom I ſhall appoint; and if any of the gentlemen, or other ranks poſſeſſing real or immovable property, regardleſs of their own intereſt, ſhould refuſe to take the oath preſcribed, three months are allowed for the ſale of their immovables, and their free departure over the borders: after the expiration of which term all their remaining property ſhall be confiſcated to the crown.*"

Really, after ſuch ſpecimens, one would have ſuppoſed, but for the well known character of the council of theſe confederate powers, there was madneſs in them, or they would not thus think of inſulting the feelings of human nature. But this was not all; mere gratitude was not enough—an oath it ſeemed muſt be taken; for—

"The clergy, both high and low, as paſtors of their flocks, *are expected to ſet the example in taking the oath*; and in the daily ſervice in their churches they muſt pray for her Imperial Majeſty, for her ſucceſſor the Great Duke Paul Petrovitz, and for all the Imperial family, according to the formula which ſhall be given them."

Here again there was evidence of a great and good mind, for this pious Empreſs was determined that perjury ſhould be very general in her dominions, and that the example ſhould be ſet by the clergy!—Mr. Sheridan then proceeded to take notice of the conduct of the great and good King of Pruſſia with reſpect to Dantzick, as ſpecified in what he called his reaſon for taking poſſeſſion of part of Poland with his military forces.

"It would certainly militate againſt the firſt rules of a ſound policy, as well as the duties incumbent on us for the preſervation of tranquillity in our ſtate, if, in ſuch a ſtate of things in a neighbouring great kingdom, we remained inactive ſpectators, and ſhould wait for the period when the faction feel themſelves ſtrong enough to appear in public; by which our own neighbouring provinces would be expoſed to ſeveral dangers by the conſequences of the anarchy on our frontiers.

"We have, therefore, in conjunction with her Majeſty the Empreſs of Ruſſia, and with the aſſent of his Majeſty the Roman Emperor, acknowledged, that the ſafety of our ſtates did require to ſet to the republic of Poland ſuch boundaries which are more compatible

compatible with her interior ſtrength and ſituation, and to facilitate her the means of procuring, without prejudice of her liberty, a well ordained and active form of government, of maintaining herſelf in the undiſturbed enjoyment of the ſame, and preventing by theſe means the diſturbances which have ſo often ſhaken her own tranquillity, and endangered the ſafety of her neighbours.

" In order to attain this end, and to preſerve the republic of Poland from the dreadful conſequences which muſt be the reſult of her internal diviſion, and to reſcue her from her utter ruin, but chiefly to withdraw her inhabitants from the horrors of the deſtructive doctrine which they are but too prone to follow; there is, according to our thorough perſuaſion, to which alſo her Majeſty, the Empreſs of all the Ruſſias, accedes in the moſt perfect congruity with our intentions and principles, no other means, except to incorporate her frontier provinces into our ſtates, and for this purpoſe immediately to take poſſeſſion of the ſame, and to prevent, in time, all misfortunes which might ariſe from the continuance of the reciprocal diſturbances.

" Wherefore we have reſolved, with the aſſent of her Ruſſian Majeſty, to take poſſeſſion of the above-mentioned diſtricts of Poland, and alſo of the cities of Dantzic and Thorn, to the end of incorporating them to our ſtate.

" We herewith publicly announce our firm and unſhaken reſolution, and expect that the Poliſh nation will very ſoon aſſemble in the Diet, and adopt the neceſſary meaſures to the end of ſettling things in an amicable manner, and of obtaining the ſalutary end of ſecuring to the republic of Poland an undiſturbed peace, and preſerving her inhabitants from the terrible conſequences of anarchy. At the ſame time we exhort the ſtates and inhabitants of the diſtricts and towns which we have taken poſſeſſion of, as already mentioned, both in a gracious and ſerious manner, not to oppoſe our commanders and troops, ordered for that purpoſe, but rather tractably to ſubmit to our government, and acknowledge us from this day forward as their lawful king and ſovereign, to behave like loyal and obedient ſubjects, and to renounce all connection with the crown of Poland."

Now after this, Mr. Sheridan ſaid, he wiſhed to know whether any robbery that had been committed by the moſt deſperate of the French, or whether any of their acts were more infamous than this. Of what conſequence was it to any man whether he was plundered by a man with a white feather in his hat, or by one with a nightcap on his head. He ſaid that if there could be any difference, the ſolemnity with which the thing was done was an aggravation of the inſult. The poorer ſort of the French could plead diſtreſs, and could alſo ſay that

they had endured the hardſhip, the toils, and the perils of a winter campaign. But here was nothing but a naked robbery, without any part taken in the calamity which gave birth to it. He had alluded to theſe things merely for the purpoſe of giving the Miniſter an opportunity of diſapproving of them; he hoped he ſhould not hear the principle avowed. But there was ſomething ſtill remaining to be attended to—How were we ſure that the ſame laudable ambition which led the Empreſs to affiliate in her way three millions of men in Poland, that England might not then be led into a plan, the extent of which ſhe could not aſcertain, and that in time a freſh idea may ariſe reſpecting the balance of power, and that after we have expended our beſt blood and treaſure for a conſiderable time, the Miniſter may ſay that the Britiſh lion muſt have his ſhare of the plunder, ſo that other territories remain to be defended, as contrary to our expectation, and contrary to the wiſhes of all who have the welfare of this country at heart: he did not ſay he knew this, but he was ſure this was very poſſible, and that by the ſyſtem we were now purſuing, we might be forced into that ſituation; for after all that had hitherto been done by the ſplendid confederacy againſt France, the gentlemen and ladies of that undertaking had not yet agreed upon the diviſion. But it might be ſaid that if we ſtopped here we ſhould be in a worſe ſituation than when we began the conteſt: that was certainly very true, but could any man in Europe ſhow how he could profit by an alliance with ſuch perſons as the confederates againſt France: ſuppoſing they ſucceeded, were they fit to be our friends upon founding a plan of government? Could ſuch deſpots love the free conſtitution of this country? On the contrary, he was perſuaded that, upon the very ſame principle that Poland was divided, and Dantzic and Thorn ſubjugated, England itſelf might be made an object for the ſame fate, as ſoon as it became convenient to the confederates to make the experiment; he would defy any man to ſhew the principle upon which a difference could exiſt with regard to us and the other ſacrificed countries, in the wiſhes and deſires of the combined powers. But ſuppoſing this to be out of all queſtion, and that this country had nothing to dread in that reſpect, and that all Europe had nothing to look to but the extermination of the French principles, how would the preſent proſpect of our ſucceſs then appear? Could we entertain ſo vain a hope (indeed he was aſtoniſhed to hear it even hinted), that the French, who had all the winter been lying in the ſnow ſome times, and wading up to their necks in water at others, in an enemy's country, fighting for their principles, will, in their own, ſubmit to give them up in a mild ſeaſon? The thought was too abſurd, and the expectation too extravagant to be harboured

boured by a man poſſeſſed of a ſpark of rationality. It was upon theſe grounds he aſked what were the lengths to which Miniſters intended we ſhould go on with the preſent war. He had no delight in calling the attention of that Houſe, and of the public, to the calamities of this country, but it was his duty, and he was ſure that to conceal the truth might be fatal to our intereſts. The truth then was, that we were already got into an alarming ſituation.—Our general internal commercial credit was moſt ſhockingly deranged; and the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, this very day, was a lamentable proof of it.—Bankruptcies would ſoon be beyond all calculation.—The preſent Chancellor had been but a few months in office, and he had already affixed the ſeals to between 4 and 500 commiſſions.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer had, for ten years, promiſed from year to year to reduce and bring our expenditure within our income; that had not arrived, nor ever would, by purſuing ſuch a war as the preſent. If manufactures were ſtopped and emigrations ſhould take place, thoſe who felt the evils would think themſelves deceived by Government, and that might bring on a diſlike to Government itſelf; this would be followed by that deſire for innovation which had proved the deſtruction of France. He concluded with moving,

"That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to expreſs to his Majeſty the diſpleaſure of this Houſe at a certain memorial, dated the 5th of April, 1793, preſented to the States General of the United Provinces, ſigned by the Right Honourable Lord Auckland, his Majeſty's Miniſter at the Hague, the ſaid memorial containing a declaration of the following tenor:—'Some of theſe deteſtable regicides,' (meaning by this expreſſion the commiſſioners of the national convention of France, delivered to Prince Cobourg by General Dumourier) 'are now 'in ſuch a ſituation that they can be ſubjected to the ſword of 'the law; the reſt are ſtill in the midſt of a people whom they 'have plunged into an abyſs of evils; and for whom famine, 'anarchy, and civil war, are about to prepare new calamities. 'In ſhort, every thing that we ſee happen induces us to conſider as not far diſtant the end of theſe wretches, whoſe madneſs and atrocities have filled with horror and indignation 'all thoſe who reſpect the principles of religion, morality, and 'humanity.

'The underſigned, therefore, ſubmit to the enlightened judgment and wiſdom of your High Mightineſſes, whether it 'would not be proper to employ all the means in your power 'to prohibit from entering your dominions in Europe, or your 'colonies, all thoſe members of the aſſembly ſtyling itſelf the 'national convention, or of the pretended executive council,

'who were directly or indirectly concerned in the said crime; 'and if they should be discovered and arrested, to deliver them 'up to justice, that they may serve as a lesson and example to 'mankind.'

"To acquaint his Majesty of the sense of this House, that the said Minister, in making this declaration, has departed from the principles upon which this House was induced to concur in the measures necessary for the support of the war in which the British nation is at present unfortunately engaged; and has announced an intention on his part, inconsistent with the repeated assurances given by his Majesty, that he would not interfere in the internal affairs of France; and for which declaration this House cannot easily be brought to believe that the said Minister derived any authority from his Majesty's instructions.

"Humbly to beseech his Majesty, that so much of the said memorial, as contains the declaration above recited, may be publicly disavowed by his Majesty as containing matter inconsistent with the wisdom and humanity which at all times have distinguished the British nation, and derogatory to the dignity of the crown of this realm, by avowing an intention to interpose in the internal affairs of France, which his Majesty has, in so many declarations, disclaimed, and mingling purposes of vengeance with those objects of defence and security to ourselves and our allies, which his Majesty's Ministers have so often declared to be the sole object of the present war.

"To represent to his Majesty, that this House has already expressed its sense of the acts spoken of in the above declaration; but that as neither this, nor any other foreign state, can possess any cognizance, or jurisdiction respecting them, the only tendency of menaces against their perpetrators is, to compel this country, either unjustifiably to carry on war for the subversion of the present government of France, or disgracefully to seek peace by an ignominious negociation with the very government whom we have thus insulted and stigmatized in our public acts.

"That these threats must tend to give to the hostilities with which Europe is now afflicted, a peculiar barbarism and ferocity, by provoking and reviving a system of retaliation and bloodshed, which experience of its destructive tendency, honour, humanity, and religion, have combined to banish from the practice of civilized war.

"And finally, to represent to his Majesty how deeply the reputation of his Majesty's counsels is interested in disclaiming these unjustifiable, and, we trust, unauthorised denunciations of vengeance, so destructive of all respect for the consistency, and of all confidence in the sincerity of the public acts of his Ministers, and so manifestly tending at once to render the principle of the war

war unjuſt, the conduct of hoſtilities barbarous, and the attainment of honourable peace hopeleſs."

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER ſaid, that, comparing either the notice given by the Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Sheridan), or the terms of his motion, with the whole tenor and ſubſtance of his ſpeech, he found it extremely difficult to adhere to the ſubject of the notice and of the addreſs moved for, and at the ſame time to touch upon any part of the ſpeech of the Honourable Gentleman.—The notice given was, of a motion for the removal and impeachment of Lord Auckland, on account of the memorial of the 5th of April, ſigned by him, and preſented to the States General of the United Provinces, and the addreſs moved for went to a cenſure of his conduct as improper, though it ſtopped ſhort with reſpect to the removal and impeachment.—The ſpeech, however, of the Honourable Gentleman conſiſted, in a great meaſure, of invectives againſt the King of Pruſſia and the Empreſs of Ruſſia, with which the ſubject of the addreſs had no connection whatever. As to the preciſe queſtion before the Houſe, he had no difficulty in maintaining that none of the imputations in the addreſs aroſe out of the memorial, upon any fair or juſt conſtruction of it; indeed it expreſſed no more, with reſpect to the horrible act lately perpetrated in France, and the perſons immediately concerned in its perpetration, than thoſe ſentiments of juſt horror and deteſtation, which muſt be ſtrongly felt by every generous mind, and had been already ſanctioned by the reſolutions of that Houſe; theſe, therefore, muſt, by parity of reaſoning, be equally liable to the charge of leading either to an endleſs war, or to an ignominious peace. There was not a word, he ſaid, in the memorial which went to put the principle of the war upon any other footing than that which had been uniformly avowed by his Majeſty's Miniſters.—It was unqueſtionably his ſincere wiſh, and he thought it a benevolent wiſh, that a crime ſo atrocious as the murder of the French King ſhould meet its juſt puniſhment, ſo as to afford an awful and uſeful leſſon to the preſent and to future ages; but whatever might be his wiſh on the ſubject, it did not certainly belong to this country to inflict ſuch puniſhment, or to inſiſt that it ſhould be inflicted, and he meant therefore diſtinctly to ſay, that we had no ſuch object in view in entering upon the preſent war.—We had declared previouſly that if the crime ſhould be committed, we would afford no aſylum to the perpetrators of ſuch a horrid deed; and were we not well entitled to do ſo?—Did our being at war for other cauſes prevent us from expreſſing our feelings on ſuch a ſubject, and would our doing ſo alter the principle of the war? A total miſapprehenſion ſeemed to have run through the ſpeech of the

the Honourable Gentleman in recurring to the different opinions which had been entertained with reſpect to what would or would not have been a juſt and proper cauſe of our declaring war againſt France; he ſeemed entirely to forget that France had made war on us, and had dragged us into it by their unjuſt and unprovoked aggreſſion. In ſuch a ſituation, it neceſſarily became the principle of the war on our part to meet the attack ſo made, to repel and exhauſt the force of the enemy, and to acquire ſecurity to ourſelves and our allies.—What word then, he would aſk, was there in the memorial in queſtion which varied the cauſe of war, or affected the queſtion with reſpect to the concluſion of peace?—But, ſays the Hon. Gentleman, how can you afterwards treat with perſons to whom you have applied ſuch harſh and opprobrious expreſſions? If there were really any force in this obſervation, the cenſure would equally be againſt that Houſe as againſt the Noble Lord; for they had in terms no leſs ſtrong expreſſed their abhorrence of a deed, which no man could approve who had one ſpark of juſtice or humanity in his compoſition. We were certainly no more pledged by the memorial than by the declarations of that Houſe. The Honourable Gentleman had, however, introduced an exaggeration of his argument, by ſuppoſing that the vengeance which he talked of was not to be confined to the immediate perpetrator of the King's murder, but was to go to the extirpation of eight or nine millions of people who had conſented to it. He would now beg to call the attention of the Houſe to what is really the meaning of the papers upon which this criminal accuſation againſt Lord Auckland is founded.—The Honourable Gentleman had objected to the tranſlation of one paſſage, and ſeemed to think that the original would bear rather a different meaning upon a proper conſtruction. He truſted Gentlemen would not think it prudent, upon a matter of conſtruction, to found any motion for removal or impeachment againſt the Noble Lord (Auckland), who had unqueſtionably rendered the moſt eſſential ſervice to his country. But, taking the Honourable Gentleman's own interpretation of the memorial: was it there ſaid, that any offence had been committed againſt the Dutch laws, or any demand made that they ſhould be executed by the States General? No—nor had the perſons ſuppoſed to be alluded to been ſent into any Dutch cuſtody. There was nothing more than a reflection made by Lord Auckland with reſpect to Divine Providence, in bringing to juſtice perſons who had been guilty of ſuch an atrocious crime;—and how bringing them to juſtice?—It was well known that an idea was then entertained, with great confidence, as to a counter-revolution, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the conſtitutional monarchy of France, and to which more faith had

had been given than he could approve of. But when ſuch an idea exiſted ſo ſtrongly, it would ſurely be more natural to give a fair conſtruction to the memorial from the context and from circumſtances, rather than to ſeek for invidious conſtructions; and to ſuppoſe the meaning of the Noble Lord to have been, that if a proper penal tribunal ſhould be eſtabliſhed in France, they might be delivered up to the juſtice of their own country. What rule of juſtice or laws of nations could reprobate this? Are there not ſome crimes ſo notorious, that foreign countries, where the criminals may have taken refuge, are in uſe to act miniſterially in delivering them up to be tried in their own country? In the caſe of forgery this has been done, it being looked upon as a crime ſo dangerous in a commercial country:—he knew indeed of no inſtance in which this country had delivered up any criminal; but we have often availed ourſelves of the practice by demanding and procuring criminals to be delivered up to us:—we did ſo in a caſe which bore no remote analogy to the preſent:—there was a time when the ambaſſador of this country made a demand to the States General to deliver up certain regicides, and they were delivered up, tried, and executed. Is it to be imputed as a crime to Lord Auckland, that in ſuch a caſe he ſhould have acted with ſome degree of warmth on the ſpur of the occaſion; and following out the very principles which had been acted upon by that Houſe?—But, in addition to what he had already ſaid, upon general principles, he begged to ſay further, that a perſon abſent, particularly when abſent on public ſervice, is certainly entitled to candour and protection; though he did not ſay that abſence, even on public ſervice, ought to exempt perſons ſo abſent from the puniſhment of crimes. The recent ſervices too of the Noble Lord, which had been eminent in a very high degree, and of the moſt important benefit to this country, ought ſurely to be taken into conſideration. Theſe were the feelings which impreſſed his mind as to the immediate object before the Houſe. Other topics had been introduced by the Honourable Gentleman, into which it was not his intention to follow him; though they had operated on his mind to ſhew what motive had influenced him in bringing forward the preſent motion, to account for which he had found himſelf a good deal puzzled. He could not ſuppoſe that it proceeded from any malevolence or grudge towards the Noble Lord, this he knew was impoſſible; and beſides, it would have been ill gratified by pronouncing what appeared to him a high panegyric on the Noble Lord. Could then the motive of the Honourable Gentleman be exceſs of generoſity? Or, what could it be? He had indeed felt himſelf (perhaps not for the

firſt time) completely at a loſs to conjecture what were the motives of the Honourable Gentleman. Under the name of a motion againſt Lord Auckland, he had entered into a great ſcheme of continental politics; and, without pointing out the means of terminating the war, or of procuring to this country indemnification or ſecurity, his arguments would go to diſarm us altogether, and to ſay that, from our abhorrence of certain unjuſtifiable proceedings of the King of Pruſſia and the Empreſs of Ruſſia, we ought not to ally ourſelves with them, even for good purpoſes. He was as ready as any man to admit ſome of their acts to have been unjuſtifiable; and he held the *partition of Poland* in the utmoſt abhorrence. He was no friend to uſurpation and aggrandiſement in crowned heads, more than in other hands. He muſt however look to the degree of danger; and he was fully ſatisfied that, ſince the world began, in the whole page of hiſtory there could not be found any one ſyſtem of conqueſt or tyranny carried on by any crowned heads, or under the influence of any regular government, equal, in the moſt remote degree, in point of danger, to that which we are now oppoſing; a danger which threatened the whole of Europe, and was, in a particular manner, alarming to this country, as attacking the whole frame and fabric of its conſtitution and government. In a ſituation ſuch as this, will you not oppoſe *ambition* and *anarchy*, becauſe you diſapprove the partition of Poland? Infamous, indeed, as was this partition of Poland, it was not worſe than the laſt partition; and, was it, he would aſk the opinion of gentlemen who come forward on the other ſide of the Houſe, upon the preſent occaſion, that, after that partition, if this country ought to have conſidered any alliance with Ruſſia in the light which is now contended for?—[Here there was a cry of Hear! hear!] If you do not approve of all the meaſures of the King of Pruſſia, or the Empreſs of Ruſſia, will you, on that account, refuſe to accept their aſſiſtance in a juſt and neceſſary war? A war neither begun nor carried on by this country for the purpoſe of interfering in the internal polity of France, or of eſtabliſhing in that country any form of government whatever. An object, therefore, the attainment whereof was not eſſential towards the termination of the war, on our part, however important it might be to the general intereſts of Europe,—to the happineſs and proſperity of the French nation, and to the intereſt of this country in particular; and, in all theſe reſpects, he was free to confeſs, that it ſeemed to him of the higheſt importance. It was ſurely, however, impoſſible to ſay, that we ought not to co-operate to a juſt end with thoſe powers with whom we are at preſent allied; and to endeavour,

by

by a vigorous proſecution of the war, to procure an honourable and ſafe peace, and a reaſonable ſecurity for ourſelves and for the reſt of Europe.

Mr. FOX ſaid, the Right Honourable Gentleman had attempted to defend the memorial on the only ground on which a defence could have been expected—on its want of any definite meaning. In his uſual mode of alluding to paſt tranſactions in the Houſe, he had charged his Honourable Friend with putting off his motion for the purpoſe of taking new ground; although he knew that his Honourable Friend had put it off at the requeſt of friends who wiſhed to be preſent at the diſcuſſion, and who could not attend on the day for which he had firſt given notice. With reſpect to the motives and feelings which the Right Honourable Gentleman had taken the trouble of imagining for his Honourable Friend in making this motion, his Honourable Friend could have but one motive, his ſenſe of public duty; and the Noble Lord whoſe conduct was the cauſe of it, could excite no feeling but of the moſt placid and moſt tranquil nature. The Right Honourable Gentleman had defended the memorial on the ground of its meaning nothing at all, but he had not ventured to ſay, that it had no reference to the commiſſioners of the French Convention, put into the hands of the Auſtrians by Dumourier, on the hopes entertained of Dumourier's plan. The memorial ſaid, that theſe commiſſioners were in the ſituation to be ſubjected to the ſword of the law—to what ſword—of what law? To the ſword of any law which thoſe to whom they were delivered, not as priſoners but hoſtages, might frame for their execution? If it meant to the ſword of ſome law to be revived or eſtabliſhed in France, why was not that qualification inſerted in it? Lord Auckland's communication to the States General in September had never received the ſanction of the Houſe, and therefore the Houſe would be guilty of no inconſiſtency in condemning it. The purport of that communication was ſimply, that if an act, then generally apprehended and univerſally deprecated, ſhould be committed, the perpetrators of it would not be ſheltered from the laws of their country in any of his Majeſty's dominions.—But what did my Lord Auckland? He, not as a meaſure of prevention, not as a warning to deter, but on a principle of vengeance, obviouſly tending to provoke retaliation, and, in the very firſt inſtance, to endanger the lives of the ſurvivors of the royal family of France, ſuggeſted ſubjecting to the ſword of the law perſons given as hoſtages for their ſafety. What was the motive of his Honourable Friend in moving to cenſure his conduct?—To obtain the reprobation of the Houſe againſt making the war more bloody, and the conteſt more cruel. If the conduct of the French to Frenchmen had

excited abhorrence; if they had ſhewn a diſpoſition unjuſtly and wantonly to ſhed blood, now was the time for the Houſe to ſhew deteſtation of their diſpoſition and their practice, by expreſſing their deteſtation of this memorial. Another motive for his Honourable Friend's motion was, to obtain a clear and explicit declaration of the object of the war. The Right Honourable Gentleman had ſaid, that this was wholly unconnected with the internal government of France; but at the ſame time he expreſſed a wiſh, that in making peace we might not have to treat with thoſe perſons who now exerciſed the powers of government in that country. The real object, according to the Right Honourable Gentleman, was to obtain an indemnification for their unjuſt aggreſſion, and ſecurity for the peace of Europe in future. From this he learned that indemnification and ſecurity might, in the contemplation of the Right Honourable Gentleman, be gained from thoſe *Malheureux*, whether wretches, or unhappy perſons; for to drive them from the government was not an *object*, but a *wiſh*. With whom then, when the hour of negociation came, might we have to treat? With thoſe very men whom, in our memorials and public acts, we were now ſtigmatizing with every vilifying and opprobrious epithet. Hard words he had always thought imprudent, more eſpecially when applied to perſons, of whom it was poſſible we might afterwards have occaſion to ſpeak in very different terms. With thoſe very perſons the Right Honourable Gentleman had treated through M. Chauvelin, and had boaſted of ſending inſtructions to Lord Auckland to treat with them, even after the murder of the king. Would the Right Honourable Gentleman now refuſe to treat with them if an occaſion, conſiſtent with the avowed object of the war, ſhould offer?—No ſuch declaration would he venture to make. Lord Auckland then, if he ſhould be continued in his preſent ſituation, might be, from local circumſtances, the moſt convenient perſon to employ to treat with them. But what would the Frenchman ſay?—Suppoſing him to forget all the hard words, all the odious terms formerly applied to him, he would very naturally ſay—What, treat with Lord Auckland!—No—He has declared he will hang me if he can catch me, and therefore I will not put myſelf in his power. The anſwer to all this was, that the paper was only the too ſanguine effuſion of imaginary ſucceſs, and meant only that, when a tribunal ſhould be eſtabliſhed in France agreeable to the fancy of the combined powers, the members of the Convention and the Executive Council would be ſubjected to the ſword of the law; the memorial ought to have ſaid ſo; for it was giving but little encouragement to thoſe now in the exerciſe of government in France to

to think of negociation, to tell them that to get hold of them, or their agents, and to hang them, was one and the ſame thing.

His Honourable Friend had introduced the conduct of Ruſſia, Pruſſia, and the Emperor, which the Right Honourable Gentleman had treated as having no connection with the ſubject. Was it indeed ſo immaterial? If we were engaged in a war on the uſual principles of war, the cauſe aſcertained and the object definite, we might indeed avail ourſelves of the aſſiſtance of powers for the attainment of that object, whoſe views were very different from our own. But if, as the memorial implied, we were at war with perſons, not with the nation, and had thrown away the ſcabbard, it was of great importance to conſider whether or not their object was the ſame as ours—whether, while our aim was reparation and ſecurity, theirs was not aggrandizement; whether, while we ſought only to remove certain perſons from the government of France, they did not look to the partition? Of crowned heads it was always his practice to ſpeak with reſpect; but the actions of their cabinets were fair matter of diſcuſſion. Under this qualification he had no difficulty in ſaying, that the late conduct of Ruſſia and Pruſſia was ten thouſand times more reprehenſible than any part of the conduct of France towards other nations. Of the former partition of Poland he had never ſpoken but in terms of reprobation; but the preſent was more odious than the former, inaſmuch as it was marked by the moſt flagrant breach of faith, and the violation of the moſt ſolemn declarations. Pruſſia, it was notorious, had encouraged the revolution in Poland, and expreſſed the moſt decided approbation of ſeating the family of Saxony on the hereditary throne.—That very revolution was now made the pretext for entering Poland, and forcibly ſeizing on Dantzic and Thorn. Ruſſia entered Poland, declaring that her only object was to reſtore the republic which the revolution had ſubverted; and having gained poſſeſſion of the country, in contempt of all her former declarations, ſhe proceeded to divide it with Pruſſia and the Emperor. Strong, however, as was his reprobation of ſuch conduct, he had never ſaid that we ought on that account to reject a uſeful alliance with either of thoſe powers; but that while we profeſſed to be fighting againſt one ſpecies of tyranny, we ought to be careful not to ſet up another tyranny more dangerous. What was the anſwer to this?—Declamation againſt the horrid tendency of French principles, the ſubverſion of all order, and the introduction of anarchy. When we argued againſt principles, let us not confine our view to the miſchief they might occaſion, but conſider alſo the probability of their being eſtabliſhed.—Were three or four maniacs to eſcape from Bedlam, and take poſſeſſion of a houſe, the miſchief they would do in it would probably be much

greater than that of as many robbers; but people knew the improbability of their getting into that ſituation, and very properly guarded their houſes not againſt madmen from Bedlam, but againſt robbers. Juſt ſo was it with the probability of French principles gaining the aſcendency. Anarchy, if it could be introduced into other nations, was in its nature temporary—deſpotiſm, we know by ſad experience, to be laſting. The preſent Emperor was but little tried; but if, as generally happened, the ſyſtems of cabinets were more to be attended to than the characters of princes, we had ſeen the cabinet of Vienna repeatedly promiſing to the Auſtrian Netherlands the reſtoration of their ancient conſtitution, and as often refuſing to fulfil its promiſe; we had ſeen the late Emperor promiſe that reſtoration under our guarantee as the price of their return to allegiance; we had ſeen him refuſe it when he again got poſſeſſion; we had ſeen Lord Auckland proteſt againſt the refuſal, and afterwards moſt ſhamefully accede to it; and we had ſeen the governors of the Netherlands, making their eſcape by one gate, while the French were entering at another, declare the reſtoration of that conſtitution; as if the moment when they were compelled to reſign poſſeſſion, was the only fit moment for reſtoring the rights of thoſe whom they were ſent to govern. If, in all this, there were any ſymptoms of good faith to give us confidence, the Prince of Saxe Cobourg's proclamations were ſufficient to deſtroy it all. In the conduct of the three courts we ſhould find all the crimes of France towards other nations committed in a more unjuſtifiable manner. But the Right Honourable Gentleman ſaid, theſe were only topics to induce us to refuſe the aſſiſtance of thoſe courts. If the object of the war were diſtinct, we might indeed accept of their aſſiſtance with ſafety; but while all was doubt and uncertainty, how could we pretend to know what were their views, or what they expected as the price of their aſſiſtance? We were now acting in concert with the dividers of Poland.—We ourſelves were the dividers of Poland; for while we were courting them to aid us in a war againſt French principles, we furniſhed them with the pretext, and afforded them the opportunity, of dividing Poland. We were the guarantees of Dantzic, of which Pruſſia, our ally, had taken poſſeſſion. Said we not, when the French attempted the Scheldt, that we were the guarantees of the excluſive navigation of the Scheldt to the Dutch?

——— *Mutato nomine de te*
Fabula narratur.———

Pruſſia was the other guarantee; but regarded guarantees as little as the French, when Dantzic and Thorn were to be annexed to his

his territories. What was this but teaching the people that the profeſſions of courts were mere deluſions—that the pretext for the war was the danger from French power and French principles; but the cauſe, to gratify the ambition of other powers. How were we ever to make peace, when we were not agreed upon the terms with thoſe who aſſiſted us in the war? Regard for the chriſtian religion was one of the reaſons alleged for dividing Poland; regard for the chriſtian religion might be alleged for dividing France. He did not underſtand that we paid any ſubſidies, and in one point of view he was ſorry for it. We ſhould then underſtand for what we had engaged. As the caſe ſtood at preſent, how did we know what Pruſſia or the Emperor might require of us? As Ruſſia had taken part of Poland, might not the Emperor take a fancy to Bavaria and the Palatinate? And thus the difficulties of making peace become greater than thoſe of carrying on the war. Add to this, that if rumour or regard to ancient policy could be truſted, Spain would not conſent to the diſmemberment of France. If we were making war againſt principles, let us but look to the principles of the two Imperial courts, and of Pruſſia, and we ſhould find them more dangerous to the liberty and peace of mankind than even thoſe of France. The mode of getting out of this ſituation was by agreeing to the addreſs, cenſuring Lord Auckland, and thus convincing the other powers of Europe that we would not be parties to their plans for dividing kingdoms. It was indeed matter of great doubt whether or not peace for Europe could now be obtained for any great length of time; the encouragement we had given to the robbery of Poland might be expected to inflame the paſſions of avarice and ambition.—There was however one nation, viz. Spain, which had a common intereſt with us, and with which he wiſhed to ſee a cordial union againſt the dangerous aggrandizement of the Imperial courts and Pruſſia. All our victories in the preſent war had been obtained by their arms excluſively, and every victory gave freſh cauſe of jealouſy. To agree to the addreſs would have another good effect—it would ſatisfy the people, that the reaſons for the war, and the pretext, were the ſame; and that there was not one language for the Houſe of Commons, and another for the Hague.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER explained, that although indemnification for an unjuſt aggreſſion, and future ſecurity, were the objects of the war, he did not mean to ſay, that if an opening for removing the perſons who now exerciſed the powers of government in France from that ſituation ſhould preſent itſelf, we were not to take advantage of it.

Mr.

Mr. FOX ſaid, he underſtood the object of the war to be as ſtated; and the removal of the perſons who now exerciſed the powers of government in France to be only a *wiſh*.

The queſtion being loudly called for, ſtrangers were ordered to withdraw: after which we underſtood that Mr. Curwen congratulated the Houſe on the effect of Mr. Sheridan's motion. He contended that the object of it was completely gained; that Lord Auckland's memorial had been in ſubſtance diſavowed by the Miniſter; and the old ground of the war again brought forward. He therefore wiſhed much that Mr. Sheridan would not divide the Houſe.

Mr. SHERIDAN ſaid, it was indifferent to him whether the Houſe divided or not. He certainly conſidered the main object he had in view as completely gained in the Miniſter's explicit diſavowal of the principles attempted to be introduced into the war by Lord Auckland, which muſt have made peace impoſſible.

Mr. WHITMORE inſiſted on taking the ſenſe of the Houſe, although ſeveral of the minority had gone away, imagining that there was to be no diviſion; becauſe, he ſaid, he placed no faith in any of the Miniſter's declarations. The Houſe divided,

Ayes	- -	36
Noes	- -	211

Adjourned at ten o'clock.

APRIL 26.

Mr. STEELE moved, that the amendments made by the Lords in the bill for preventing traiterous correſpondence with France, which, by order, were to have been taken into conſideration this day, ſhould be read on Monday next (the 29th.)

Mr. CURWEN obſerved, that theſe amendments had ſo completely altered the nature of the bill, that though it purported to be a bill for preventing traiterous correſpondence, it might be ſaid now to be a bill for encouraging it. Under this circumſtance he hoped the Houſe would feel that it was not unreaſonable in gentlemen to wiſh that it might be printed, to the end that they might have the means of becoming more intimately acquainted with its contents. When the bill was brought down from the Lords, he took the liberty of moving that it might be printed; a Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Pitt) whom he did not then ſee in his place, oppoſed the motion, and with ſucceſs; but he truſted the Houſe would on re-conſideration ſee that it was not improper, and that it called for nothing which might not with great propriety be granted.

Mr.

Mr. STEELE replied, that the Houſe had ſome days ago withſtood a motion for printing the bill, on the ſpecific ground, that the meaſure which it called for was not neceſſary. The ſame preciſe ground exiſted ſtill, and no one reaſon had been aſſigned to ſhew that what the Houſe had at that period deemed unneceſſary, had ſince become neceſſary. He therefore would not conſent to a propoſition this day, which in no one circumſtance was different from that which had been rejected when the bill with the amendments was brought down from the Lords.

Mr. CURWEN inſiſted that there was new ground for reprinting the bill, for he had been aſſured by a Noble Lord, that the amendments had completely changed the principle.

Mr. M. A. TAYLOR ſaid, that if it was fit to print the bill when it came out of the committee of that Houſe, on account of the material alterations which were made in it, it was equally fit that it ſhould be printed on its return from the Lords, where he underſtood that ſuch alterations had been made in it, that no one who had voted for it in the Houſe of Commons could know it again, or imagine it to be the ſame bill. If thoſe alterations were not put into the hands of the members, he wiſhed to know how they could give them all the conſideration that was due to them. He preſumed it was not expected that every member ſhould apply to the Houſe of Lords for a copy of the amended bill; and without a copy of it, he could not conceive how gentlemen could properly digeſt the amendments, which he was informed were in their nature extremely important.

Mr. CAWTHORNE ſaid, he was convinced that *delay* was the object of thoſe who wanted to have the bill printed; and as he conſidered delay as particularly dangerous in this caſe, he was determined to reſiſt any motion by which delay might be occaſioned, and therefore he would not conſent that the amendments ſhould be printed. He was decidedly of opinion that the bill in queſtion was intimately connected with the ſafety of the ſtate, and that to delay its paſſing into a law would be attended with imminent danger to the public.

Mr. WHITBREAD ridiculed the opinion of the Honourable Member, about delay being the object of the gentlemen who wiſhed to have the bill printed; he ſaid that if the Houſe would order the printing, copies might be delivered to the members before Monday; and therefore the charge of delay ought not to be brought againſt him and his Honourable Friends; the Honourable Member, if he wiſhed to deal out his cenſure impartially, ought rather to have brought the charge againſt the

Right

Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Steele), who had moved to put off till Monday next the conſideration of a bill which the Honourable Member was of opinion could not be delayed without imminent danger to the nation. It was evident that the Honourable Member's zeal for the public good made him think that the greater obſcurity with which the bill paſſed, and the leſs was heard of it, the more effectually it would promote the object of his zeal.

Mr. Steele's motion was at laſt carried; but Mr. Curwen having then moved that the bill with its amendment ſhould be printed, when the Houſe divided, there appeared

For the motion	-	16
Againſt it	-	41

The Houſe having reſolved itſelf into a committee on Browne's divorce bill, Mr. Hobart in the chair,

Mr. M. A. TAYLOR ſaid, there were ſome circumſtances in the caſe of Mrs. Browne which called for the conſideration of the committee. He did not mean to ſay that ſhe was not guilty of the crime of adultery, but he thought it his duty to ſay in extenuation of it, that her huſband had been abſent from her full ſeven years in India, during which period he never once made her the ſmalleſt remittance for her ſupport: her diſtreſſes, therefore, rather than a vicious diſpoſition, might have led her into thoſe criminal exceſſes for which her huſband wiſhed now to be divorced from her. He underſtood ſhe was at that moment confined in Newgate for debt, and had been confined there for three years paſt; had ſhe been well adviſed, he preſumed ſhe might, as a married woman or a *femme couverte*, have procured a writ of *ſuperſedeas*, and recovered her liberty: however, that was not the point on which he roſe to trouble the committee; what he meant to propoſe was, that ſome proviſion ſhould be made for this unfortunate woman out of her huſband's eſtate, which would enable her to procure the neceſſaries of life, and remove from her the greateſt of all temptations to wickedneſs—want and diſtreſs. The committee, he hoped, would be of opinion, that for one, or even many criminal acts a woman ought not to be left abſolutely deſtitute; on the contrary, that a door ought to be left open to repentance. Major Browne, he was informed, had employments in the ſervice of the Eaſt India Company, which brought him in 2000l. a year. What he meant to propoſe was, that a clauſe ſhould be inſerted in the bill for ſettling upon Mrs. Browne for her life, out of the eſtate of her huſband, an annuity of 50l. This he was ſure the committee would not think an unreaſonable proviſion. He concluded by moving for leave to bring up a clauſe to that effect. The motion paſſed without oppoſition; the clauſe was brought up, read, and adopted without

without any debate.—The committee then went through the bill, and the Houſe was reſumed.

COMMITTEE IN AID OF PUBLIC CREDIT.

Mr. THOMPSON reminded the Houſe, that when the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved, yeſterday, for a committee, to report to the Houſe the beſt means of affording ſupport to ſuch perſons as had ſtopped payment, not through want of ſufficient property to diſcharge all demands upon them, but merely through a ſudden and temporary preſſure, he invited gentlemen to move for the addition of whatever members they pleaſed to that committee. In conſequence of that invitation, he (Mr. Thompſon) had drawn up a liſt of names, which he moved might be added to it. He then read over the liſt; at the head of which was the name of William Baker, Eſq. There were 13 or 14 names in all, among which was that of Sheridan.

The SPEAKER ſaid, a queſtion muſt be put on each name, ſeparately, and he began with that of Mr. Baker.

Mr. RYDER ſaid, that a more reſpectable name could not be put upon any committee; in objecting, therefore, to the motion, he begged that it might not be underſtood that it was on account of the Honourable Gentleman who was the ſubject of it: he put it to the candour of the Houſe, whether, after a committee had been appointed yeſterday, and had met and gone through a great deal of buſineſs this day, it would be proper to add new members to it: he was convinced that ſuch a meaſure would occaſion delay in a caſe which called for the greateſt poſſible diſpatch. On that ground, and on that alone, he ſaid he would oppoſe the motion.

Mr. SHERIDAN remarked, that it was not a little extraordinary, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have taken credit to himſelf, for having invited gentlemen to move for any addition to the committee which they ſhould deem uſeful; and yet, that when an addition was propoſed, it ſhould meet with oppoſition from that Right Honourable Gentleman's friends. The names which had been read were all, one only excepted (Mr. Sheridan meant his own), ſuch as could not fail to add to the wiſdom of the committee; he thought the ground of oppoſition to them was by no means ſtrong; the committee, it was ſaid, had already met this day, and gone through much buſineſs, and any addition of members would occaſion delay: he was not of this opinion; if the committee had tranſacted much buſineſs, there were, no doubt, minutes of its proceedings, to which the new members might refer; he did not think, therefore, that any delay could be occaſioned by the adoption of the motion. How-

ever, he ſaw no neceſſity for preſſing gentlemen to a meaſure which they appeared ſo much to diſlike, and therefore he would recommend it to his Honourable Friend not to inſiſt upon his motion.

Mr. HUSSEY ſaid, he had this day attended the committee, which had gone through a long and laborious inveſtigation; he was of opinion, that if new members were added to it, they muſt unavoidably occaſion delay. This was his ſole ground for objecting to the motion; for the gentlemen, whoſe names he had heard read, were ſuch as were capable of giving very good advice, and forwarding the object of the committee; but their advice would not be loſt, becauſe they could give it in the Houſe when the committee ſhould have made its report. For theſe reaſons, he ſaid, he ſhould give a negative to the motion.

Mr. THOMPSON declared, that nothing could be farther from his intention than to embarraſs the committee, or occaſion delay; his ſole object was, to add to its ſtock of knowledge and ability ſome very reſpectable country gentlemen and others, who could throw much light upon the ſubject referred to the committee. Such being his view, he ſaid he did not think it proper to withdraw his motion.

The SPEAKER at laſt put the queſtion on Mr. Baker's name, which paſſed in the negative without a diviſion.

Mr. THOMPSON, collecting from this the opinion of the Houſe, did not move any more names.

Adjourned to the 29th.

APRIL 29.

On the motion for receiving the report on the Aſhby-de-la-Zouch canal, an amendment was propoſed, that, inſtead of the word "now," the words "this day three months" be inſerted. A debate took place, after which the Houſe divided,

For the amendment	-	70
Againſt it	- -	63

The bill was conſequently loſt.

END OF VOLUME II.

